

The Identity of Two Generations of Muslim Women Living In
Leicester, UK

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by
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Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to the late Mrs. Shirin Murji – my mother

1947 - 2008.

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to consider the identity construction of two generations of Muslim women living in a British context. The study considered the relationship between mothers and daughters living in Leicester, and the ways in which they utilized the same resources such of family, religion, education and Britishness for developing a sense of identity. There was a need for such a research endeavour, because there is limited study on Muslim mother-daughter relationships in the British context that considered each group in equal measure. Thus, the study contributes to a better understanding of generational differences within Muslim women's identities.

The objectives of the study involved allowing Muslim women the opportunity to discuss themselves how they develop a sense of identity through how they negotiate private and public domains in order to maintain these identities. In looking at the two generations equally, the study was able to demonstrate differences between the level of religious attachment mothers and daughters had to Islam, the importance of the family in their lives; how educational aspirations are not always aligned with familial expectations; and finally attachment to a British society is generationally experienced. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and vignettes, the study shows that generational differences exist between the women in the study, demonstrated through the implementation of a researcher designed typology of identity.

Table of contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
ABSTRACT.....	3
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 Rationale.....	9
1.2 Research Design	21
1.3 Sample	23
1.4 Structure of Thesis	24
CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	26
2.1 Conceptualization of ‘Generation’	27
2.2 Conceptualization of ‘Identity’	35
2.3 The British Context: Muslims in Britain	47
2.4 Conclusion.....	57
CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW: SOURCES OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION FOR MUSLIM WOMEN.....	61
3.1 The Position of Muslim Women in The West.....	61
3.2 Muslim Women in the Private Sphere: The Family	68
3.3 Muslim Women in the Private Sphere: Religion	74

3.4	Muslim Women in the Public Sphere: Education	84
3.5	Muslim Women in the Public Sphere: Britishness and Belonging	90
3.6	Traversing the Public and Private	95
3.7	Conclusion.....	103
CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY		107
4.1	Research Design	107
4.2	Methods Used in Existing Empirical Studies	109
4.3	The Research Study	110
4.4	Data Analysis.....	127
4.5	Conclusion.....	129
CHAPTER 5. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TYPOLOGY		131
5.1	Construction of Typology	132
5.2	Conclusion.....	146
CHAPTER 6. TWO GENERATIONS OF MUSLIM WOMEN: A COMPARISON OF WORLDVIEWS		148
6.1	Presentation of Sample	149
6.2	The Typology Demonstrated	152
6.3	Conclusion.....	170

CHAPTER 7. FACTORS SHAPING MUSLIM WOMEN’S IDENTITIES: THE ROLES OF FAMILY AND RELIGION.....	172
7.1 The Muslim Family	173
7.2 The Role of Religion.....	193
7.3 Explaining The Differences	219
7.4 Conclusion.....	225
 CHAPTER 8. FACTORS SHAPING MUSLIM WOMEN'S IDENTITIES: THE ROLES OF EDUCATION AND BRITISHNESS	 228
8.1 The Role Of Education	229
8.2 The Role Of Britishness.....	232
8.3 Conclusion.....	251
 CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION OF STUDY	 254
9.1 Benefits and Further Recommendations	270
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 274
APPENDICES	288

Table of figures

Figure 1: Table Showing the Values from the questionnaire and their assigned attitude	135
Figure 2: Leicester: Estimated Population numbers	149
Figure 3: Years and Level of Education: Mothers	150
Figure 4: Years and Level of Education: Daughters	151
Figure 5: Table Showing the Number of Participants Who Chose Each Value	153
Figure 6: Table showing the values chosen by mother and daughter 1 and 2.	154
Figure 7: Endorsed Values by Mother and Daughter 15	162
Figure 8: Values Endorsed by Mother and Daughter 1	167

Introduction

My interest focuses on Muslim women and their identity, especially in terms of the differences between the ways Muslim women see themselves, compared to the perception of society around them. One of the key points made about identity is that since it isn't fixed, it can only be understood as a process; as 'being' or 'becoming'. According to Hall (1992) theories of identity define the self in a process of becoming, which is essentially unfinished, insecure, and possibly changeable. In this context of unpredictability, the thesis shows that Muslim women are able to forge a sense of identity through intersecting resources such as the family, religion education and Britishness not only to determine their sense of identity, but also to influence their daughters to adopt similar worldviews and practices.

An identity is the understanding of oneself in relation to others. Identities...are fundamental relational, defined by the actor's interaction with and relationship with others...

(Barnet, 1999:9).

Identity embraces our awareness of who we are and of who other people are, and equally, the ways these others understand themselves and those around them (Jenkins 2004:5). One's identity/identities can simultaneously be singular and plural it or they can never be a final or settled matter (Jenkins 2004:5). As Jenkins says, without identity there could be no human world (ibid: 7). The individualization of modern life and the nature of contemporary society have been argued to be the main conditions for the creation of a modern identity (Beck 1992, Giddens 1991). For Giddens, self-identity becomes problematic in late modernity because of the plurality of choices and life styles, making identity a reflexive construction. Modern individuals, without the guidance of traditional

authority, must self-reflexively construct their identity. Muslim religious identity in Britain can vary from devout observance to established Islamic practice, to minimal attachment, and this is confirmed to a large extent by the Muslim women in the study which will be demonstrated by the means of a typology of identity developed from the data. Therefore, the thesis contributes not only to the overall recognition of the nature of Muslim women's identity, but also to the generational differences within the identity formations between Muslim women in a British context.

1.1 Rationale

This research study endeavoured to consider the significant differences between the ways migrant Muslim women of two generations construct their identities. This study aimed to offer Muslim women an opportunity to speak for themselves. The sample consisted of two different generations of Muslim women living in Leicester UK. The study aimed to explore these differences, especially in relation to the identity Muslim women attribute to themselves. This approach has been adopted because I am concerned with not just learning about their identity, but about what resources they use to help create this identity. Based on the understanding that identity isn't something that just 'exists' – it is a process that is complex therefore, it has to be noted that I did not aim to discover a universal or shared Muslim identity. Accordingly, in order to interpret such differences, this study considered differences between Muslim women by examining the resources they utilized in the process of constructing their identities. The study explored the assumptions about the relative importance of family, religion education and Britishness as major resources used to create identities and apply them to Muslim women specifically. The concept of generation was employed as I was interested in the processes of identity

construction utilized by Muslim women from different cohorts as well as within a familial dynamic; to consider whether identity processes are subject to generational transmission. The fact that I am myself a British-born Muslim who has had to negotiate my own Muslim identity in a British context, contributes to the interest I have for studying Muslim women. Thus after migrating from their homelands of Pakistan and Bangladesh, living in Britain a different social and cultural environment for the mothers in the sample, also provided an important element to consider, with the influence of multiculturalism possibly diminishing the feeling of belonging to Britain for these mothers after migrating from their homelands. With existing research demonstrating that the younger generation feel more British than the older generation; it was important to look at concepts of citizenship and nationality as a whole, as citizenship is considered the most 'legitimate' claim of being British by younger generations. In what follows, I will look at the significance of these potential influences on the construction of Muslim women's identity, and therefore the important role they played in determining the research objectives.

1.1.1 Migration and Belonging to Britain

An important factor shaping the public image and self-presentation of Muslims in Britain is the public attitudes to migration and Muslim women's migration experience. This was considered because half of the women in the sample were migrant Muslim women. It is Muslim women's migration experience which can often have a strong impact on their self-image as they need to re-negotiate their identities within a context that is new, unfamiliar and of course different.

...migration...is a long term if not life-long process of negotiating identity, difference and the right to fully exist and flourish in the new context.

(Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994: 8)

On the other hand, it is the growing concern over migration into Britain, which could affect migrants' experience in the host country. There is a rising anxiety over the presence of Muslims in Britain as a whole. As news reports have illustrated, 'The UK attracts most immigrants in the whole EU' (see *The Telegraph* online, 7th February 2013), and the 2011 census data verified that Muslims are the second largest religious group in England and Wales after Christians; unease over Muslims in Britain has therefore, also increased. A Populus survey carried out in 2011 (published by Searchlight), titled: 'Fear and Hope', demonstrates that these trends are accompanied by the growing resentment of immigration and migrants into Britain. It shows that 60% of the British population believe that 'On the whole immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country' (Searchlight, 2011: 223). This is further validated with 71% of the British population stating that 'there is an increasing amount of tension between the different groups living in Britain' (ibid: 236) with 44% of the British population feeling that Muslims were completely different to them 'in terms of habits, customs and values' (ibid: 255). In his analysis of anti-Muslim racism, Kundnani (2007) remarks how being a Muslim increasingly functions as a racialised indication of difference. Islam is depicted in the public sphere through discourses as an ethnicity or race that are in conflict with being white or British.

However, at the same time, there is ever increasing evidence that shows more and more Muslims are feeling patriotic towards Britain and therefore feel that they can be identified as 'British' (Dwyer 2000, Hussain and Bagguley 2005, Ipsos MORI 2005, Ramji 2007, Rizvi 2007). These studies suggest that young Muslims are not only accepting their lives in Britain, but are also voicing their British identities. As younger generations of

Muslims take on British identities, a question arises about the nature of identity of older generations; are they less likely to claim to be British? Does this mean that being British is primarily a claim of birth (as younger generations are born in Britain) or is it to do with possessing and practicing values and cultural ideals that are regarded by younger Muslims as inherently British (and therefore less significant for the older generations?). The importance of migration as well as multiculturalism are pertinent issues for the Muslim women who migrated to Britain and thus their experiences of migration may have had an impact on their creation of self-hood and identity. In this context, my research study was designed to consider the impact of migration on the formation of identities for the Muslim women of two generations, one born outside of the UK and the other in the UK.

Britain has continuously been a country of immigration with particular migratory groups residing here for an exceptionally long period of time. The numbers of minority ethnic populations are largely the result of immigration in the post-war period from former colonies or Commonwealth countries (see Solomos, 1989; Goulborne, 1998; Mason, 2000). The experiences of these immigrant populations and their children and grandchildren has been shown to have been a varied one, demonstrating pronounced diversity in terms of income, employment, educational achievement and life chances (Modood et al, 1997; Platt, 2002; Mason, 2003). This diversity can be the consequence of many factors, such as those connected with the processes of migration: the reason for migration; the different economic, social and cultural capital of the migrants that were brought with them; the life stage where migration occurred and the opportunities accessible at that time. Even so, it is also possible that this diversity has been influenced by the experience of these groups over time in Britain: the length of time spent in Britain; the

areas of settlement; the experience of racism, and how they dealt with it as well as the connections with the education system and the labour market.

1.1.2 Religion

The assumption underlying the construction of the sample is that the concept of 'women' in the study is not homogenous. I contend that not all women who believe in Islam are the same and think the same. Therefore the identification of generations as an important differentiating factor in the distinctive nature of experience for Muslim women can be seen as an underlying factor affecting Muslim women's identities. Another reason why generation was considered a notable factor for this study is its importance to our understanding of the increasing levels of religiosity amongst Muslim populations in the UK (see Scourfield et al 2012) in relation to the migrants' experience and the transmission of religious beliefs in the UK over the last decade. Religious transmission involves the way in which parents pass on their religious outlooks and behaviours to their children (Nesbitt, 2010). The importance of generations denotes the transmission of religion, as these newer generations receive religion in part from older generations (Gilliat-Ray, 2010). Therefore, I argued that religious migrants have succeeded in transmitting their religious beliefs and values to their children in this study. It is undeniable that contemporary trends show that there is a decline in the transmission of religion across generations in non-Muslim religions (Scourfield et al 2012). However, the trend is entirely different in Muslim communities as increased numbers of Muslim youth claim to practice Islam and be British Muslims, as a result rejecting the label 'British Asians' in favour of a political engagement with faith, (see *Guardian* 11th January 2005 Manzoor, 'We've Ditched Race for Religion'). Existing studies also show that Muslim religiosity is increasing, especially among the younger

generation (Dwyer 2000, Hussain and Bagguley 2005, Ramji 2007). Consequently, Islam is a signifier representing identity and offering links between the Muslim mothers that have migrated to Britain and their British-born offspring. Migrant parents of British Muslims (for this study from South Asia) may have experienced anguish and hostility during and after their migratory process, therefore generating a psychological need for the comfort provided by their home traditions and customs as well as from religion. Muslims often turn to their religion as a safeguard from the effects of 'Westernization'. They seek comfort from their communities, which are the foundations of religious principles, as they feel that the 'West', with its processes of modernization, is a threat to their religion (Jacoby and Yavuz, 2008: 3). The displacement from their home countries to an unfamiliar home is frequently interpreted in religious terms, and therefore migrants often strive for divine security on the journey and on arrival (Warner 1998, Hagan & Ebaugh 2003). These traditional practices and customs from their countries of origin (more so perhaps than religious practices and beliefs) may be regarded as alien and not applicable to the children of immigrants, and therefore discarded from their own beliefs and values (See Nielsen 1984, 1987). According to Roy (2004), identity becomes challenging specifically when Muslims leave traditional Muslim societies. Their identity as a Muslim is no longer maintained by society; undeniably, there is intense pressure to conform to the West's established cultural norms. The issue of legitimacy of their Muslim identity develops in a way that it may never have had in their original home society, as there is now a difference between their internal identity as a Muslim and their behaviour in relation to their new society. This shows that migration can be regarded as a potential concern, and in this

context can be very problematic for Muslims migrants into Britain; and so the links between the effects of migration processes on identity must be appreciated.

1.1.3 Family and Education

Religion is not the only resource that forms the bases of identities and connects generations. Family and education are also considered important for a person's identity and preservation for inter-generational links. Indeed, the importance of the family is often seen to be connected to the notion of transmission and to the concept of generation; the passing on of tradition - religion, customs, culture, etc. - over time. The family as the primary agent of socialization in empirical research has '*demonstrated that parental influences dominate religious beliefs and attachments throughout the life course*' (Sherkat, 2003: 55 in Nesbit 2010: 68). Therefore parental socialization in all its forms is generally regarded as fundamental for influencing young people. Inherent in traditional family values is the view of the gender roles men and women should perform in life. The belief that is held by younger Muslim generations is that the traditional views of gender roles from 'back home' consist of women being responsible for the home and child-care, not required to work and that she should be deferential to her husband (Dale 2008: 5). These traditional values from 'back home', including the aspirations of men (usually from back home) for their wives to stay at home and not be employed, can often be contrasted against the wishes of the younger generation of British Muslim women who seek more choice and independence and, above all, a hope to be free to work. Similar views were reported by Dale et al, (2002) in interviews with a sample of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in North-West England.

One valuable upshot of the consideration of existing studies, and a very significant issue that can be drawn from them and relevant for the impact of generation, is the tension between older and younger generations. Ethnographic studies of Muslim youth have identified that second generations are attempting to adopt an Islam that is separate from the ethnic culture of their parental generation (Cesari 2002 and Saint-Blancat 2004 Vertovec & Rogers 1998, Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000, Peek 2005, and Warner et al. 2012 for the United States). A distinctive finding from these studies shows that parents are astonished by their children's denunciation of some traditions as non-Islamic and their determination to return to "real Islam" (Cesari 2002, Warner et al. 2012). The family is a very fundamental vehicle for the transmission of religious values, yet within the context of these research findings, does that suggest that in the performance of the mother role as the generational transmitter in the family is losing importance? We can see that young Muslim girls are indeed searching to establish an understanding of Islam based on reading Islamic texts and interpreting from the 'original source' Quran (see Dwyer 2000, Ramji 2007 for example). Thus, the 'oral traditions, customs and religious practices are, at best, only partially transmitted and this produces difference between generations in Islamic understanding and identity' (Samad 1994: 17). Tyrer and Ahmad (2006) researched Muslim women studying at several universities in England. They found that Muslim women respondents rejected notions of an essential, authentic primitive ethnic identity which they should follow, stressing the active, conditional and changeable nature of their identities. Although they recognized the ethnic identity that was 'expected of them', these Muslim women were also adamant that parental heritage did not define who they were. Instead, they avowed their own agency in delineating their identities in their own expressions and consequently

replaced these for a perception of Muslim identities. Therefore, generation as a concept, proves to be a noteworthy means of identifying not only the different life experiences of Muslim women living in a British context, it can very well offer an instrumental way of understanding and explaining differences in the identity formations of these Muslim women living in Britain. Intergenerational relationships, the chains of relationships between parents and children, are theoretically a persuasive foundation of data about social change as they can feasibly afford understanding into the connections of history and lives. In chapter three, existing studies of generation show that there are indeed differences in the way individuals view their social contexts. Intergenerational relationships are at times discussed as indicators of social change. However, they can also be seen as forces for social change, as individuals may choose to adopt different values and behaviour as well as to develop and execute parenting styles that are dissimilar from the ones they have been brought up with, effectively changing the way a generation may pass on familial values, traditions and customs. These are important issues, and in order to gain understanding of these phenomena, generational differences call for examination.

Gender roles are internalized through the process of socialization, therefore, the context within which this potential rejection of traditional familial values can be regarded as meaningful. Generational differences therefore can be seen to significantly influence the critical aspects of the lives of young people. Access to education is no less fundamental. It has become to be regarded as a way of allowing Muslim women to traverse into the economic sphere of society, whereas before, they were seen to only belong to the private (family) sphere. Brah (1996) has claimed that many young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women educated in the UK have had the prospect of attaining language and qualifications,

opportunities that were not available to their mothers. Most have also had access to Western cultural values in addition to the traditional Muslim values of their parents and family. This means that they are more likely to participate and have very diverse educational and employment careers from those of their mothers. Parents and the wider family perform a significant part in the educational choices of young people (see Dale et al 2002) therefore, it is fair to say that educational opportunity and the access it offers to wider society can have an impact on young Muslim women in Britain.

1.1.4 Locality: Leicester

Leicester boasts a Muslim community of around 30,000 making it one of the most significant and developing Muslim communities in Leicester. Muslims had already made up 4.3% of the population of Leicester in 1983. The majority of Muslims in Leicester are from an Indian background, many of whom came to Leicester via Africa in the early 1970's. This arrival of Asians from East Africa indicated an important time in Leicester's migration history because East African Asians now make up the major group in the Leicester Asian community (Panesar 2005). There are, in addition, a number of Muslims from other South Indian countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and other Muslim countries namely, Somalia, Africa and various Arab countries. Appendix one exhibits the demographic of Leicester ethnic groups from the 2001 census. It shows that Indians make up the second largest ethnic group in Leicester after white. Pakistani is the third largest group, with Bangladeshi being the smallest of the South Asian countries to settle in Leicester. This is broadly in line with the UK as a whole (appendix two). The table in appendix one shows that Muslim is the third largest religious group in Leicester after

Christians, the majority of the population, followed by Hindus. Thus, Muslims make up 11.3% of the population of Leicester and the third largest religious group.

Areas of the city of Leicester containing mainly Muslim migrants of society include Belgrave, Melton Road, Rushey Mead, Oadby and Saint Matthews who arrived because of being displaced and forced out of East Africa having no choice but to leave because of General Idi Amin of Uganda, whose expulsion of East African Asians occurred from 1972 as part of his 'Africanization' policy (Panesar 2005). Migration to the UK was facilitated by the British Nationality Act 1948. This legislation theoretically gave every Commonwealth citizen the right to move to Britain. As post-war necessity for workers in Britain there was a significant encouragement to migrate, Indians and Pakistanis moved to the Spinney Hill and Belgrave areas of Leicester as cheap housing in these areas was available (Panesar 2005). The South Asians of Leicester, as a migrant community, having been the longest established and as a result of their settlement have first, second or third level generations of British Asians. Professor Ludi Simpson (no date), a social statistician maintained that much of the increase in Leicester was due to the relatively younger age profile of British Asians in the city – and the excess of births over deaths – rather than increased immigration. In recent years, Leicester has become a focal point for migrant communities particularly in relation to social cohesion, diversity and harmony (Herbert 2008). Leicester has an extensive history as a multicultural city and it has been argued that Leicester will soon be considered a major UK city where the white ethnic group will be the minority (Panesar 2005).

Leicester can be considered as a welcoming city for new migrants, boasting well-established multicultural communities and a deep sense of social cohesion. This can be

seen from the 2008 Joseph Rowntree Foundation report which showed that Leicester has shown considerable initiative in social cohesion (considering it was a city that once discouraged Ugandan Asians from settling in Leicester) to achieve Beacon Status for the year 2003-4, for its initiatives promoting Racial Equality and Community cohesion (Hickman, Crowley and Mai 2008 JRF). Leicester is a vibrant, multi-ethnic city, as Panesar states (2005):

Today more than a third of people living in Leicester are migrants or second generation migrants, who have a fruitful and diverse history; a history that shapes Leicester today.

The reputation of Leicester as a liberal multicultural city was given considerable advancement following the conflict in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley in 2001. Due to the lack of ethnic disorder in Leicester, the city was titled Britain's most ethnically friendly city and applauded as a European model of multicultural accomplishment (Herbert 2008: 2).

1.1.5 Definition of 'Muslim'

The diverse makeup of Muslim communities in Britain generates difficulties in terms of how to define Muslims authoritatively. Ansari (2000) thus recognizes the multiplicity of Muslim identification resulting in the difficulty of establishing a definition of Muslim to capture this diversity. He accepts that a variety of conflicting factors, such as, social, economic and cultural, can impact the classification of Muslims. Consequently the complexity associated with what really represents 'Muslim-ness' then becomes a concern. In describing Muslims, Mandaville (2001) declares: 'these are people who conscientiously try to live their lives as Muslims, seeking wherever possible to make religion relevant to their daily lives' 2000: 111).

"Muslims could generally be defined as the people who believe in the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna (practice) of the Prophet Muhammad as a source of, and as the frame of reference for their belief and behaviour"

(Bahmanpour and Bashir, 2000: 3).

Thus, the definition of 'Muslimness' cannot be separated from practice and in the context of this research study, the importance of the role played by religion for the mothers and daughters in the study performed a principal role in identifying the 'Muslimness' of the participants. For Nielsen (1987) the term 'Muslim' has been applied to those who see Islam as having some meaning in the way they live their daily lives, where Islam endures as 'master signifier' (1987: 386), and this was demonstrated to be the case for the majority of the sample in the study. Consequently, the definition of Muslimness used in the study reflects the role, importance and meaning of Islam for the women in the practice of their daily lives. This links with the definition of religion which sees the functional nature of religion as well as the performative aspect of religion to be significant for the Muslim women in the study, linking role, meaning and practice of Islam.

1.2 Research Design

1.2.1 Research Objectives

1. What are the main differences in the ways in which two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester construct their identities and see their position within British society?

This objective will consider the nature of variances in relation to the generational influences of cohort differences and the differences in relations between parent and children of identity construction of the women in the study.

- a) What is the role of the family in shaping two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester identity?

This objective will consider differences in relation to their private roles focusing on how familial relations impact on Muslim women who have migrated (older generation) to Britain and the younger British Muslims (second generation) in relation to how they form identity?

- b) What role does religion play in the lives of two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester in terms of the everyday adherence and practice of the religion?

This objective will focus on discovering how the Muslim women of both generations incorporate religious practice into their lives and into the construction of their identity. This will also consider their perception of the religious (Shari'ah) law and its impact on the position of women.

- c) What is the role of education and educational aspirations in the process of the formation of identity of two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester?

This objective will focus on differences within which the two generations of women perceive and use education. This question will look at what both generations feel about the importance (if any) of education for them.

- d) What are the perceptions of two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester of their belonging to Britain and their feeling of being British?

This objective will focus on the exploration of the Muslim women's' feeling of belonging to Britain and their identification of themselves as being British, which may be affected by the migration and multiculturalism experiences of the mothers, and the perception of Britishness as an aspect of citizenship identification.

1.3 Sample

It is the endeavour of every researcher to produce data that is representative and generalizable. In ideal research situations, a representative sample is sought because it seems to be a mirror of the population as a whole from which it was drawn from (Seale, 2004: 439). It is clear from the research area that the sample of population will be very small, thus it will not be possible to get a representative sample as such. The research focussed on two generations, which belong to one religious affiliation. The concepts of representativeness and generalizability do not apply, thus this research will be applicable to the groups under study, and I can offer insights that may inform further study. The two groups of focus are Muslim mothers aged 40+, the second group will be young Muslim daughters, between the ages 16-18. It is recognized that Leicester has a much richer and diverse Muslim population, including members from East Africa and Somalia also being large populations. However, due to the sampling constraints (see chapter 4) the research sample contained women that originate from South Asia, with Pakistan (the majority) and Bangladesh being the represented Backgrounds. Feminist theory has been prolific in demonstrating gender identity as part of an intersecting, challenged and corresponding

process within which class, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality merge in order to create a sense of self (see Healey, 2009, Cornell and Hartman, 2006, D'Angelo and Douglas, 2008). However, it is to be noted that, as the participants belonged to the same socio-economic group the consideration of class impact was not be made.

1.4 Structure of Thesis

The structure of this thesis is divided into two main sections. The first section: the theoretical framework begins with the first chapter addressing the theoretical components of the study, focusing on the relative importance of generation, gender and identity, the experiences of migration of Muslim communities to Britain and the influences of multiculturalism in shaping the lives of Muslim migrants. Attention will also be given to Muslims in Britain. The second chapter considers the existing literature and the sources used for constructing a sense of identity. The chapter addresses the public and private spheres in order to demonstrate the importance of sources utilized by Muslim women in each sphere when constructing their identities, ending with the hypotheses of the study. This will be followed by the methodology chapter, addressing the methods that were used with justifications, and reflections upon the study in terms of the research design, data collection and reflexivity of the researcher's role. The second section of the thesis: the empirical findings, will establish the main findings and interpretations of the data. This will begin with the an explanation of the construction of the typology used to identify the women, with the subsequent three chapters offering insight into the applications of the typology in order to present the identities observed from the data. Chapter nine ends the thesis by drawing together the findings of the study and discussing the extent to which the

research objectives were answered as well as how these findings may assist further understanding of the identities and lives of Muslim women in a wider context.

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, consideration will be given to the theoretical components of the study, focusing on the key conceptualizations of generation and identity. Examination is also given to interconnecting aspects of the study, where there will be discussions on gender identity, as well as Muslims in Britain and Muslim identity. These sections aim to depict not only the development of theoretical contributions to these areas, but also to offer a context within which to locate the study, helping to substantiate the literature contributions discussed in the following chapter. The concept of generation has had a tendency to be conflated with cohort, where theorists such as Kertzer (1983) and sociologists (Pilcher 1995) claim that this is not the true use of the term. I agree with these statements, and argue for a more comprehensive concept incorporating elements of kinship relations and cohort to be applied in the study. Identity and gender identity are not fixed, stable entities but contested, and complex, changing and unpredictable. They are influenced by factors and facets of social life, including religion, race and ethnicity. Therefore, instead of focusing on an ethnocentric feminism based on the lives and struggles of white middle class feminists, it's important to acknowledge the differences between women, and the impact of different factors to their identity. I also offer a history of Muslims in Britain, showing the impact of racism, exclusion and assimilationist policies in positioning Muslims as the 'other', needing to be controlled and brought into line with a British way of life. Despite these efforts, Muslim identity in Britain is strong, forging a place on the British landscape.

1.5 Conceptualization of ‘Generation’

There has been a long standing debate surrounding the correct use of the term ‘generation’, focusing on the interchanging use of the term with ‘cohort’ and ‘age’ which have affected the theorising effects on issues such as values transmission and immigration (see Kertzer 1983). Classical sociologists like Mannheim have made practical contributions to our understanding of generations; it is also believed that Mannheim’s usage of generation has obscured the true sense of what it means (Kertzer 1983). Sociologically, the concept of cohort is often used interchangeably with generation. Going beyond just considering generations as birth cohorts, cohort is understood in two ways, firstly as the specific interlude of ‘historical time’ into which individuals are born and grow into old age; and secondly, within the unit of their ‘coevals’ other individuals of the same, age. Owing to their cohort’s location in historical time, events and occurrences are shared by individuals and their coevals (Pilcher 1995).

In this manner, generation signifies a product of a particular time in society, which is accompanied by beliefs, values, norms and patterns of behaviours that are pertinent to that time in social existence but by no means exclusive. Therefore, it is a historical product that determines (depending on the extent) the way people live their lives through their functioning within that social existence (Marias in Myszal 2003: 125). The role of generation is fundamental to the understanding of the development of a person's identity, because it is a social development that is performed largely through the process of socialization (Halbwachs in Myszal 2003: 126). Thus the different social conditions in which identities are formed are a very important issue to consider. Many studies on generation look at memory as an important aspect of differing generational experiences.

These studies take into account the question of how culture is altered and conveyed across generations. Much sociological research into generations (Eisenstadt 1956) has mainly concentrated on the means by which culture (the collective memory) is passed on by socialization and the internalization of culture (Edmunds and Turner 2002: 11). If this culture is ineffectually transferred then there may be disharmony in the social structure and subsequent generations fail to instil the dominant culture. In truth, the failure of cultural diffusion emerges as an essentially enduring element of modern societies where there has been an upsurge of technological expansion (Berger and Luckman 1966). As we are living in a society where technological advances are still occurring and as such, it can be argued that this aspect of modern societies may have an impact on the cultural transmission of Muslim identity between mothers and their daughters.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the use of 'generation' as a course of study is the idea that it has come to replace class as a fundamental research category (Gilleard and Higgs 2005: 62). This is perhaps premature, as class does still exist in society, but it can demonstrate the level of importance that is being attached to the concept of generation in research study. When considering generation as an analytical means of investigation, we observe many instructive facets of the concept. Sociological analysis of generations begins with Mannheim's 1952 essay: 'The Problem of Generations'. Mannheim developed his analysis by arguing that generations established a social interconnectedness based on people's shared experiences of the social and political events that they face throughout their lives. Mannheim differentiated between possible generations characterised by an objective generational location which is characterised by 'certain definite modes of behaviour, feeling and thought' (Mannheim, 1952: 291). Mannheim suggests that

generation can not only be seen as simply collective facts, but as ‘*concrete social groups*’ (original emphasis *ibid*: 288) that are a ‘union of a number of individuals through naturally developed or consciously willed ties’ (*ibid*: 289). Generation location is biological in nature, key factors being life and death, a period of life span, and ageing. Thus:

Individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process.

(Mannheim, 1952: 290).

It is also important to note that generation, for Mannheim, signifies a specific ‘kind of identity of location, embracing related “age groups” embedded in a historical-social process’ (*ibid*: 292). Hence, the generation location is governed by the way in which patterns of experience and thought are manifested by the ‘*natural data*’ of the evolution from one generation to the next. Individuals belonging to a generation are characterized by being ‘similarly located as they are open to the same ‘phase of the collective process’ (*ibid*: 292). Consequently:

We shall therefore speak of a generation as an actuality only where a concrete bond is created between members of a generation by their being exposed to the social and intellectual symptoms of a process...

(Mannheim, 1952: 303).

When considering generation as actuality, Mannheim acknowledges that conflicting responses to the particular historical context may occur. Thus a generation as actuality involves ‘different ‘stratification’ of their lives’ (*ibid*: 298).

The generation unit represents a much more concrete bond than the actual generation as such. Youth experiencing the same concrete historical problems may be said to be part of the same actual generation; while those groups within the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experiences in different specific ways, constitute separate generation units.

(Mannheim, 1952: 304).

Therefore, Mannheim's theory of generations presents individuals as being created by the historical element of the social process which underlined their experiences within the youthful stage of their life course forming social generations (Pilcher, 1994: 491).

For Mannheim, there is a dual element to the understanding of generation. Firstly there is the idea of 'generational location', which refers to the mutual location in a time period that belongs to that generational group. The second is the idea of 'generational style' which is the acknowledgement of this historical period of time that has been characterised from individual events and experiences belonging to that time (Gilleard and Higgs 2005: 62). Mannheim's assessment of generation concentrated on the way age groups might act as vehicles of social change and become the transporters of 'intellectual' and 'organizational' replacements to the existing state of affairs (Edmunds and Turner 2002: 8). Thus generations can be seen as centres of opposition, that defy existing social norms and values, precipitating social change through shared generational organization (Laufer and Bengston 1974: 186 in Edmunds and Turner 2002: 8). Accordingly, a generation has individual life chances that originate from the distinctiveness of its location in time. Thus, the members of a generation are held in sync by the fact that they go through events from the same/similar viewpoint. For Mannheim (1952: 297), this process was the

‘stratification of experience’. He saw this stratification as a forceful process in the configuration of generational consciousness. Consequently, the diffusion of a common cultural tradition is constantly spontaneous, interactive and unstable. The problem of cultural transmission is that the experiences of older generations don’t match up with the experiences of the younger generation (ibid: 8). Is this really the case? Is there really a generation clash? This is a very interesting question and will be explored in the research study. Ortega y Gasset (1933) developed a comparable notion of generation where he argued that people born around the same time grow up sharing an historical period that influences their views. Thus, what these definitions of generation show is that the kinship nature of generation is rejected in favour of one that considers the cohort as more significant.

Ryder (1965) argues for the usage of the term ‘cohort’ where events are experienced by individuals at the same time in a particular time period, as we are born in the same year. Thus, we can see that Ryder is extending or emphasizing Mannheim’s generational location as the significant aspect of generation. However, this approach does not fully encapsulate the types of questions needed to be studied. Firstly, there is the social development of individual generations in relation to the manifestation of generational cultures and politics. Secondly, there is the matter of studying the diffusion of culture and consciousness. In actual fact, events or experiences that may have transpired at some point in an individual time period may be considered significant for future generational groups, and older generational groups may be affected by the modern events that are typical of younger generations (Edmunds and Turner; 2002: 6-7). Accordingly, in conflict with Ryder, we have the cultural considerations of generation. From the point of view of

cultural studies, generation is less an aggregate of individuals born at a particular time, but more a cultural sphere that is created at a particular time in history. This idea we can apply to the work of Bourdieu. Generational style or consciousness can be regarded as a generational 'habitus' – which is a set of characteristics that engender and constitute individual practices which transpire and are defined by the powers functioning within an individual generational sphere (Gilleard and Higgs 2005: 69-70). For Bourdieu, even though class position seems to shape the broad factors of taste and value within each cultural field, generational conflict seems to be important in key divisions in taste and practice. In *Sociology In Question*, Bourdieu (1993), like Mannheim, argues that generations are socially not biologically fashioned.

Youth and age are not self-evident data, but are socially constructed, in the same struggle between youth and the old (1993: 95)

The antagonisms between generations are: 'Clashes between systems of aspirations formed in different time periods' (ibid: 99). Different layers of the society shape these aspirations, expectations and tastes. Thus, the sphere of generational conflicts is influenced by level of education and contradictions over differing socialization processes (Edmunds and Turner 2002: 14). Within each generational habitus, dress, speech and demeanour come to symbolize the history and experience of each generation that helps to identify its members by the distinctive way they present themselves (ibid: 15-16). This idea suggests a link between generation and identity. What Bourdieu shows is that generational formation is more culturally-based with members of a generation sharing a similar habitus. The term 'life course' used by Elder (1975), and which was further developed by Giele and Elder (1988) has also looked at generation. Elder's work shows that generational analysis

provides a willingly easy application to a life course approach. Elder saw 'cohorts' to refer to individuals as belonging to a particular birth year, passing through their life stages in a comparable historical context (Elder, 1975: 169). Giele and Elder (1998) emphasise the multi-faceted quality of life course change. Elder (1994) has identified four key factors that determine the shape of the life course: historical and geographical location, social ties to others, personal control and variations in timing. The context of society (the location in time and place) construct the life courses of different cohorts across time, but people in these cohorts may either conform to the norm, or may contest and diverge from them. Cohort effects can then be strengthened by the manifestation of 'linked lives', when people's experiences are facilitated by shared memberships of institutions and networks; by human agency, as people acclimatize to conditions and aspire to apply control over their lives; and by access to resources over time (Giele and Elder 1998, 9-12).

If the conceptualization of generations to be employed in the study was framed in such a way that saw the Muslim women in my study as cohorts, the findings from my study can be seen as belonging to cohort effects, that is the specific historical period of time that people have lived in has impacted the life experiences of these people. If the conceptualization based on cohorts alone is problematic, considering generations as a life stage is equally challenging. This stems from the fact that such conceptualizations fail to make distinctions between age and cohort effects. Effectively, the genealogical relations between parents and children are implied in the age experiences of individuals at different life stages. The problem that arises from such theoretical analyses is that this does not take into consideration the familial descent of individuals, which is concluded by Kertzer (1983: 128) to be the true and proper usage of the term 'generation'. Kertzer (1983) thus

offers this as a conceptualization of generation, claiming that generation should be regarded as the relations between parents and children, and that we should consider cohort to refer to a group of people that share similar experiences as they were born in the same year. This is a point supported by Pilcher (1995: 119). This is the most relevant and applicable conceptualization for my research study as I was interested in the generational differences between mothers and their daughters, thus I compared and contrasted their experiences of the same resources (family, religion, education and Britishness) for identity formation. Thus, if it were the case where cohort is considered the most important and distinguishing feature, it is impossible to determine generations into genealogical terms this is because of the potentiality of overlapping.

It is, in short, inappropriate to refer to them in cohort terms; members of the same 'generation' have lived through different historical periods.

(Kertzer 1983: 130)

Consequently, definition issues such as these are mostly important when the sample used in generational research is comprised of members of family groups. In such studies, individuals can generations in the kinship sense, yet are also generations in the cohort sense. To ensure that these two elements of generations are entrenched in the research design, I support the use of generation when reference is made to kinship relationships and social generation when indications portray cohort related occurrences. What such a conceptualization allowed the study to do is to focus on the relationship between the mothers and daughters that had a discernible historical context and restricted age characteristics. Therefore, instead of just focusing on cohort differences, or kinship

differences, this conceptualizes generations as a more inclusive concept so the conceptualization of generation in the study aimed to link cohort with kinship relations.

1.6 Conceptualization of ‘Identity’

The term ‘identity’ has been the subject of interest and inquiry across discourses and disciplines. Numerous attempts have been made to define identity; therefore there is a rich historical foundation to the study and examination of identity construction. In its basic form, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (1989: 620-1) the definition of identity is:

The quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness.

Or in the (1971: 1368) edition:

The sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else; individuality, personality.

These definitions demonstrate one of the main perspectives found in the discussion of identity: Essentialism. Essentialism is argued to believe that “characteristics of persons or groups are largely similar in all human cultures and historical periods, since they are significantly influenced by biological factors.” (Kaplan & Grewal 2006: 32). Accordingly, for essentialism “Race/Sex/Gender/Sexuality are believed to be ‘rational’, ‘objective’ and ‘apolitical’...” (ibid: 32). These qualities are inherent: you are born with these characteristics. Therefore, the Essentialist view of identity sees our sexual and social identities as being undeniably shaped by our biological, physiological and genetic makeups. Essentialism was the philosophical foundation of Positivism, which was known as classical Essentialism. It is therefore mainly associated with pre-modern thinking. On

the other side of the discussion of identity sits what is known as the anti-essentialist view. This standpoint sees identity as being socially constructed and changeable throughout a person's lifetime based on different life experiences and contexts. Robins (2005: 173) brands this a "strategic fiction," in that people can modify features of their identities to fit in with a certain context, dependent upon the different situations they experience. Indeed, people have the freedom to choose and change identities throughout their life. Robins (2005) also argues that individuals need to have contact with other identities to enhance their own identity, for example an individual can define their self by determining what another person is not. Social construction theory therefore "argues against essentialized views of identity in favour of historical and cultural approaches and methods." (Kaplan & Grewal 2006: 32). According to the social construction theory: "Race/Sex/Gender/Sexuality is produced through discourses and practices in historically and culturally specific ways." (ibid: 32). Categories are already created by society and different people fit into these categories. Language is the basis on which individuals make sense of the world. Language provides us with the categories, that we use to organize events and persons and to order them. Language offers the means by which we interpret new experience. Language or discourse is "prior to and constitutive of the world" (Miller, 1997:32). The main difference between these two viewpoints is that essentialism believes qualities such as sexuality and gender are mainly determined by biological factors, while social construction theory believes that society is more influential than biology. In relation to the construction of identity, social constructionist theories are more influential than essentialist theories.

The social constructionist paradigm has underscored the contemporary society theories (such as Giddens, 1991, Beck, 1992 and Bauman, 2000) that emphasize the social nature of identity construction. The contemporary view of identity sees it as a self-reflexive, individualized, liquid endeavour that must be achieved within the context of risk. This provides a backdrop for the study in relation to the way Muslim women in my sample may be forming their identities. In terms of this research study, Giddens' (1991) theory for example brings up the concept of generation, as older generations are the ones that struggle with the new, modern world they find themselves in, particularly as the intensification of modernity diminishes the impact of tradition which is troubling for individuals. This is a phenomenon that my research demonstrated applied to the majority of Muslim mothers in particular. The late modern world (high modernity) is portentous, as it presents risks that earlier generations have not had to confront with new development occurring within scientific and technological fields. Accordingly, as tradition slowly loses its stronghold over society, the late modern self must choose a 'lifestyle'; to craft its own identity, as it is no more prescribed by tradition. Giddens' (1991) work also points out that religion (for example) can be considered a major source of tradition, and so, if tradition is losing its impact (secularization) then religion and fate can no longer be relied upon in relation to selfhood. According to Beck, we are eyewitnesses of a fracture within modernity, which is releasing itself from the delineations of the traditional industrial society and fashioning a new form – the (industrial) 'risk society'. This calls for an accurate balancing between the inconsistencies of continuity and fissures within modernity, displayed in the opposition between modernity and industrial society, and between industrial society and risk society. As Beck says himself, the risks and dangers that are bought about because of

modernization and this can impact future generations. We can apply this to religion, as it too was once considered a very fundamental controlling agency of collective groups. We are apparently living in a more secular society, thus if this is the case, then it may seem that religion can no longer offer us safety from new risks and dangers present in society. Bauman highlights how recently we have been witnesses to the astounding and devastating power of modernity. The world in which we live today is laden with risks and dangers. This study concerns Muslim women as Mythen et al (2009:748) have argued that Bauman's concept of 'liquid' identities are more likely to be found in young British Muslims, as they seem to be subjects to many uncertainties and anxieties regarding their identities. For example, they are under pressure to form a self-identity in the context firstly of being seen as a threat to society, and secondly as pressure to affirm their beliefs in the main values of their religion (ibid: 748). This can be seen in the hybrid identities of the daughters in the study.

The resources that the women in my study utilize have been shown to impact identity construction as discussed in chapter three. Therefore, in order to incorporate their influence, I will take on a similar approach to that of Michele Lamont (2002) who endorsed the view that the establishment of personal and collective identity is relational in nature. Whilst there is the opposition emphasized between essentialist and social constructionist viewpoints of identities, Lamont places herself in between these two standpoints, contending that her research suggests that identity is 'constructed but bounded by the cultural repertoires to which people have access and the structural context within which they live' (Lamont, 2002: 171). Thus, family, religion, education and Britishness bind the identities that are formed within the structural context of a contemporary society

that is fluid and liquid. The boundaries that Lamont identifies are what can be termed 'symbolic boundaries' which outline people, groups and things while excluding others (Epstein, 1992: 232). These distinctions can be expressed through taboos, 'cultural identities, attitudes and practices, and more generally through patterns of likes and dislikes' (Lamont, 2002: 172). Lamont's research study endeavoured to consider how individuals characterize themselves in 'opposition' to others in the same context, which could be a process that may be demonstrated by the women in my study. In addition, even though the postmodern viewpoint was found to be relevant in her study, Lamont argues that during her study, when considering the arguments used by participants to define themselves and 'other', instead of suggesting that this process is open and fluid; in actual fact, she discovered that there was a connection between processes of construction and cultural resources individuals have access to and the context within which they live in (Lamont, 2002: 173). Furthermore, Lamont ascertains that some forms of self-identification and boundaries are more likely to occur in one context and not in another. Although individual autonomy is still important Lamont was able to '...show that boundary work is framed by the *differentially structured* contexts in which people live' (Lamont, 2002: 173 author's emphasis). In relation to my study, the experiences of the migrant mothers differed from their daughters in their experiences of being considered British as they were not born in Britain like their daughters thus differences are apparent. Therefore, like Lamont, I showed that women in my study did not have fixed identities (in terms of the Essentialist view), neither are they completely 'free' to create or fashion identities, as they are subject to rules or laws in terms of their religious beliefs (Shari'ah Law) for instance this also included Modernist mothers who still had some restrictive practices such as modesty in clothing and

traditional domestic roles in the family. Therefore, like Lamont's participants, I showed that the women in my study construct identities that are bounded within cultural contexts, these are not fixed, but they are subject to cultural constraints.

1.6.1 Feminism and Gender Identity

Feminism becomes an awareness tool, a mechanism that allows for the rejection of restrictions placed upon women because of their gender, together with an effort to build a fully egalitarian gender system.

(Gomez-Garcia 2004: 3)

Historically, women have conventionally been deemed as lesser than men. For centuries, women all over the world have been questioning and confronting their established identities and endeavouring to create more equal and self-determined ways of being women (Jenkins 2004: 10). Feminists endeavour to highlight the concept of 'female identity' in political and social thought. While arguing that identity is socially determined (Hudson, 2003: 109) feminisms stress that the issues that women face in the construction of the self are different from those that men are facing and they also assert that women across different classes, cultures and religions are faced with different challenges. Affirming that the 'personal is always political' (Hanisch, 1969) feminism refocused our attention from institutional politics to cultural politics during the 1970s. By examining changes in everyday life as a backdrop of exertion in the reproduction of unfair power relations, feminisms concentrate on the historical relations of sexuality, sex and gender in exploring constructions of and the complex nature of personal identity and the self (Elliot, 2001: 14). Emphasis is placed on the political and economic revolution of gender relations in support of lifestyle and identity politics, with emphasis on giving importance to multiple

selves, cultural differences and gender insecurity (Elliot, 2001: 14-15). Gender, thus, is important in embracing 'identity politics'. First and second wave feminist thinking encapsulated a philosophical legacy consisting of Enlightenment and modernism. This thinking inclined to see men and women as unitary categories with generally divergent personal/political outlines and concerns, while acknowledging the range of masculine and feminine expressions. Classical theory associations are social constructionism and role performance theory. According to Simone de Beauvoir "He is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other" (1997:16). This highlights the necessity of studying the self for feminists, as being this 'Other' is to be a non-subject, the non-person, the non-agent. De Beauvoir shows how women's selfhood has been methodically undermined, devalued, and demeaned. "Otherness," she declares, is to be regarded as a "fundamental category of human thought" (De Beauvoir, 1997: 44) as "no group ever sets itself up as the One without at once setting up the Other over against itself" (ibid: 44). Thus to be a woman is to be "defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her" (ibid: 44). Gender should be seen not as a singular and obvious category but as socially active, where it is endlessly modifying under the blended impact of economic social and cultural change. Thus, gender is intersected with these other variables influencing our sense of identity. More importantly for this study, other categories of influence on gender identity include ethnicity age and religion.

As a comprehensive term, gender alludes to the *social* performance of our sex identity (Lorber, 1994). Butler (2004) contends that a gendered sense of self is fashioned through repeated performances, functioning with minimum self-reflection. Thus, like many feminists, Butler addresses the issue of a problematic female identity. The self, according

to Butler (1990), is always, staging a performance of gender, a show in which selves are established and legitimized (1990: 141). In her book *Gender Trouble*, Butler (1990) aspires to expose the performative, created character of identities (Elliot 2001: 115). She is set on revealing the violence and tautology of the idea of there being a concrete understanding of a gender identity, the belief of women and men as two separate, fixed selves (Butler, 1990: ix and 1). She considers that the conventional impression of opposing gender identities intensely restricts our sexual caches, and suppresses the psychic, emotional, intimate and social potentials for representation of the self (Elliot 2001: 116). Butler introduces the idea of the fiction of sex and gender identity in her concept of performativity:

In no sense can it be concluded that the part of gender that is performed is therefore the 'truth' of gender; performance as bounded 'act' is distinguished from performativity insofar as the latter consists in a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the performer and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the performer's 'will' or 'choice'...

(Butler, 1993: 234).

Performativity thus refers to the action of discourse upon the body and the individual, and it is the instrument that solidifies individuals and their gender identity, into 'existence'. As Butler (1993:13) maintains "[performativity] is that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names". In the opening chapter of *Gender Trouble*, Butler (1990) proceeds by questioning the ways in which feminism has structured itself as an identity-based theory. She problematizes, essentially, the very idea of a reasoned feminine sense of self. Acknowledging that the requirement of a complete subject identity has assisted feminist theory and politics in a variety of ways, she nevertheless disagrees that the time has come to break with identity politics (Elliot 2001: 116). This of course is important

because identity is constantly changing, therefore it is vital that we maintain and develop ways of examining identity formation, and in this case, the formation of female identity.

Another significant issue is the social environment: that is, how others see us is as imperative to our sense of identity as is how we see ourselves. There is always an interaction between self and society (Kroska, 2000). One way that we could learn what it means to be female and male, could be to scrutinize the gender performance of others. The understandings of masculinity and femininity are not installed into us when we are born. We learn how to be a male or female according to the particular cultural and social context in which we live. Gender role theorists have consequently maintained that these culturally specific contexts delineate what is socially acceptable for a particular gender, namely, the roles that are to be performed by each gender (Gibbons, Hamby, and Dennis, 1997). However gender relates to other crucial identity facets such as race, class, sexuality, age, status, power etc. (Juschka, 2009). Consequently gender identity is not an unavoidable outcome of our biology as Stets and Burke (2005: 128) argue:

The self influences society through the actions of individuals thereby creating groups, organizations, networks, and institutions. And, reciprocally, society influences the self through its shared language and meanings that enable a person to take the role of the other, engage in social interaction, and reflect upon oneself as an object.

Therefore, an individual is not born a man or a woman, they *become* a man or a woman through a discursively enlightened performative process in which they adopt and replicate those gender manifestations that are presented to them as a male/man or female/woman in their cultural locale.

Accordingly, role performances are decidedly shaped by society and culture. They are not fixed, they are in some measure imposed (Bushby, 2000; Warren and Lengel, 2005;

Butler, 2008). On the subject of gender, the notion of the “self in relationship” has origins in the work of Parsons (1951) and his theory of Structural Functionalism. This theory presupposes femininity and masculinity to be ‘natural’ principles essential for an ordered society. As a result, society requires men and women to perform different, but complimentary, roles seen as suitable to their sex, chiefly production for males, and reproduction for females. In the performance of these roles, the individual not only participates in a functioning society but has their gender identity authenticated and approved by society (see Morrison, 2001). Thus, the individual adopts their predestined place in a gendered society, accepting roles that both underline gender identity and influence individual happiness and social organization (see Komarovsky, 1950; Linton, 1945; Mead, 1934). However, critique by Christopher Butler (2003) shows that there is vast evidence that refuted the view that society is so ordered and established or that women and men are so fixed in their gendered behaviours and roles. Gender roles are not fixed or universal. Historically, women have conventionally been deemed as lesser than men. The values and expectations of society have propagated gender-role stereotypes that authorized men to be ‘masculine’ and women to be ‘feminine’ (Singh and Agrawal, 2007). Therefore, societies and individuals are more multifaceted, complex, and different. By aiming to locate women and men into distinct categories, the theory disregards the interrelationship of masculinity and femininity. It is not prudent to consider femininity and masculinity in the singular, but as multiple, dependent and changeable (Connell. 1995).

Not all women are the same and that the experiences of women as identified by ‘Western’ feminism are not that of a homogeneous group of women. There is an assumption that all women are spoken for and they could do this because feminist

explanations were produced by women (Cranny-Francis 2003: 55). The difficulty is that Western feminists neglected to observe that their experience, and consequently the theory based on that experience, was specific to women of their own background. Omolade (1985) noted how white feminists had not attempted to incorporate the 'history and culture of women of color' in their theories (ibid: 56). This could lead to:

...the assumption that the herstory and myth of white women is the legitimate and sole herstory and myth of all women...

(Lorde 1984: 69 in Cranny-Francis 2003: 57).

Lorde further states (ibid: 58):

As white women ignore their built-in privilege of whiteness and define woman in terms of their own experience alone, then women of Color become 'other', the outsider whose experience and tradition is too 'alien' to comprehend.

(Lorde 1984: 58).

Narayan (2008) claims that many feminists from the Third World contexts tackle voices that are ready to translate any feminist criticism they make of their culture into a meagre sign of their "lack of respect for their culture", entrenched in "Westernization" thinking. These voices originate from intellectuals whose own political standpoints are thankful of political theories such as Marxism and liberalism that have "Western" foundations (Alexander and Seidman 2008: 377). Narayan argues that the feminism she is advocating is not just a copied version of Western feminism and that the criticisms that she and others like her are making about their cultures are culture-specific. They are addressing the experiences of women within that culture, and therefore addressing the real problems that these women face. If the experiences seem to be similar between the Third World feminists and Western feminists, this unfortunately shows that there are some universal problems

that women face and that these may be experienced differently in different cultures (ibid: 380-381).

Bell Hooks (1997) distinguished two forms of 'sisterhood'. According to her, the Western model is a rather hypocritical assertion by middle-class white women that all women are sisters because they are all similarly oppressed. This masks and confuses the true character of women's diverse and multifaceted social reality. However, there have been attempts to offer a remedy to such a situation. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983: 62) also appraise the inherent feminist assumption that there is a commonality of interests amongst all women. They assert that 'every' feminist effort has a definite 'ethnic' context. Race, gender and class cannot be attached on to each other perfunctorily as they are entangled in each other and the individual intersections involved produce individual influences. One of the central developments in feminist theory has been the developing writing by women of colour and women outside the Western context. Intersectionality is a feminist form of analysis first determined by Crenshaw (1989) and a methodology for studying "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations" (McCall 2005: 1771). The theory claims that biological, social and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, ability, and other aspects of identity interact on multiple and often synchronized planes, forming factors for systematic social inequality. In the 1990's sociologist Patricia Hill Collins initiated the idea as part of her deliberations of black feminism.

Collins also created a new feminist epistemology that has had a profound effect on feminist thought. Here she developed a social constructionist view of knowledge that linked identities, standpoints and social locations in a matrix of domination.

(Mann and Huffman, 2005: 62).

By doing so, Collins was able to show how Intersectionality could be applied to all women. Collins argued that cultural patterns of oppression are bound and shaped by ‘intersecting systems of race, class, and nation’ (Collins, 2000: 42).

Muslim feminism has provided a very real and significant contribution to the understanding of Muslim women’s identities. According to Islamic feminist writers, the study of a fundamental Islamic identity exposes how masculine ideologies have transformed women into invisible aspects of Islamic history through patriarchal discursive mechanisms (Arebi, 1994; Nashat, 1999 in Gomez-Garcia 2004: 3). Women are facing many challenges and the processes of construction of their identities are influenced by many contradictory factors. In order to develop an understanding of the process of the construction of Muslim women’s identities, we should recognise that Muslim women, although they are a very heterogeneous group, often divided by economic factors, country of origin, marital status, education, all also share common experiences. This shared framework of religion, culture and migrant status is the context within which their identities are formed. In other words, the identity a woman chooses for herself can all shaped by the restrictions of the legal and social freedom marked out for her by society, and each biased mechanism (of a patriarchal nature) decreases the amount of independence she has (Shaheed, 1994: 1003).

1.7 The British Context: Muslims in Britain

Muslims were living in England already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in small numbers. However, the chief settlement of Muslim migrants in Britain took place during post World War II. This wave of migration contributed labour to help increase the British economy. During 2001 it was found that the Muslim population in the UK was

2.7% (Peach 2006: 631). The waves of migration resulted in the current size of the Muslim population 3.3 % (Travis 2008), showing a significant rise over seven years. Despite the fact that the Muslim population of Britain is comprised of an extensive range of national and ethnic groups, the prevailing groups are those originating from the Indian sub-continent: from Pakistan and Bangladesh (Schnapper and Lewis 1994: 79). The mass migration to Britain of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis began during colonialism. Many Pakistani and Bangladeshi soldiers who enrolled in the British army in the war were sent to the British Isles, where some of them began to establish themselves. At the outset, there were not many of them, until after the partition in India in August 1947. Partition caused dislocation of large populations, principally in the Punjab and Mirpur (a large number of people from this population were the ones who had joined the British army), and so they had to consider living in Britain as a future plan (Siddiqui: 2-3). Many reasons led Muslims to migrate to Britain, one of which was the construction of the Mangla Dam in Pakistan from 1961 to 1967, which dislocated 100,000 people from the Mirpur area especially. With the money they received as compensation, their relatives in Britain sponsored many and thus they came to Britain in large numbers. The original aim was to earn enough money in Britain to be able to return to Pakistan and settle there again with their families (ibid: 3). However, the majority settled in Britain. This was shown to be the case in the study by Hussein and Bagguley (2005), where the first generation of Pakistanis felt that they didn't belong to Britain and their aim was to earn money and then return back to their home country (Hussein and Bagguley 2005: 419). Gradually more and more families came to join their relations and ethnic communities, often closely echoing village and community networks from the Indian sub-continent, were created in British inner cities (Schnapper and

Lewis 1994: 80). As families began to arrive, parents had to decide what was best for their children: whether to stay in the UK or return home. Immigration laws meant that there were restrictions on unskilled migrant workers, thus those that were already here had to wanted to ensure that their children did not lose their cultural roots, and so insisted on teaching their religion to children resulting in the setup of a dwelling where their children would be taught such religion and where prayers could take place. This slowly led to the development of Muslim communities, where there would be Halal meat shops and Asian corner shops catering for the needs of Muslim families (Siddiqui: 3).

In examining the socio-economic statuses of Muslims in Britain, it can be observed that the majority of Muslim migrants entered Britain at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Many (namely Pakistani and Bangladeshi) are still to be found in semi-skilled and un-skilled sectors. Within these communities, there are high levels of unemployment, poor working conditions, poverty, poor housing, poor health and low educational achievement (Ansari 2003: 5). According to Ansari (2003: 6), many Muslims suffer from religious as well as racial discrimination. This can be translated into not having provision for Halal food, no time off for religious festivals, and allowance of time for prayers during the day and related to this, inadequate prayer facilities, and many others; with the most notable being the wearing of headscarves in schools and often the workplace. Recently, government policies can be seen to further alienate Muslims, demonizing Muslim communities, and in essence to be seen as not British (Thomas 2009).

1.7.1 Multiculturalism and Belonging to Britain

According to Tajfel (1981), it is essential for individuals to belong to groups having a sense of common history and purpose. This echoes a function of identity that assists in

providing individuals and groups with a sense of stability and continuity. One such group identification is the nation. Anderson (1983:7) classified the nation in terms of 'an imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. It is imagined because '...in the minds of each lives the images of their communion' (ibid: 7), despite individuals having no knowledge of who their equal members are. According to Modood et al. (1997), South Asian communities may find it difficult to see themselves as belonging to such an imagined community due to their perceived rejection from the majority national group. Moscovici (1988) claimed that national identity is constructed through collective representations of the group's values, beliefs and customs, socially projecting their national belonging in a communal manner. In order to account for the lack of belonging of South Asians to an imagined national identity, it could be argued that there is a mismatch between the values endorsed by the majority group (who are projecting this national identity) and those belonging to the South Asian communities demonstrated in the study by the majority of mothers. This is because the values of the majority group (white majority) are seen in a negative light, as scandalous especially in terms of family life and sexual practices (Shaw, 1994). Indeed, research on South Asian communities in Britain, predominantly Pakistani Muslims, has discovered the strong commitment they have to their separate cultural values, punctuated by their fear of the tainted Western cultural ideology, focusing their energies on upholding their distinct cultural identity in the context of the destructive effects of Western pressures (Ballard, 1994; Saifullah-Khan, 1976; Shaw, 1994). This was especially salient in the context of the 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979).

Studies that have considered this separation of identity especially for Pakistani Muslims (see (Ballard, 1994; Lewis, 1994a; Afshar, 1998; Samad, 1998 and 2004; Amin 2002; Hussain and Bagguley, 2005) have emphasized the central role played by racism and segregation. Jacobson (1997a) further argues that the experience of racism and inequity by migrants to Britain could also obstruct the creation and preservation of British national identity by them. Hence, the lack of identification with Britishness could be attributed to the absence of acceptance by the majority national group (Jacobson 1997a). Representations of South Asian migrants to Britain were mostly negative among the majority group, who thought South Asians ‘smelled of curry’ were ‘dirty’, dressed in bizarre clothes, and lived ‘packed like sardines in a room’ (Brah, 1996: 68). Despite this growing nature in early Islamophobic sentiments in Britain, the development of Muslim communities in Britain continued. Representations of Islam and Muslims in the British media echo the constructions of Islam and Muslims that are highlighted by negative connotations and associations (Ameli & Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2007). This negativity functions to further embody and position the categories of Muslim and British as separate, distinct, and theoretically contrasting categories. Consequently, identification and solidarity was sought within the ethnic community through an emphasis on shared values based on ethnicity that was distinct from the White British majority. There were two main functions for this, a source of acquiring assistance and encouragement from within the community, as well as being a form of opposition to the racism and exclusion they were experiencing (Lewis, 1994a; Afshar, 1998; Amin, 2002). Indeed, the trend was for South Asian communities to sustain close links with the ‘homeland’, which acted to define ‘their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity’ (Safran, 1991: 84). Thus the first generation

‘still speaks as if they are visitors’ (Bagguley & Hussain, 2005: 4200) who were "living but not belonging in a foreign country" (Hussain and Bagguley, 2005: 4207). The history of Muslims in Britain as immigrants shows that they distinguished themselves in relation to the native citizens of Britain by identifying with other immigrants such as those from India as they may have felt that they shared very similar ethnicities, cultural beliefs and perhaps language with them. In considering this further, Muslim immigrants may have forged identities based on what they are not, than what they actually are, a process which is reversed by members of the host society as maintained by Yuval-Davis (1993:628) where Muslim immigrants are seen as:

A cultural 'other', the immigrant or a member of another community who does not share the same myth of common origin, is constructed as an alien and consequently as a potential 'enemy' who threatens 'our' national and cultural integrity and uniqueness.

When applying this to Muslims in particular, Maalouf (1998: 34) illuminates that individuals generally have the tendency to recognize themselves through the signifier that is most attacked.

The affiliation that is a cause - colour, religion, language, class - invades the whole identity. Those who share it feel solidarity; they gather together, mobilise, encourage each other and take sides. For those, affirming their identity becomes inevitably an act of courage, an act of liberation.

Muslims in Britain have created a foundation for Islamic living through achieving success in demands that include the provision of Halal meat, prayer facilities through the building of mosques, areas within cemeteries for Muslim burials. These changes were mostly the outcome of the first generations of Muslim immigrants in the 1950s and 60s. Regardless of these moderate advancements, in socio-economic terms, the Muslim community continues

to be underprivileged. Although it is difficult to generalize about as diverse a community as Muslims in Britain, it has been observed that ethnic communities that are principally Muslim are 'one of the most deprived groups in Britain' (Anwar and Bakhsh 2003: 7 quoted in Hellyer, 2007: 233).

In Britain, the arrival of ethnic minorities in the 1960's prompted the dominant ideology of assimilation, which was concerned with the impact of Black and Asian immigration on the 'racial character' of the British, thus the impetus was to assimilate immigrant children into the British way of life (Rattansi, 1992). This phase gave way to an integrationist perspective where the government intended to provide equality of opportunity with the remit of cultural difference. (Rattansi, 1992). In order to achieve this, acceptance of cultural differentiation was proposed through the development of multicultural policies. The main premise behind the establishment of multiculturalism which emerged in the 1970s, was focussed on the education system; more specifically to extend the curriculum to incorporate 'mother tongue' teaching, the history of black people and culture, different forms of dress, and to raise awareness of non-Christian religions, festivals and diet requirements. However, it was criticized by anti-racists for not concentrating on the more critical social inequalities between cultures, and was satirized for being obsessed with 'saris, steel bands and samosas' (Modood and May, 2001; Troyna, 1987, 1993). Bhandar (2009: 321) takes this further:

Cultural practices and traditions, festivals, dance, music, food, and clothing have all been embraced within a multiculturalism that not only tolerates difference but celebrates it in the form of commodification and consumption.

Regardless of the development in multiculturalism within Britain since the 1980s, Muslim hardship and marginalisation has not only persevered but, there has been an overall increase in anti-Muslim prejudice and Islamophobia within Britain (see Modood, 2003).

During the Rushdie uproar and the Gulf war, destructive depictions of Muslims as 'fundamentalists', ignorant and fanatical people who are a threat became conventional in Britain (Lewis, 1994a and 1994b; Samad, 1998). Thus, as Samad (1998) argues, Muslims became the new 'folk devils' as these images were used by the media during the 1995 Bradford riots. Recently, such images have remained, fortifying negative stereotypes of Muslims, leading to a rise in Islamophobia. Back et al., (2002a and 2002b) acknowledge that since New Labour had come into power in 1997, considerable improvements had been made in terms of legislation. These included the Human Rights Act (1998) the Macpherson Report (1999) into the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) which endeavoured to reinforce the 1976 Race Relations Act following the recommendations of the Macpherson Report (Back et al., 2002a and 2002b). However, as Kundnani (2007) notes, the events that took place in 2001 altered public discussion, Multiculturalism now became associated with a discordant society, accused for providing the environment for Islamic fundamentalism. Thereafter, the focus of government policy diverted from the advancement of a multicultural equality to the formation of new citizenship practices for minority groups under the 'community cohesion' agenda (Cheong et al., 2007). The concept of community cohesion was expounded to illuminate the disturbances in 2001 in the North of England, and to designate future policy guidelines. The analysis argued that there endured an extreme spatial and cultural ethnic separation, exemplified as 'parallel lives' (Ritchie, 2001), where an absence of adequate interaction

unavoidably promoted divided anxieties and a lack of shared identities. However, this community cohesion policy agenda used by the government has been criticized as endorsing assimilation, with blame levelled towards British Muslim communities in particular who are conceived as a specific problem to be handled (Worley, 2005). These policy methods indirectly propose that the character and strength of Muslim identity within Britain is problematic and needs to be confronted. A great deal of emphasis is positioned on Muslims' 'self-segregation' and religious 'extremism' (Kundnani, 2007), and policy have been directed explicitly at young Muslims so as to socialize them into 'good' citizens, especially in terms of democratic political participation and community engagement (Cheong et al., 2007).

Not only is the process of Multiculturalism seen as problematic for Muslims in general, many have argued that it was particularly detrimental for ethnic minority women (Beckett and Macey, 2001; Okin, 1999). Okin (1999) for example, using a radical feminist position, argues that in certain conditions multiculturalism can be anti-feminist, as well as in contradiction to women's interests overall. Okin claims there are elementary contradictions and conflicts between an obligation towards gender equality and an aspiration to respect and accommodate the customs and traditions of minority cultures.

Most cultures are suffused with practices and ideologies concerning gender. Suppose, then, that a culture endorses and facilitates the control of men over women in various ways (even if informally in the private sphere of domestic life). Suppose, too, that there are fairly clear disparities in power between the sexes...They substantially limit the capacities of women and girls of that culture to live with human dignity equal to that of men and boys, and live as freely chosen lives as they can (Okin, 1999: 12).

She contends that particular policy under multiculturalism has allowed and prolonged the distress of ethnic minority women (such as female circumcision being practiced in France in the 1980's). Beckett and Macey also cement this point stating:

Multiculturalism does not cause domestic violence, but it does facilitate its continuation through its creed of respect for cultural differences, its emphasis on non-interference in minority lifestyles and its insistence on community consultation (with male self-defined community leaders. This has resulted in women being invisibilized... (2001: 311).

This shows that patriarchal dominance is given licence through multiculturalist agendas. Nonetheless, Okin has been criticized; Herr (2004) offers a robust condemnation of Okin's standpoint by declaring that practices (such as female circumcision) are criminal atrocities that would be attached to individuals committing them and not a whole culture in the Western context. Muslim Identity in Britain

In considering the identity of Muslims in Britain, Ramadan (2004:9) calls attention to the fact that there is no 'Islamic theology' as is found in Christianity; Islam is regarded as a 'relationship' between god and the individual, perpetuating the idea that demonstrating faith in Islam is natural and essential for human beings who definitively belong to god.

Above and beyond the diversity of their national cultures (Muslims), the essence of their faith, their identity, their being in the world, is the same; they define themselves on the basis of points of reference that explain their sense of belonging to the same community of faith, and at the same time, more profoundly, root them in the universe of Islam.

Ramadan (2004:9)

Thus, it is not uncommon to hear followers of Islam describing Islam 'as a way of life' something which should be considered unique to the religion of Islam. Khalidi (1992: 26) contends that 'All religions claim at one time or another not only to what and how men

worship, but also to how they behave...’ Religion may consequently be viewed as affecting all decisions and actions taken by individuals. Since the 1990s, research has observed the increasing importance of religion as a marker of identity among Muslims especially (Lewis 1994, Greaves 1995, Gilliat 1996 Jacobson 1998). Hussain (2008) cites the work of Hutnik (1985) as being the first empirical indication to identify this change towards an intensifying attachment to faith as a principal identity marker among Muslims in Britain. The Home Office Citizenship Survey (2001) demonstrated this trend after 1990 by showing that for Muslims religion was a more significant marker of identity than ethnicity (O’Beirne 2004: 20). British Asian identities are constructed in the context of culture, religion and ethnicity (Ramji 2005 in Ramji 2007: 1172). According to Halstead (1986), Muslims in Britain rely on Islam as a supplier of identity, transcending national origins. Consistent with empirical studies (see Dwyer, 1999, 2000, Ramji 2007) there is an aspiration among second and third generation British Muslims to differentiate their ethnic from their religious identities. The character of Islam and ‘Muslimness’ amid these groups can be examined and reviewed in the light of inter-generational change, which is a central aim of this research study.

1.8 Conclusion

Definition issues associated with the use of the term generation demonstrated the need to develop a more inclusive definition to be used in the study. An implication of this is the possibility that the study could contribute to a more informed understanding of generational differences between Muslim mothers and daughters by ensuring that both generational experiences are discussed rather than one generation (usually the older) as being implied by focusing on the other (younger). There is difficulty of applying the notion

of 'generation' to any research as Kertzer (1983: 142) contends: '...the term continues to be employed in a polysemous manner guaranteed to sow confusion'. Contemporary schools of thought, such as postmodernism, in emphasizing idiosyncrasies, differences and multiplicities, both within and between the all-inclusive schemes of male and female, robustly contests any assumptions of a *priori* self, a natural gender order, or an ontologically fixed identity. Beck (1994) and Giddens (1992) indicate that reflexivity takes on significance as individuals turn to the self-construction of life narratives. They do this to enrich the risk felt from the ontological insecurity occurring from the collapse previously accepted *trust systems* which seemed fixed in early modernity but are weaker now. In the authentication of our identities we are today facing countless and limitless risks, a world where nothing feels constant or secure, wherein we are left to challenge the uncertainty at the core of our beliefs can be regarded as a predominantly critical condition of the late or postmodern age (Beck 1994, Giddens, 1992 and Bauman 1991). The conception of lives and selves as 'narratives' is central to postmodern thinking. Although our self is created in the active and impulsive effects of discourse, by re-experiencing and re-telling these as "texts of everyday life" (Parker, 1994: 56) we make ourselves into being and therefore feel real. Our lives become stories with us at the centre. However stories are just that, stories. For instance McNay says: "the narrative structure of self-identity is neither authentic nor ideological but an unstable mixture of fact and fabulation" (2000: 94). Invariably what these discussions demonstrate is that there are no concluding statements to be made on identity. The components of identity are too multiple, diverse and conditional for that (De Francisco and Palczewski, 2007: Francis and Skelton, 2001; Shepard and Walker, 2009). More importantly, gender identity can never be entirely unbiased. Gender and of course

sexuality do not come to us exclusively by choice; they come essentially with obligations, expectations, and in some cases harsh social and political conditions attached. The notion of ‘woman’ as a category intersected by class, race, ethnicity, culture, sexuality has performed a crucial part in contemporary feminist theory (see Healey, 2009, Cornell and Hartman, 2006, D’Angelo and Douglas, 2008). It is the complex intersection of these multiple realities (Schutz, 1967) that represents the subject “woman” into actuality.

Muslim presence in Britain has come with a history of intolerance, exclusion, racism and ‘otherizing’ that has arguably contributed to level of participation they have had within Britain as a whole which allows the study to examine the view that the position of Muslims in Britain can be seen to embody ethnic identities whose creation and preservation encompasses ‘ethnic, religious, gender, generational and socio-economic influences which intersect and interact with each other...’ (Macey, 1999: 852). Therefore, the chapter aimed to show the connections between the intersecting factors that influenced the construction of the identities of the women in the sample which further highlight the fluidity and multi-faceted nature of identity in general. The existing study of Muslim identities in Britain has focused on the ethnic nature of identity formation, often homogenizing Muslims to belong to fixed categories of ethnic origin. The focus of existing empirical research into Muslims has been primarily limited to a few key areas. Firstly, it has focused on the experiences of the young generations of Muslims, focusing on how they may utilize religion in an active means of asserting and Islamic identity (see Ramji, 2007). Secondly, the consideration of Muslim women has in effect focused on female sexuality and the importance of the veil (Ahmed 1992, Amin 1928, Franks 2000, Mernissi, 1987). This is not to deny the importance of veiling in empirical studies, however there is limited

comparison between mothers and daughters in relation to patterns of veiling and the understanding of the role of sexuality in their Islamic identities. Thus, with generation being identified in both kinship and cohort frameworks, this research study endeavours to contribute knowledge to the active creation of Muslim identities by mothers and their daughters, looking at how they may be intersected by factors such as generational differences, religion, education, familial relations and Britishness. The following chapter will examine the contributions of existing literature on our understanding of Muslim women's identities, highlighting the significance of the resources of religion, education, family and Britishness for the formation of Muslim women's identities.

Literature Review: Sources of Identity Construction for Muslim Women

It is important before the presentation of the present study to consider the significance of previous research as it assists in providing a context for further study as well as determining what is missing or identify areas that need a more developed understanding of Muslim women's identities. In this chapter, I present a review of existing research and literature that focus on the resources available to Muslim women in the process of the formation of their identities. While examining what has already been offered in terms of understanding the unique nature of the identity of Muslim women living in the UK, this chapter emphasizes the main components that seem to hold importance in shaping the lives of Muslim women's identity in Britain, namely that of family, religion, education and Britishness. As this is a very wide and exhaustive field, I divide my presentation into two sections; the first considers the private sphere, looking at the roles of family and religion on the identity construction of Muslim women. The second section presents literature relevant to the public sphere, examining the resources of education and the British context. The final part of this chapter brings together, in a compact way, the main conclusions from these research studies and literature in relation to the process of the formation of Muslim women's identity.

1.9 The Position of Muslim Women in The West

Existing studies show that there are misconceptions and uncertainty concerning the role of Muslim women today that may lead to the stereotyping of Muslim women in Britain as a whole. Such stereotyping have been shown to include the idea that being

Muslim is almost like being in a prison, keeping Muslim girls locked in religious and cultural cages, hindering them from having opportunities such as education and career development (Basit 1997). Basit furthers this view in her study, presenting occasions where parents would often grudgingly send their daughters to school, demanding certain conditions such as separate PE lessons and prohibition from sex education, and Halal food (religious-specific dietary requirement). This is compounded by the observation that parents often restrict their daughters' access to compulsory education, after which they are whisked away to their parents' home countries to have an arranged marriage (Basit 1997). Priority is also attached to their religious behaviour. In particular it has been observed that, 'knowing' a Muslim woman comes from the idea that she is 'seen' because she wears a hijab (veil). Therefore, her decision to veil as a form of modesty, of concealment, in truth makes her detectable as a Muslim woman and demarcates her in public perception (Sylvester, 1994, Winter 2004). Muslims girls and women are argued to be receiving increased coverage especially from the media, due to the Islamic dress issue, with cases in France of young women fighting for the right to wear their religious dress in schools to the Jack Straw controversy in 2006 involving women who wear niqab as a hindrance to face-to-face communication in Britain; consequently this has often questioned their identity and attempted to define it at the same time. It is also shown that individuals believe that you may identify a Muslim woman by the fact that she demonstrates having knowledge of Islam or Shari'ah law (Mayer 1995 in Brown 2006: 417). This shows that there is a clear need for the extensive research already being undertaken in order to ascertain the misrepresentations of Muslim women to be applied in a public setting, so that these misrepresentations can be addressed.

Afshar (2008) connects the way Muslim women are perceived in Western society to Edward Said's (1977) concept of 'Orientalism'. Orientalism involves the West 'otherizing' the East, producing a distorted image of the East. The East is seen as mainly primordial, exotic and strange, the home of mystics, with a backward population of idle men and inferior and mute women (Afshar 2008: 412). Within this framework, the East is understood to be inferior and primitive, and the women to be fascinating, enchanting and exceedingly dangerous (Stott 1992). These images and ideas continue to be relevant in the present construction of the Islamophobic identity of Muslims in the West and Middle East (Afshar 2008: 413). An example of one such images existing in the West occurs when Muslim women invoke:

...a vision of heavily veiled, secluded wives, whose lives consist of little more than their homes, their children, and the other women in the harem or immediate kinship circle.

(Gerner-Adams, 1979: 324 in Mabro and El-Solh 1994: 4).

Literature offers a more recent example of how images of Muslim women within a Western context affect how they came to be perceived came during the aftermaths of 9/11 and 7/7, where Muslim women who were covered in Islamic dress were singled out as the living example of backwardness and fearful subordination (Afshar 2008: 413). A number of attacks that Muslims were subjected to after 9/11 were on women who cover (ibid: 419). This discussion is furthered by the view that the preconceptions engendered by travellers to the Muslim world who have viewed Muslim women as ill-bred infidels, or exotic beings whose attraction was enticingly hidden by layers of clothing, could be seen to influence the present-day assessments of Western people of Muslim women (cf Mabro 1991 in Mabro and El-Solh, 1994: 4).

A notion held among some members outside of Muslim communities according to literature is that to be Muslim is to be an Asian, and therefore to be a foreigner. It has been shown that white British people “especially resented Asian and especially Muslim people, whom they see as importing a foreign culture into their country” (Commission of Racial Equality, 1998: 5). Current terrorist activity has additionally been argued to have intensified the sense of having borders and racism, with the media contributing to this (Brown 2006: 421). This trend does not seem to be abating; it is argued that the current upsurge in immigration and ethnic diversity has been extensively attributed for the declining British identity. Immigrants are the most visible emblem of globalization (Castles 2000) and thus can become a focal point for this acrimony and antipathy, with multicultural policies also being blamed ‘for promoting and undermining shared values’ (Sales, 2012: 37). As Ahmed (2004) describes, the veiled Muslim woman opposes the values that are central to being part of a multicultural nation. Consequently, being noticeably ‘non-assimilated’ in a multicultural society can cause veiled Muslim women to be seen as ‘standing out’ inciting profound feelings of need, rejection and apprehension within the majority ‘white other’ culture. Literature on Muslim veiling has argued that the Muslim woman's insistence to be ‘different’ by wearing the veil is understood as a denunciation of the welcoming the multicultural ‘host’ society (see Ahmed 2004). Afshar (2008: 420) shows that one such threat to British society in particular is that in the practice of veiling, there is an avoidance of the male gaze. Western society often engenders a belief that women be the object of the ‘gaze’, where the male looks and female is being looked at. The interference caused by the hijab to this gaze is principally apparent when a woman is totally covered. Thus, Islam has been described as defining itself as viewing the female

body with antipathy. Accordingly, it is argued that the reality of living in the West must be considered not only in relation to media images, but also the reality of the social and cultural hardship experienced by Muslim women who may be experience being placed in a ‘site of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the “Other”’ (Hall, 1997: 238).

In terms of the engagement Muslim women have had with British society, it has been determined that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK have very low rates of economic activity especially in relation to their Indian counterparts (Brown, 2000, Dale et al 2002; 2006, Modood et al, 1997). Thus, this lack of participation in the public sphere could indicate a lack of desire to integrate with members of society, to be closed and thus self-isolating. This has been argued to lead to Muslim women to be seen as embodying this Muslim ‘Other’. This is further conveyed through Muslim women being regarded as voiceless victims of their ‘backward’ communities the need to be ‘saved’ by the rational ‘West’ (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Zahedi, 2011). Literature therefore shows that the reality of living in the West, whilst not only in relation to media images but also the reality of economic, social and cultural hardship must be considered. One such aspect of is that women are effectively barred from any public and political life and that legislation relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and adultery locates women at a severe disadvantage. Therefore, when considering how Muslim women are portrayed in the Western context, their identities are seen to be defined by their dress, their visible representation of their religiousness. As previously argued, multiculturalism has been seen to engender racist and discriminatory attitudes, (Afshar, 1998; Amin, 2002; Lewis, 1994a) with women affected by unfair patriarchal practices given privilege under multiculturalist policies of non-

interference (see Okin, 1999; Beckett and Macey, 2001); their identities in the West are circumscribed by discourses of suppression and oppression, lack of choice, and their religious subjugation by overly masculine patriarchal practices of concealment. This is the perception, what then, is the reality?

1.9.1 The Private and the Public Spheres

The public and private dichotomy has long been the object of considerable attention for feminists throughout history. Hannah Arendt's seminal discussion of it in *The Human Condition* 1958 established the traditional definition of Private and Public. The private realm is one of necessity, where the needs of biological functioning are met. According to Arendt; there is no room for human action here, because there is no freedom here. The private realm consists of work and labour and in the family hierarchy is delineated with the male as the head (1958: 30). The realm of the public was argued to be the space of appearance where an individual went to observe and be seen. It is also the space of freedom. It is where individuals are free and have the opportunity to develop their views with the exchange of thoughts and views with others. What this shows us is that the private and public spheres can be seen to be in opposition to each other. The private sphere is a specific segment of societal life in which an individual experiences a measure of authority, unimpeded by intrusions from governmental or other institutions. Examples of the private sphere are family and the home, and for this research study, I have included the practice of religion. The philosophy of separate spheres dominated thought about gender roles in feminist writing. In the supposition of the division of gender roles into separate spheres, women's place is in the private sphere, where they are responsible for family life and the

home. Men's place was in the public sphere, with them being involved in politics and the world of work (Cott, 1977). McDowell (2004) argues that women and men experience space and place differently and that this diversity plays a part in the 'politicization' of place, space and time. This is because of the historical and social organisation of space and time. Therefore, an example of this would be that of the public and private spheres, by which women and men have, historically, been allocated a principal role or in either the domestic (private) or employment (public) spheres. As Hearn (1992) contends, this arrangement may appear historically 'natural':

"Men" and "women" and the "public" and "private," are as they are in a balanced complementary. Similarly, the private and the public domains are seen as separate realms, and division between them is given. (1992: 30).

The perception here is that women's biological condition as the bearers of children is at the core of the public/private division. Broadly speaking, men are the person in charge in the public sphere because it is in their masculine nature to be, whereas women are carers in the private sphere because it is in their feminine disposition to be so (See Horrell, et al, 2008). Patriarchy therefore can be seen to thrive generally from women's continued assignment to the private, domestic sphere, permitting men with the space, time and chance to inhabit authoritative positions across the public sphere (Crompton and Mann, 1994 Hearn, 1992). Despite this, it is shown that private and public sphere roles are to be regarded as changing and are not as static or fixed. Women are working now; family structures are changing with father-only parent families, therefore both the private and public spheres are important for the development of identity. Indeed, the different spheres that we belong to

and interact in help delineate us and our sense of reality (Baumeister, 1986). Accordingly, the literature and existing research on the identity formation of Muslim women takes note of this diversity. Research by Laurie et al (1999) shows how young British South Asian Muslim women performed the most “appropriate femininity” subject to whichever context they were in at the time. The home and the school all have separate systems of behaviour and these young women understood that and thus able to navigate their identities. Similarly, young British south Asian Muslim women were engaged in “strategically managing such expectations, and even subverting them (Dwyer, 2004: 132), moving almost effortlessly between conventional Islamic behaviour and manifestations of self in one context, to clear “Western” codes of identity in another.

1.10 Muslim Women in the Private Sphere: The Family

Family has been acknowledged as ‘generally the most salient in-group category in the lives of individuals’ (Lay et al., 1998: 434). According to literature (Ballard, 1979; Ballard, 1994; Shaw, 1988; 1994) South Asian families are principally close-knit, unified entities and family allegiances are intense. Relationships within a South Asian family are based on hierarchy. The elder members of the family command respect. Prominence is also placed on the honour of the family. Migration patterns have ensued with the crumbling of the extended family structure. Many second-generation Muslim migrants have therefore been raised in nuclear families, not having first-hand experience of the intensity and intricacy of living within an extended family. For example, Modood et al (1994) demonstrated that the extended family was significant for first generation South Asians. In comparison, South Asians in the younger second generation in their study placed more importance on the immediate family. Furthermore, members of the second generation had

friends that were not part of their community, yet, their closest friends were South Asian. This indicated that the second generation of South Asian youths had a greater amount of social contact with white British people than the first generation (Stopes-Roe & Cochrane 1990). The family unit functions under assigned roles with a sense of shared solidarity, thus there is less meaning placed on an individual identity (Basit, 1997). Hence, the interests of the group have priority over those of the individual members. This concurs with Verma and Darby's (1994) account of the British Bangladeshi community in the 1990s '...that is to say that its members perceive themselves not as individuals but also as members of a group - the family' (1994: 45). Thus, Bhopal illustrates that marriage in South Asian families as 'an arrangement between two families, not two individuals' (1999: 120). In Muslim communities, the honour and wellbeing of the family are regarded as more valuable than the interests of an individual. Therefore, women in the family are not expected to create a sense of self, her responsibility is to maintain family honour. One of the most permanent notions is that the family structure is believed to be fixed as it is deemed to be divine (Mernissi, 1987: 18). Muslim marriage is seen to be rooted in male supremacy. The desegregation of the sexes endorses Islam's alleged creed on women's position in the social order, that is that women should be under the rule of fathers, brothers or husbands, seeing as women are judged to be a damaging element, they are to be spatially restrained and kept out from affairs other than those of the family (ibid: 19). The existing inequity is the upshot of particular social institutions intending to contain a woman's power, that is to say, isolation and legal inferiority within the family structure (ibid: 19). Muslims believe there is an inescapable discourse based on the Qur'an which encourages the husband to take on the role as the family head which consequently can be

seen as an opportunity for the manifestation of the male masculine identity (Siraj 2010). The notion of this separation affords the foundation for distinct gender roles in the family and is normalized by hierarchically defined entitlements and duties (Savaya and Cohen 2003).

Ballard (1982) underlined the gendered structure of family as a dominant feature of Muslim community traditions. He charted the advantaged position of males; male family members were given precedent over females. Thus, female children of a family were not, permanent members of their family because at marriage, daughters left their home and to become part of their husbands' family (Ballard, 1982). Dwyer (1999b) maintains that generally, British Muslim girls are socialized early to ensure that they internalize their future roles of being wives and mothers. This is primarily based on the view that they will undertake domestic tasks in the home. This performance of domestic chores is regarded as an exemplary form of appropriate femininity. Kandiyoti (1988) poses the question of whether we should view the endorsement of an Islamic identity as subversion or an authentication of the patriarchal agreement. Kandiyoti (1987) expounded that women's approaches differ across communities and classes because the form and means of patriarchy varies. Patriarchal bargaining deals consequently exercise powerful influences on determining gender ideology and on the possible form of women's active or passive opposition. Kandiyoti additionally illustrates that in times of economic change, the character and form of patriarchy is broken down and altered, and subsequently a woman's status changes (Kandiyoti 1988 in Brown 2006: 418). So what does this mean? It seems to suggest that women are acquiescent in the preservation and continuation of patriarchal structures as they support them through their action and struggles. An example of such

preservation can be the exclusion from the public sphere and the constriction of their roles to that of a domestic and familial nature (Marshall, 1984: 12) which women undertake. This takes us to the idea of ‘gender complementarity’ (Rahman in Brown 2006: 418) which is the conviction that gender differences are naturally and socially constructed so that men and women’s relationships are corresponding and work in agreement. This is based in Islam. For Muslims living in Britain, the home is argued to be the place for teaching cultural knowledge, religious teaching, language, history and an essence of identity to children (Lloyd Evans and Bowlby in Gilliat-Ray 2010). With women, being regarded as essential in this role, it is claimed that:

...feminine space is the space of the home. It includes spaces for women and for their close male relatives, and is a domain into which the entry of other men is restricted. Spaces outside the home are largely masculine.

(Mohammad 1999: 30 quoted in Gilliat-Ray 2010: 137).

There is clear distinction not only between men and women, but in terms of ‘space’ so that the private ‘space’ of the home is designated as the woman’s domain, whereas the public ‘space’ is that of men. This division is not only seen as religiously endowed, but also for the preservation of male dominance.

Elliott (1996) locates family at the heart of the processes cultural identity construction, and portrays different family arrangements and values as crucial distinguishing characteristics of different ethnic groups. Whereas it is commonly accepted that women in the UK still preserve the role of caring for children, this gender based division of child-care is much more evident for Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities. Bhopal’s (1999) study of South Asian women in east London established that many treasured family traditions which encompassed practices of arranged marriages, because

they signified a distinguishing South Asian cultural identity. Berthoud asserts that ‘it is diversity between minority groups which is their most striking characteristic,’ and ‘nowhere is this diversity more apparent than in family structures’ (Berthoud, 2000: 2). Beishon et al.’s (1998) appraisal of the values and attitudes fortifying family life among ethnic groups in Britain revealed that Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were the most traditional. The parent generation especially saw multi-generational households as a model way of living. Younger Pakistani and Bangladeshi adults were also largely in accord with living in an extended family situation, though a few mentioned that it may be more advantageous if parents lived nearby rather than within the same household, in order to preserve a sense of privacy and independence. They found that overall; interviewees of South Asian communities distinguished their families as very different from white families, and were disparaging of white parents who they perceived to lack dedication to parenting, which they regarded as nurturing unruliness and an absence of respect among the young for their parents and elders (Beishon et al., 1998). The importance of values in Muslim families is not more so important than those in relation to family honour. There are many studies that have examined the concept of ‘*izzat*’ (see Afshar 1989a; Brah, 1993; Knott and Khokher 1993; Bhopal, 1999; Ahmed, 2001; Robinson 2005; Peach 2006 Werbner 2007; Abbas and Ijaz 2010) how this concept effectively ensures the women’s role in maintaining the reputation of the family and themselves by preserving their honour, ‘if a daughter steps out of line, she not only jeopardizes her own respect in the community but her parents’ social standing’ (Bhopal, 1999: 121 see Afshar 1994). One way such control can be exercised is the problem of domestic violence. These issues are seldom discussed in relation to Islam. Research on domestic violence shows that approximately

5% of “ethnic minority” women faced domestic violence at some point in 1995 (Home Office, 2003: 55 based on Mirrlees-Black in Brown 2006: 422). Kewley (2000: 129, 141) remarks that the pressures upon female victims of domestic violence belonging to a racial or religious minority group are increased leading to a double jeopardy based on gender and race. There are many reasons leading to this: first, social and cultural segregation, second, the victims do not have knowledge of rights and of English, and third, the victim’s immigration/residential status, probably is dependent on her partner. In the UK immigration law, it has to be confirmed that people can sustain themselves without depending on public funds. Consequently a woman endeavouring to leave a violent marriage may find her residency under assessment. Nevertheless, the Home Office argues that changes initiated through the Family Law act of 1996 have made major advancements to Muslim women’s capability to confront domestic violence (Home Office 2003). Women’s experiences with local state agents decide their capability to safeguard themselves and freedom from domestic violence. Local state agencies like councils and the police, in an attempt to adopt multiculturalism, and anti-racism, are often unwilling to get involved where Asian women are concerned as they are directed by the impression that the Asian community have their own internal means to settle marital problems, and often refuse Asian women the advice and help open to other women (Brown, 2006: 422).

In summary, the literature shows that Islamic discourses do not deviate from ideas across different Islamic interpretations that place women at the centre of Muslim identity both religiously and culturally (Afary, 1997). The attachments between family members in patriarchal systems are unequivocally hierarchical: the woman’s role within the family is demarcated in relation to men.

...to sustain male izzat, wives, sisters, and daughters must be seen to behave with seemly modesty, secluding themselves from the world of men. The ideas of shame thus reinforce the formal hierarchy of relationships within the family'

(Ballard 1987: 186).

Their roles as mothers see women as the biological creators, the transmitters of 'religio-culture' to future generations, and the bearers of group identity. This leads to shared interest in the management of women's bodies and sexualities (Kandiyoti, 1993; Yeganeh, 1993; Afshar, 1994; Yuval-Davies; 1997). Thus, Islamic concepts of family life see this as essential in the preservation of social order (Yeganeh, 1993; Afary, 1997). The preservation of 'the Muslim family' necessitates and is a channel through which sexual control reproduces the community both biologically and culturally. Thus, female chastity safeguards the desire for children to be conceived by 'women [who] are not only biologically but also symbolically within the boundaries ... of the group' (Yuval-Davies, 1992: 285). British Muslims identify the crucial significance of a strong family life and valuable education for the future transmission of Islam. This may account for the insistence placed by Muslim families to sustain, defend and reinforce the role of the family as well as their Islamic values from the perceived threat of the destructive influence of British society in terms of damaging this role (Bunt in Gilliat-Ray 2010).

1.11 Muslim Women in the Private Sphere: Religion

According to literature religious philosophies have, historically, been the most persistent, influential, and the most dominant in terms of creating our identity and sense of belonging (Daly, 1985; Nawal El Saadawi, 1997). According to Rahman (1982), Islam can be distinguished into two types, folk Islam and modernist Islam. Folk Islam in essence

is traditionalist/conservative Islam, in that it is bound by traditional customs, inflexible and unchanging (Hassan, 2001: 134). The Muslims that follow such an Islam do not seek change or reform and are content to observe the status quo. Watt (1988) further claimed that for traditional Muslims intellectual criticism and objective scholarship is seen as 'problematic' and even blasphemous as these encourage departure from the 'idealized and romanticized notions' of Islam (Hassan, 2001: 133). The conditions of modernity (and for my study postmodernity) and globalization act as a threat for traditionalists, some of whom are in fear of losing their Islamic identity through the 'Western' pursuit of knowledge (ibid: 133). Thus, traditional world views are those associated with the pre-modern era of society where there was a dominance of religious belief and authority and thus individualization did not exist as people were more likely to follow religious authority figures. In this era, everything is fixed and change isn't desired or welcome. For Rahman, the other part of this dichotomy is modernist Islam. It is more 'intellectual' as knowledge-gain is a very important part of this worldview, and open to change and modification which can be achieved by using general religious principles from the Quran applying them with the social conditions of the time (ibid: 134). For Watt (1988), the Muslims that seek to reform traditional aspects of Islam are 'liberals'. The foundation of this worldview is to re-interpret the Quran in accordance with the current social conditions of society, especially the idea that a modern society will have difficulties if it is based on Shari'ah and that faith is more symbolic than literal. Therefore, liberal Muslims are more amenable to change and view knowledge-gaining as important in this respect.

In religious philosophy, women's and men's identities are already deemed as determined. In effect, religion has already determined what represents the gender and

sexual identities of men and women. Many feminists argue (see Daly 1985 for example) that religions are essentially patriarchal and, undeniably, that they exist not really to offer spiritual comfort but to authenticate a patriarchal state that dominates women and emphasizes their economic, social and individual minimization across all spheres of society to the advantage of men. Millet (2005) contends that one of the tools used to employ power over women is to place the female as sexually 'impure' needing to be protected from her own innate desires, as well as protection for men from her also.

...Patriarchal religion and ethics tend to lump the female and sex together as if the whole burden of the onus and stigma it attaches to sex were the fault of the female alone....

(Millet 2005: 51-2).

Consequently, while the female identity is supposed and endorsed by religion to be the 'other', impure and shameful, men are presented with a powerful medium for male privilege and power. Mohammad (1999: 225) asserts that the importance of women in Muslim communities in relation to identity re-construction and safeguarding:

...intensifies collective interest in the regulation of women's bodies and sexualities through measures, which focus on both the body and the psyche, visually, spatially and temporally.

Accordingly, Mol (1976: 137) suggests that 'the family constructs identity, and religion sacralizes it' (Gilliat-Ray 1998: 348). The concepts of shame and honour are fundamental to an awareness of relations between men and women, however as Rozario claims:

...honour is seen more as men's responsibility and shame as women's...honour is seen as actively achieved while shame is seen as passively defended, resulting in different expectations of behaviour from men and women.

(Rozario, 1992: 86 in Mabro and El-Solh 1994: 8).

This therefore suggests that there has to be an element of control when insisting on women to guard against shame.

Nonetheless, for many Muslims, their faith operates on a psychological level as they refer to God when finding themselves in situations where they may be helpless. Praying gives them the ability to contend with what they consider to be unmanageable and inconceivable (Rizvi 2007: 335). Modood et al (1994) observe that 'religion had a particular relevance for ... Asian ethnic identities' (1994: 63). With reference to Muslims, they state:

it seems that for many of our Muslim respondents Islam is the core social identity, meaning not that it is always the most prominent aspect in all contexts but rather that all other significant identities and identity-shaping practices are not incompatible with it' (1994 : 62).

The Ummah (universal Muslim community) becomes significant through systems of communication in local communities, and thus something to rely on (Brown 2006: 419). This makes it clear that Islam may not be simply set aside as insignificant in the gendered experiences of Muslim women. In practice, religion still offers individuals the capacity to forge identities in any given context. Greaves (2010) argues that for first generation of Muslims religion held a practical role as an identity marker essential during the process of community building. Researching the role of religion and identity among young British Pakistanis, Jacobson (1998) perceived that developing religious identities extended from devout devotion to minimal attachment or those who were a cultural, 'non-practising' Muslim. She further argued that young British Pakistanis reject ethnicity, which were connected with the traditional cultures of the elder generation in support of what they

judged to be a more 'authentic', faith-based identity enlightened by a textual interpretation of Islam. There is growing acknowledgement that, for second and subsequent generations, Islam can provide an evocative source of identification especially when the homeland identification of their parents means very little (Alam and Husband, 2006). Dwyer furthermore contended that 'the possibility of evoking Islamic authority within particular circumstances reveals how individuals negotiated their gendered diasporic identities on a daily basis, drawing on different discourses and opportunities' (Dwyer 2000, 482). For Modood (2010) arguing that religion is not only belief based religion, where an individual as the potential to reject it, it is a comprehensive cultural tradition, a system that one is born into.

Dwyer (2000) illustrates how young Asian Muslim girls in Britain were able to use religious vocabulary and symbols to defy parental pressures and to claim access to new opportunities, such as better choice in marriage partners (Dwyer 2000: 483). One of the most triumphant tactics implemented by Muslim women is to insist upon the separation of culture and religion so as to contest conventional marriage arrangements. Some claim that Islam sanctions assisted marriages but prohibits forced marriages; however parental assistance in marriage choice is sometimes exploited because of an absence of knowledge about Islam. Forced marriages survive owing to culture (Brown 2006: 421). In order to make the assertion that forced marriage is wrong, Muslim women are pinpointing in the holy texts of Islam and contradicting legitimacy of practices developed in Muslim history. This opposition to specific practices relies upon Muslim women being familiar in Islamic literature and scripture, and in order to publicly avow this position they assume an openly Islamic identity and behaviours that signify claims to surpass culture. The Quran and the

Hadith are the principal sources of encouragement for women's rights, and it seems that it is crucial that a person should be able to read the Quran. Dwyer (2000) also established that many of the young Muslim women in her study were extremely aware of the expectation placed upon them to be the protectors of cultural and religious honour, whereas future mothers, they were required to replicate the parental culture they had themselves experienced and were continuing to experience (Dwyer 2000: 477). This was very much felt through the concept of maintaining *izzat*, that is, family honour. The girls are regarded as key players in the preservation of this *izzat*, it is practiced through the monitoring of their behaviour, clothes (this refers to the idea that she is suitably dressed in 'Asian clothes' that hide her body from the male gaze), and the places they can and can't go. This was reinforced by the community, where their behaviour was policed by family members and neighbours as well as some young Muslim men (ibid: 478). This community supervision was fundamental in making certain the chastity of young women (ibid: 479). Thus for many young women, their identities can be produced by familial expectations of 'appropriate femininities' (Dwyer 1999c), which guarantee that the behaviour and dress of young women are severely scrutinized. These customs are endorsed through patriarchal discourses, demarcating young women as protectors of cultural and religious honour (ibid: 481). Ramji's (2007) study of young British Muslims showed that Muslim women seemed to occupy conflicting positions. They have been viewed by non-Muslims as both exotic and attractive, and at the same time, as passive, subjugated victims of their patriarchal cultures (Ramji 2003). In her 2003 work, Ramji argues against the belief that Muslim women are subjugated because they are torn apart by two opposing spheres, those of the family and work. She also criticises the idea that Muslim women have little or no freedom

to make choices in their lives. There is an active involvement by the women in producing their sense of identity (Ramji 2007: 1174). Adopting Bourdieu's concept of social capital, she argues that the young people in her study use religion as a form of a precious cultural capital in order to define themselves religiously (ibid: 1175). Inherent to the achievement of Muslim women's rights from within Islam is a right to, and reliance on, education. Undeniably, it is British Muslim women's access to state established education which facilitates this approach. This is because compulsory education until 16 and adult literacy programmes may have presented the analytical and literacy skills to potentially know Islam in this way (Brown 2006: 422).

1.11.1 Shari'ah Law

All the same, what must also be acknowledged, according to Muslim feminists like Mernissi, in terms of the religious significance for women's identity, are the laws and traditions that ensure that women's status continues to be one of suppression. These laws are the foundation stone for Muslims to live their lives by and are generally known as *Shari'ah*. The Shari'ah is a system of law developed from the Quran and from the teachings and standards of the prophet (PBUH) (Klausen, 2005). The overseeing of Shari'ah law is the assignment of Islamic religious scholars, structured in Shari'ah Councils. Shari'ah Councils developed in Britain in the 1980's, generally regarded as an expansion to the services delivered by mosques. These councils provide three primary roles: they pursue settlement of matrimonial or familial differences; they deliver religious divorce certificates; and they construct reports and expert judgement for civil courts (Gilliat-Ray 2010). Individuals can accept the advice of such organizations on a truly voluntary basis. Bano (2007) ascertained that 'women's experiences of marriage, divorce,

and family and community relationships were messy, fragmented and complex' (Bano 2007: 65 in Gilliat-Ray, 2010: 143). This is essentially because the working of these councils tended to depend on very traditional suppositions about women's roles in Islam. The place of Islamic religious law in relation to British society and its institutions has been a constant theme for discussion. Many Muslims in Britain view the obedience to Islamic law as part of living in accordance with the way they should as ordained by God. Muslims consider two types of behaviour as bound by the Shari'ah: individual duties *in relation to* God, and individual duties *with reference to* society (Ansari 2002). These laws are justified using the religion, where Muslims affirm that 'Islam is a complete way of life' signifying that all legal issues have been ordained by religion in the first place. Thus to be considered a true Muslim, one must agree and adhere to the sanctions that are made upon them by Shari'ah law. The lifting of Shari'ah to the level of religious holiness means that it cannot be questioned, or disputed by any ordinary Muslim believer i.e. women in particular (Shaheed 1994: 1002). As Sen (2005: 48) explains:

...codes of honour serve to construct not only what is meant to be a woman but also what it means to be a man, and hence are central to social meanings of gender. Honour is thus intrinsically linked to norms of behaviour for both sexes and predicted upon patriarchal notions of ownership and control of women's bodies.

The proposal made in 2008 by the Archbishop of Canterbury that certain parts of Islamic legal procedure (particularly in relation to family law) could be acclimatized together with English civil law has been contentious. The main impetus why was that he introduced a central issue about whether British Muslims Shari'ah Councils should continue to be semi-independent, confidential and generally informal, or become more officially accepted by the majority legal system (Gilliat-Ray, 2010). There is some support

for the idea of Shari'ah law having more official controls in the state's legal system. Klausen (2005) however showed that women on the whole were less supportive. They forcefully championed freedom of choice to espouse religious law – but without the option of legal restrictions in relation to behaviour. The question arises is there support for the formalizing of Shari'ah Law into British legal systems by Muslim communities? On the one hand, it has been argued that this may not be so widely accepted because matters such as family issues are generally seen as private. Also due to the experiences of racism and discrimination by Muslim communities, it could be accepted that

...the secular authority of Western law may lack legitimacy and moral standing to deal with any intricate matter of obligations that may arise in the context of a personal law system

(Werner 1993 quoted in Yilmiz, 2001: 298).

Nonetheless, racism and discrimination could also account for the desire to implement official Islamic legislation in relation to family matters as a way of counter-acting the discrimination they perceive to have been victims of (Yilmiz, 2001).

There is an inclination within discourse that examines Muslim women to regard them as 'passive victims of oppressive cultures' and as the 'embodiment of repressive and fundamentalist religion' (Dwyer 1998: 53). This can be seen when Muslim women wear the veil, and are considered to be oppressed by their religion Islam into doing so. This idea of covering modesty, as it is often called, is considered a fundamental part of Islamic culture. Muslim women are, as said by Archer (2002), 'carriers of culture' and representatives of collective honour (Rizvi 2007: 327). Identifying a Muslim man by his dress is often impossible; the women through the hijab authenticate the potency of the Islamic nature of the group they represent (Franks 2000: 919). According to Rizvi (2007)

Muslim women who are secluded into the home and kept away from the outside world have to turn to men because the men are observed to be more open to the elements of the world away from the home, having superior familiarity of it. However, it has been argued that veiling has no endorsement in the Quran (Wadud-Mushin, 1993:10, Karam 1998: 134). Wadud-Mushin makes a cultural interpretation of the hijab as offering all Muslim women, not only those who find themselves in the wealthier positions in society (i.e. middle class), the right to modesty (Wadud-Mushin, 1993:10). Stowasser (1984) contends the spatial meaning of the hijab as ‘the sum total of practices connected with the seclusion of women’ (Stowasser, 1984: 32 in Franks, 2000: 919). Thus, Mernissi sees the veil as an instrument of male supremacy:

...to make women disappear, to eliminate them from communal life, to relegate them to easily controllable terrain, the home, to prevent them from moving about, and to highlight their illegal position on male territory by means of a mask.

(Mernissi, 1982: 189 in Mabro and El-Solh, 1994: 9).

For Mernissi, the veil does not only symbolize the segregation from the world of men for Muslim women, but scathing attempt at controlling the sexual identity of Muslim women; in societies in which there is no means of supervision and force of women’s behaviour, the notion of female sexuality is submissive (Mernissi 1987: 30-31).

In short, Islam can be seen to embody convention, assigning excessive significance on tradition. In an ideal world, Islam is more than just a religion to its believers. It is a system of meaning that pervades all facets of their life. As Norcliffe states:

For the Muslim all of a person’s life is for God and any division of life into secular and religious aspects has no warrant. . . . Islam is a total system, an ideology, which guides the Muslim through every aspect of life, both as an individual and collectively (1999: 2).

Existing literature demonstrates that religion can be a significant defining component of Muslim identity. Other elements of identity formation such, gender or national belonging can be treated as subordinate to religion. The prominence of religion as a marker of identity has also been established in statistical form by the PEW Global Attitudes poll (2006) in which 72% of Muslims in the UK said they thought that Muslims have a very strong or fairly strong sense of Islamic identity, with 77% stating that this sense of identity was growing, with 86% of Muslims deemed this as an encouraging development.

1.12 Muslim Women in the Public Sphere: Education

The role of education in relation to gender differences has been well studied in terms of determining the importance of education and the achievement of aspirations; particularly in the case of girls (see Cornell, 1986, Oakley, 1975, Riddell, 1992, Sharpe, 1976 and 1993, Wilkinson, 1994). Bulbeck (1998) has indicated the tremendous importance of education for enhancing the access of women to the economic sector, to reproductive choices and healthier lifestyles, to understand their legal rights, and to a richer cultural life. Schools are locations where diversity of identity can occur, where the interaction between class, lifestyle and taste come into full sight. Advanced analyses of the ways in which Muslim girls construct their identities within British schooling frameworks have encapsulated intricacies, tensions and paradoxes within their experienced realities (Afshar 1989a, 1989b, 1994; Basit, 1997, Haw, 1998, Shain, 2000, 2003). Such research looking at the role of education for Muslim girls, asks a very important question: is there a separation between the aspirations of home and the school? (Basit, 1997). If so, are the aspirations of home shaped by religion and culture, and the aspirations of the school shaped by the Western society that they live in? (Basit, 1997: 4). This point has been

considered further by Shain (2003: viii) who claims that matters of freedom and control have once more positioned women at the centre of the debate as, the symbol of cultural boundaries, with the Hijab considered to signify supreme control and constraint of women by men. A growing number of studies have emphasized how younger, British-born and educated South Asian Muslim women are benefitting from educational opportunities, using these as a mean to upward social mobility (Basit 1996, 1997; Ahmad 2001; Dale et al. 2002a, 2002b; Ahmad, Modood, and Lissenburgh 2003). Afshar (1989b) demonstrated in her study of Muslim women in West Yorkshire, the contradictory nature of education in the lives of the younger generation of Muslim girls. They were born and brought up in West Yorkshire; therefore Afshar observed that they were seen to be ‘losing’ some of the key aspects of their parental culture like speaking their mother-tongue language, due to the English they were learning from school and media, stating that ‘...the young they prefer to speak English. They find they have little use for the language of their parents, except when dealing with elders’ (1989b: 265). This also impacted the passing on of religious customs, which was of concern to the mothers as ‘it is the women in the family who see it as their duty to inculcate religious values and practices in the family’ (1989b: 266). This did lead to tension between mothers and daughters, as mothers tried to convey discourses of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ in relation to the host society which did not always equate with the daughters because of education providing alternative viewpoints (Afshar 1994: 136-7). This tension was furthered by the mothers expressing worry over the influence of the media on their daughters, which were negated by the daughters (ibid: 137-8). Yet, in spite of these tensions, education was generally regarded as important by the mothers for their daughters despite their disapproval of the host society in which this education took place, ‘Yet the

children were sent to “their” schools and trained by “their” teachers...’ (Afshar, 1994: 139). This was compounded by the mothers insisting that their daughters do well at school in order to impress the teachers as ‘...teachers in particular are highly respected, their view endorsed by the parents and their disapproval feared’ (Afshar 1989b: 263). This was because the mothers recognized the roles played by teachers and the school ‘in determining the future paths of the children’ (ibid: 263). It was left to the daughters to work through this confusing myriad of values and beliefs from their mothers, as well as from the education system that discriminated against them via racism (Afshar, 1994). In turn, the conflict also ensued with parents wanting their daughters to do well in education on the one hand, whilst having the burden of expectation placed on them to strive to be good wives and stay at home (Afshar, 1989a). Afshar concluded that despite the opportunities education offered, these ideals of motherhood and marriage had indeed been internalized by the daughters:

Nevertheless all the women interviewed saw themselves as the moral and cultural anchor of the family and all saw marriage and child-bearing as an unavoidable and desirable stage in their lives.

(Afshar, 1989b: 271).

Afshar’s work laid the foundation for understanding the experiences of Muslim women in relation to education, family and generational differences. Her research highlights the inherent difficulties of children of immigrants having to negotiate between different cultures, expectations and personal life choices. The education system, providing knowledge and experiences that were not reconciled with those of their mothers did not deter from the adoption of traditional roles and expectations enforced by families, and mothers in particular. It would be interesting to see if this indeed was a continued trend as

Afshar believed that unless changes occurred, this situation would not alter (Afshar 1989b: 271).

Basit's research aimed to investigate how these Muslim girls were affected by the world around them. This empirical endeavour presents an important stand against earlier studies which tended to stereotype and portray Asian girls and women as submissive, shy victims of a 'backward' and severe cultural and religious values (see Gilroy, 1997, Parmar, 1998). Basit shows us that the British Muslim girls in her study view education to have an important role to play in their futures. This is mirrored by their parents, who also want the daughters to do well and make the most of opportunities they may not have had themselves. The school, as a provider of education, serves as a means of attaining some form of future. Another key factor that we can take from Basit's research is that the Muslim girls cannot be seen as simply passive receivers, but active participants in their own educational choices. They are able to navigate and manage different identities within their own social worlds, whilst recognising the relative importance of each group in their lives (Ibid: 111). In relation to this, the Muslim girls in the study showed a desire to continue on in the education system. The study also showed that teachers have some very extensive misconceptions about Muslim girls which could influence the way they treat Muslim girls and the way Muslim girls see them. The teachers felt that they were coming to school for reasons of escape, whilst the parents felt that their daughters simply liked going to school. The girls mainly enjoyed coming to school for social reasons, i.e. to meet their friends. There was some acknowledgment of gaining a decent education from some of the girls (Ibid: 111). This shows that there was a recognition that the girls had very little

opportunity to meet their friends outside school hours, thus bringing into the fore the idea of lack of freedom for Muslim girls.

In her research, Shain (2003) attempts to challenge the misconceptions held in Britain of Asian girls by providing true to life accounts from the Asian girls themselves (Shain 2003: ix). The main focal point of her analysis was the strategies utilized by the Asian girls to cope with their experiences of schooling and society. From her scrutiny, Shain identified a number of strategies that the girls constructed to deal with their experiences of the schooling they received. These were constructed into four categories firstly, the resistance through culture, secondly survival, thirdly rebellion and fourthly religious prioritization (Ibid: 55). A fifth strategy of resistance against culture was observed in the pilot study but not in the main study. This strategy involved Western values and styles being favoured over the traditional home cultures, including active resistance to such traditional values. They saw unequal gender relations as a source of oppression, demoting the importance of racism as a lack of integration. They viewed themselves as different from other Asian students through their mixing and befriending people from other ethnic groups.

Research highlights the importance attached by of the parents of young Muslim women to the role of education in their children's lives. Shaikh & Kelly's (1989) study of the educational attitudes of South Asian Muslims living in the North, established that parents considered single-sex education as essentially significant for their daughters, particularly fathers. Mothers were more likely than fathers to contemplate education for the intentions of gaining appropriate employment. Accordingly both parents regarded education in a positive manner. Osler & Hussain's 1995 study carried out in Birmingham

discovered that mothers displayed a great dedication to their daughter's education, regardless of whether the school was Islamic or state. The opportunities afforded to daughters because of the education they obtain as such were judged more valuable and beneficial than not having any education at all. The reason for this could be because of their own educational circumstances. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK have had lower levels of educational qualifications than other ethnic groups. Amid women born abroad, English proficiency inclines to be at a low level (Modood et al, 1997). Thus, as the first generation of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women arrived in Britain, they lacked educational and occupational qualifications, and had limited fluency in English, their daughters, having been born in this country have been educated here. Therefore they are more fluent in speaking English and gaining qualifications that were not obtainable by their mothers, as well as being living with to Western cultural values (Dale et al., 2002). Table 1(appendix three) shows the number of people, according to their ethnic background and their class destinations by the class origins (Platt 2005: 15). There can be gathered differences between the minority groups. One reason for this, is the possibility that as the parents came to Britain from a low class position, they want their children to do well in the education system, and thus chose to come here for that to occur, seeing the children attain a higher social position compared to themselves. In table 2 (appendix three) it can be seen that the Muslim population is relatively less educated over all (Peach 2006: 642). The table shows that approximately 40% had no educational qualifications. This trend seems to have continued as in 2004, 33% of working Muslim adults had no qualifications in Britain (appendix four). Khanum (1992) showed that whilst South Asian parents incline not to support educating their daughters for the employment reasons, education has become an

asset for parents and their daughters in the marriage market (see also Afshar 1989a). This would seem to suggest that for these parents, despite the potential education could provide for their daughters, the priority was placed on the role within the private sphere. Religion, as argued previously, is also particularly important for young South Asian Muslim women who may distinguish their experiences of education almost exclusively from the perspective of the religio-cultural sphere in which they live. It has valuable consequences for how South Asian Muslim women explain their positions in education (see Dwyer, 1999). In summary, from the literature it can be established that, generally, South Asian parents do value education for Muslim women (Abbas 2003; Shain 2003; Tyrer and Ahmed 2006; Hussain and Bagguley 2007). There is a growing body of research that considers Muslim women's educational experiences at higher education, showing that Muslim women had job aspirations and had strong parental support also (Ahmed 2001, Housee 2004, Taylor and Ahmed 2005, Hussein and Bagguley 2007). The Muslim women represented in higher education can be seen to signify that ambitions held by Muslim schoolgirls can be attained.

1.13 Muslim Women in the Public Sphere: Britishness and Belonging

The sense of belonging to Britain and the importance of Britishness can be regarded as significant aspects of influence in relation to the identity formation. British Muslims are at the forefront of questions in relation to what it means to be British. Muslims are commonly viewed negatively by host majority communities in comparison to other religious groups (Voas and Ling 2010: 78). In Britain, the increasing interest in religion stems from both awareness within the ethnic minority groups of Islam and from its amplified international characterization (Abbas 2007). Therefore, it can be argued that

religion sets in motion the most perceptible difference between Muslims and members of the host society (Jacoby and Yavuz, 2008: 4). In Britain, impressions of cultural and social classifications of the “Other” arise from an awareness and experience of imperialism and colonialism (Said 1979). On the other hand, studies have shown that Muslims in Britain feel that the reason for their sustained presence as an unwanted and often shunned minority is based on the presence of the “evil demon”: the media (Abbas 2000, 2001). Research shows that much public discussion on Muslims, particularly in the media, centre on Muslim women. Politically, the hijab is a sign that Muslims ‘are a problematic minority refusing to integrate’ (Werbner, 2007: 163). More specifically it has been claimed that: ‘Discussions of gender mark Muslim immigrants as different from majority society’ (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2009: 222). Diehl et al. (2009: 281) observe that there is a typical contention that ‘Muslim immigrants are ill-equipped to adapt to Western norms of gender equality’. In the experience of migration, the identity of new arrivals and certainly established communities may be challenged, frequently leading to immigrants feeling the necessity to maintain their original identity rooted in memories from their native country. This desire to retain values and identity from the countries of origin are maintained, for example, through policing female behaviour, by safeguarding that women preserve the group’s ethnic identity. Anthias and Yuval Davis (1992) maintain that although identity and culture are not fixed, the woman’s body is the site over which identity is affirmed and culture is sustained. Such communities, if subjected to discrimination in the host societies, may potentially hold fast to traditional and (often) patriarchal values, turning inwards and “continue exerting pressure on females by holding on to patriarchal values which are remnants of a rural/feudal culture” (Akpinar 2003: 428).

In consequence, migrant women are more likely to have less harmonized identities than non-migrant women as they experience the additional intricacy of changing nationality. They have advanced across geographical and national boundaries to a place where upon arriving they are identified as 'different' and an 'ethnic minority' (Winter 2001). Consequently, religion has been shown to be an 'ethnic marker' making a distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. This leads to a united identity, where Muslims have an 'us against them' approach towards their host societies (Jacoby and Yavuz, 2008: 4). In causing fear and unrest, the veil, in the context of the British society, can have this inadvertent effect of drawing the non-Muslim gaze and in this respect it transforms the woman into an exhibition. The veil thus generates unease in some non-Muslims (Franks 2000: 926). In taking this idea further, Brah (1996) speculates on the ways in which transnational migration creates 'diaspora spaces' in new places of settlement. In these spaces, culture, class and communities become challenged 'sites' which are redesigned when 'individual and collective memories and practices collide, reassemble and reconfigure' (Brah, 1996: 193). So when individuals are involved in transnational mobility, a process of identity re-examination occurs because the accustomed cultural positions that strengthen identities are dislocated in new and different places (Butcher, 2009; Song, 2005; Zine, 2007). So, as Brah (1996: 196) states: 'Diasporic identities are at once local and global'. Diasporas, therefore contain some idea of longing (to return), or even a memory of a homeland that may be real or imagined in order to act as a connection between multiple communities of separated individuals (Clifford, 1994). Not all women feel they need to distance themselves from their host societies. In Rizvi's (2007) study, the Western media formed an imperative bond between the Pakistani women

interviewed, their British citizenship and their being British. This led them to feel that Britain was becoming like their 'own country', where they used the media to keep up to date with what was going on in Britain and elsewhere in relation to Britain. This helped to preserve and fortify their identity (Rizvi 2007: 330). Rizvi's participants also experienced a deep sense of belonging to Britain and appreciated their British citizenship. In the UK, Pakistani women felt they had a better sense of freedom than compared with their counterparts still living in Pakistan. They felt that being British permitted them to live a more 'sophisticated' life. It was a source of immense pride and good luck (ibid: 334). For Muslims in Britain questions of identity and belonging have been influenced by events such as 7/7 bombings in London. In his research, Rizvi (2007) claims that that many Muslims, especially women; feel that such events may endanger their long established bonds with Britain, with grave consequences for the next generation.

Generation is a significant factor in diaspora experience, possibly more than any other factor. Whilst first generation of Muslim migrants did hope to return home after earning satisfactory amounts money (Anwar 1979), but this is not the same for the younger generations, who affirm their identity as British .This leads to a very important factor that will be of interest in my research; the importance of generational differences. One of the key points that has been noted when reading the literature related to generational difference is that evidence is emerging that the second generation and successive generations of young Muslims born in Britain feel a deeper sense of belonging to Britain and are happy with accepting a British identity (Lewis, 1994a; Modood et al. 1994; Ghuman 1999; Hussain and Bagguley 2005; Werbner 2007). In their study of British Pakistani youth after the 2001 riots, Hussain and Bagguley (2005) argue that the second generation of British

Pakistanis relied on accepted ideas of citizenship and rights to affirm their identities and sense of belonging (Hussain and Bagguley 2005: 408). This shows that generation is as Edmunds and Turner (2002) have claimed is a noteworthy group whose experiences sets into motion a shared identity that means that its members act in historically significant ways (ibid: 409). A sense of belonging comes in two forms, those that are considered insiders and those that are considered outsiders. Applying this to the participants in their study, Hussein and Bagguley observed that the second and subsequent generations born in Britain felt that their citizenship was assigned to them as they thought it was their 'natural right' because they were born here (Hussain and Bagguley 2005: 410 - 411). Thus, the citizenship identities for the older generations are fragile, transitory, for the British born generations; their British citizenship is 'central to their self-understandings and assertions of who they are' (Hussain and Bagguley 2005: 411).

The younger generations in Hussain and Bagguley's study challenged the ethnocentric notions associated with the formation of Britishness counter to their parent's generation. The younger generation's impression of Britishness was more of a practical notion, based on the ideas of being born and living in Britain (Hussain and Bagguley 2005: 415). This is in contrast to the first generation, who feared being deported back to their home country, and articulated that their inability to access and utilize the English language meant that they could be separated (as 'aliens') from the majority of society (white people) augmenting a feeling of anxiety and insecurity (ibid: 418). The younger generation also recognised that their parents had differing views of what was considered to be their 'homeland'. Their parents initially perceived their arrival to Britain as a temporary measure, looking to earn money and then eventually return back. This is not the case for

the second generation, who claim that being born in Britain was very important to them as it helped to construct their identities as citizens and their sense of belonging. An element of the emotional response among the first generation was focused on the memory of 'home', linked with a longing to 'reproduce' and preserve their culture in a British context (Werbner 2009). Consequently, it could be argued that feeling disconnected from their countries of origin and perceiving themselves to be almost like aliens in an unfamiliar culture may drive many Muslims to express themselves first and principally as Muslims. The younger generations look upon themselves as citizens of Britain, but a lot of them have also come to see themselves as members of religious, racial, ethnic and linguistic groups (Hussein and Bagguley 2005: 414). Accordingly, the participants in the study developed their own perception of identity and citizenship, adapting the notion that an individual can possess a multitude of identities such as being British, Pakistani, and Muslim (ibid: 415). The existence of a multiple identity such as British Asian, British Pakistani contest established creations of national belonging for the host majority. By delineating Britishness as citizenship, young generations defy the illusory restrictions of a British identity. As Britishness is often equated with the ideas of 'Englishness' or 'Whiteness', these new forms of identities adopted by younger generations of Muslims, men and women, undermine such symbolism, which have long since been regarded as fixed (Dwyer 2000: 476). Thus, generational differences in belonging are clearly demonstrated by existing literature.

1.14 Traversing the Public and Private

Shifting of boundaries between public and private, as a result of social, cultural and technological changes, has recently been the focus of many studies (Roessler, 2005) it has

also entered research in relation as Herbert (2003) claims that the margin between public and private can be both contentious and to a certain extent contrived. It could be argued that the meeting of religion with identity is complicated and introduces significant questions both in relation to public spheres recognized as being secular and in situations where religion is deemed to perform a major role in defining the public sphere. This can be demonstrated by Muslim women, who can play an active role 'at the interface between the public and private spheres' (Thapar-Bjorkert and Sanghera, 2010: 247). Although previously features of religion were carried out in the private sphere, being a Muslim has now taken on a more public disposition. Two ways in which this has occurred as demonstrated by literature are firstly the veil, and secondly the hybridization of religious and British identities.

The hijab can be an articulation of identity politics, used to send a message in the public sphere. This message may not necessarily be a religious one, but about difference and a right for public acknowledgement. In additions, the hijab may be practised as liberating or oppressive by different women residing in the same society, and is determined by factors such as religious belief, class, income and everyday realities of living. This state of affairs is reinforced in Britain amid the many women who wear the hijab for a variety of diverse motivations. Franks' (2000) research showed that they wear the hijab through choice as an illustration of their religious faith and allegiance and for the benefits they feel that they receive from wearing it (Franks 2000: 927). The wearing of the veil doesn't necessarily always act as a form of control over women, and is not necessarily an emblematic rejection of modernization. The hijab as an item of clothing, whilst delineating her as separate, presents a Muslim woman with the option to travel between the private or

familial and public fields and to be an outsider in the public world of men (Franks 2000: 919). This shows and endorses what Dwyer (2008: 140) contends, which is that veiling needs to be comprehended ‘as an embodied *spatial* practice...’. The wearing of the veil can also be a way of uniting conventional family customs, education and employment. Ahmed (1992) claims that the veil may also be an expression of a feminist position, supporting female autonomy and equality in a diverse way from those of the West (Mabro and El Solh 1994: 11). Some observers who envisage that the very act of veiling may entail some aspect of choosing to be freely characterized as Muslim, saw this action not only as ‘threatening to the very fabric of society’ (Barry 2006: 26) but also an act of anxiety and thus a precarious action (Moore 2006 in Afshar 2008: 420). Women who veil ‘are publicly branding themselves as Muslims at a time when such a label carries the potential fear of making them vulnerable to open hostility’ (Afshar et al., 2005: 262).

Processes of identity formation in the post-modern epoch have been associated with commodification. Through consumption, individuals are involved in the construction of their identities in different ways. Post-modernity questions faith and restructures belief through social renovation in the everyday context because of the consumption of commodities (Turner, 1994). The presence of the veil into the world of fashion underscores this commodification process. The multiple meanings attached to the veil defy the opposition of ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’, which can be seen from the fusion of dress embraced by Muslim women which sees them as veiled and fashionable. As Tarlo (2007: 145) states,

...contrary to what might be assumed their stylish Muslim appearances are products, not so much of inherited religious or cultural traditions as of the interplay between local

circumstances and global forces which has contributed towards the emergence of new forms of Islamic cosmopolitanism in which fashion plays an important role.

When examining the idea of clothing analysis of clothing a Goffman's presentation of self can be applied. Clothing can be regarded as a prominent tool for communicating and articulating meaning and values. 'Clothes both affect and express our perceptions of ourselves' (Crane and Bovone, 2006: 321). Through clothing the female body is used to exemplify the 'abnormal', a 'stranger among us', an radical stereotype, symbolizing the notion of terrorism (Meer et al., 2010). Dwyer (2008) maintains that clothing works to represent Muslim women's identity dependent on the type of clothing they wear.

...wearing "English" clothes is a signifier for active sexuality, rebelliousness and modernity while "Asian" clothes suggest morality and ethnic integrity.

(Dwyer, 2008: 144).

This means that clothing is not only used by non-Muslims to demarcate women, Muslim cultures also use the female body and clothing to establish appropriate moral expectations of sexual behaviour. Tarlo (2010) argues that being a 'Visible Muslim' is expressed in the way young Muslim women and men convey their sense of identity and faith through their dress, whereby they construct new practices of Islamic fashion and visual identity. Thus, the veil functions in many ways within the context of a British society. As Alibhai- Brown (2000: 216) maintained that to see the veil 'merely as a symbol of subordination would be to miss the subtle dialect of cultural negotiation'.

Consequently, we have to be aware of the role of Islamic dress, functioning as a means of difference as well as of holiness; control public comprehension of Islam as well

as Muslims and identity (Brown 2006: 418). Mernissi (1994) (see also Mabro and El-Solh 1994: 8-9) claims that there are two forms of partition through veiling which take place in Islam. The first is an 'architectural' type entrenched in the Quran pertaining to the division between the private and the public domain. The second type of veiling involves dress and respectability in the Quran. The Quran has a requirement placed on men and women to practice modesty, yet special emphases are namely placed on the women to be modest in everyday life (Franks 2000: 918-919). In her study of young British Muslim men and women aged 18-30 years, Ramji (2007) showed that the young men endorsed the religious notions typically held by Muslim communities; the male's responsibility to ensure that the female remains modest and therefore covered, whilst he himself is in charge of providing financially for women. The major indicator of the male's success of meeting his responsibilities was how well the women in their lives carried out female modesty. This Islamic form of modesty practiced within a British framework was identified as a way of defying a lifestyle that promoted females, making themselves sexually attractive as much as they wanted. Wearing the hijab was a way of conquering this. The young men also felt that the public domains of society belonged to them as part of their Islamic capital. Thus we can conclude from this that religion could be a tool for acquiring a prevailing gender identity (ibid: 1176 and 1177). The female respondents in Ramji's study were more interested in securing religious capital to help establish firmer identities for themselves. They recognised that education was one area in which females were generally doing better in and this offered them hope of establishing better status' for themselves in their communities. Demonstrating that they could use the Islamic doctrines to their advantage, showing that they had a better education of their religion than perhaps their mothers did;

they wanted to be more actively involved in their own identity formation, not to discard Islam altogether but to reclaim it for themselves as Muslim women (ibid: 1181 and 1182). The young women felt that internal religiosity was more important than external symbolism of modesty. They were particularly vehement about the hypocrisy shown by Muslim men on the concept of modesty, stating that modesty was to be judged by action not by covering oneself from head to foot (ibid: 1183). Therefore, the veil has many meanings in both the private and public sphere.

In the examination of the generational nature of sense of belonging, it would be worth taking into consideration that British South Asian Muslims have arrived at the third generation; therefore, it can be argued that there has been a move from cultural and social integration to religious identity over ethnic identity. Studies of Asians in Britain (for example, Anwar, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Shaw, 1988) denote that first generation Asians applied 'separation' from their host society as a manner of working and living in Britain. The foremost reason for this was that first generation South Asians believed that as they had differing languages, religions, family values and lifestyles they would not match with the host majority. This was not the case for subsequent generations. Numerous studies of first and second generation Asians in the UK (Afshar 1989a; Ghuman, 1991, 1994; Drury, 1991; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990; Jacobson 1997b) describe inter-generational tensions and concerns. Afshar (1989a) for example shows that in her study of Pakistani women in West Yorkshire, there were tensions between mothers and their daughters in relation to culture differences, life choices and expectations within Western values, denoting the impact of generational difference. For instance:

For the Muslim daughters the problem of accommodating contradictory public and private ideologies became virtually insoluble. In part these reflected the parental dilemmas of raising daughters who had to meet both the cultural norms imposed by the familial group and to acquire the skills and education required to make them successful and employable in the host country. (1989a: 213).

Faulkner (1975) anticipated that the younger generations would reject their Asian identity in support of British cultural norms. This discourse used language such as 'Culture clash', 'identity conflict' and 'between two cultures' which Brah (1996) criticized as depicting Asians as confused, disordered individuals which she felt was not reflected in evidence. For her, this discourse supposes culture to be unchanging and uniform, one 'Asian' and one 'British' culture, when evidently these categories are distinctly different. It also "disavows the possibility of cultural interaction and fusion. There is no a priori reason to suppose that cultural encounters will inevitably entail conflict" (Brah, 1996: 41). Werbner (2002) perceives that even though some young British Muslims feel part of transnational communities, they do not essentially have to choose between two distinct cultural worlds but rotate between them imaginatively by modifying and incorporating features from their paternal culture, language and behaviour to fit in with the context they find themselves in. Indeed, Basit (1997: 28) illustrates from her study of Muslim girls in schools, that they are

...constantly redefining their identity by looking critically at its Asian and British components and subsequently adopting and adapting aspects of both cultures to construct their identity. ...contextualise their identity and decide when and where to be British and in what circumstances to be Asian

This has led to what is described as 'hybridised' identities, with young people 'mixing and matching' the best from their parental cultures and selecting a variety of hyphenated self-

identifiers which include 'BrAsian' (Ali et al., 2006) or British Muslims. Young people belonging to ethnic minority groups like Muslims have been therefore described as 'skilled cross-cultural navigators' (Parekh, 2000: 29) who are able to draw upon different cultures including their own and that of Western culture to create a sense of identity. In relation to Muslims, 'new ways of living and the process of gradually becoming a part of British society have to be ultimately justified in terms compatible with a Muslim faith' (Modood et al., 1997, in Parekh, 2000: 31). As Winter (1999a: 22-23) stated:

British Islam is becoming more British with every passing year... British Muslims are also Muslim Britons; they belong within the recognised UK cultural spectrum, but also as part of the transnational community of Islam which is now increasingly self-aware

Existing literature also shows that there may be class differences in relation to younger generational identity formation. Working class Muslims have been shown to accentuate a religious identity based on defying their parents' cultural values to create their own separate Islamic identities (see Dwyer 1999, Macey 1999). For the more middle-class South Asian Muslim young women and men, however, the existing literature (see e. g. Samad, 1998 and 2004) proposes that they emphasize their ethnic as opposed to religious identities. This social-class differentiation among second-generation ethnic minority youth could be result of lower parental control implemented by middle class parents, middle-class backgrounds, negating the need to defy the parental culture parental through the use of Islam (see Dwyer, 2000). Furthermore, Samad, (2004) argued that middle-class youth are more likely to foster relationships with their parent's countries of origin due to the family trips made there, their families being able to afford numerous trips there. The generational shift from an ethnic to a religious identity, actually, has been deemed to be representing assertiveness among the younger generations (Afshar, 1998, Macey, 1999;

Dwyer, 2000) while the older generation, have continued to be excluded from a British national identity (Dwyer, 2000; Hussain and Bagguley, 2005).

1.15 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the key issues that have dominated existing research on Muslim women and their identity. In order to understand the process of formation of Muslim women's identities, we need to have some knowledge of their common context as well as their individual ways of using available resources in this process of identity construction. Firstly, we notice that Islam does have a part to play in the formation of identity. Muslim women's identity is used as a marker for the identity of the whole Muslim community. Defining women, by default defines men, and the most glaring way this is done (by men in some viewpoints) is through physical means, namely the process of veiling. The most predominant is that of suppressing and controlling female sexuality. Female sexuality has been seen as dangerous, as well as tempting and in fact a very real threat to social order. In order to protect the social order, women must cover themselves. But this is not the only object they are protecting. They are also protecting the male. They are protecting him from becoming distracted from his religious duties by this unruly female sexuality. Thus, it can be questioned whether veiling is in fact a religious duty, or more of a coping strategy against the limitations imposed by men. Similarly, religion, culture, community and family can also determine the identity of Muslim women. The law, (it has been claimed by Muslim feminists) known as Shari'ah, has systematically discriminated against women, from the ideas of marriage to divorce. This mainly is due to the fact that law is religiously grounded, therefore it is difficult to challenge. Nevertheless,

women are more likely to be treated unequally due to cultural and patriarchal practices than anything else.

In the chapter, we have also noted the importance of family, religious education, and Britishness resources Muslim women are using in the process of constructing identities. The family acts as a vehicle for patriarchy to reduce and even to suppress female self-determination. The community reinforces this by acting as another source of control, a form of surveillance, ensuring that female behaviour is observed and controlled at every level. Essentially, the family is shown to still be a patriarchal institution. In terms of education, it seems that Muslim girls use education for a variety of reasons. Some utilize it for social means, a place where they can meet friends and socialize. Some of the girls in the reviewed studies saw education as a means of escaping from home, a place where they were perhaps allowed to be themselves. There were also those girls who acknowledged that education was a means of improving their lives, of gaining a decent education for the future. In the main, education was also seen as important by the parents, because it allowed them to control their behaviour, i.e. girls spending their evenings at home to do their homework; the experience of education is not the same for all Muslim girls. Britishness and belonging has been influenced largely by generation. It seems from existing research that a sense of belonging to Britain is something experienced more by the generations who were born here, equating a British identity with birth right. They feel that it is their right to be called British and that they are proud to have this as part of their identity. The first generations however, feel like they will never truly 'belong' here, and that this will never be their homeland. Research looking at young ethnic minorities, particularly Asians, has often addressed the inter-generational conflict, 'caught between two cultures' idea and

identity crisis situations (see Anwar, 1981). It has been suggested that first generation migrants from South Asia have been unable to interact successfully with their children who have found their parent's values, culture and aspirations to be different to their own. This has given rise to the view that young Asians are torn between contradictory cultures of the home and outside world, which have not necessarily been supported by evidence. The interesting point related to this is that even though being British was important to the younger generations of Muslims living here, being Muslim was just as important.

Accordingly, much of the contemporary research that has looked at Muslim women and identity agree with the view of identity put forward by contemporary society theorists that identities are not singular and rigid, but that they are fluid and constantly challenged (Afshar 1989a, 1989b, 1994, Afshar, Franks and Wray 2001, Franks white converts 2001, 2004). The fluid nature of identities affects women more than men as their identities are constantly changing due to the many complex issues that affect their lives, i.e. from changing their names from their father's name to that of their husbands, from becoming wives to mothers etc. Although the majority of the studies make some reference to generation, the majority of these studies look at the younger generation and offer limited comparisons with the older generation. The majority of studies look at the importance of religion for Muslim women (Afshar, Aitken and Franks 2005, Dwyer 2000, Ramji 2007, Gilliat-ray 1998, Schmidt 2004) what is missing is the role of religion for the older generation of Muslim women as the attention is focussed mostly on the younger generation. However, the studies identify some key issues that I consider in my research such as the wearing of the veil. Ramji (2007) fails to discuss the importance of the family on young Muslims. What kind of influences do familial relationships have on these young,

modern, educated Muslim women? Thus, my study will hope to offer answers to some of the posed questions and attempt to bridge these gaps. Overall, the last decade has seen a developing body of work on Muslim youth in Britain, particularly those from South Asian cultures (Dwyer 1999; Ramji, 2007). There has been limited research on adult Muslim women, therefore, in the present study; the focus on generational difference becomes more significant in working towards offering some insight into this under researched area.

Methodology

In this chapter, I will consider the research strategies that were used to examine the identity construction of Muslim women in a comparative manner. The chapter will consider the suitability of the methods used in relation to the existing research in the area of identity and Muslim women, arguing for the use of methodology that allowed the researcher to engage with the research subjects to elicit rich and informative data. As the research considered the ‘real lives’ of the participants, it was therefore fundamental that the proper methodology and data analysis tools were applied. In the first part of the chapter, consideration will be given to the research design of the study, looking at the methods employed and the merits accompanying such choices within the context of existing research studies. The second part of the chapter will offer a reflection of the data collection, looking at the pilot study and the development of the research methods in relation to the experiences gained from this early study and moving onto consider the research study itself, noting issues that impacted the collection of the data in particular. The final part of the chapter will discuss the analysis of the data, the process and applications used in the study to interpret the data and introduce the structure of the findings to be presented in subsequent chapters.

1.16 Research Design

Before they can essentially think about gathering data, researchers can spend months attempting to first find the participants from whom data will be obtained. This process of gaining access can be the most difficult stage of the research process - more so in some topics than others. Usually, researchers are interested only in certain sections of

society, their target population. As there are problems associated with studying the entire population in terms of time constraints, money and access, researchers must limit the number of people that they study. Thus, sampling is used to find a way of selecting a more manageable number of participants from the target population. A sample can be seen as a sub-set of the population (Seale, 2004: 437). In an ideal research situation, a representative sample is sought because it seems to be a mirror of the population as a whole from which it was drawn from (Seale, 2004: 439). The research focuses on two generations which belong to one religious affiliation. The two groups of focus are Muslim mothers aged 40 and above, and their daughters, between the ages of 16-20. The group of mothers, were aged 42 to 49 the average being 46 years of age who live in the UK. The participants in the sample are from South Asian origins, with three quarters of the mothers coming from Pakistan and the remaining quarter from Bangladesh.

I chose to look at mothers and daughters because the study is interested in looking at generational differences between women from the same family, and so it was prudent to do a comparison between the two groups especially when considering their uses of resources of family, religion, Britishness and education. The research centred in one geographical area: Leicester. Amongst the reasons why Leicester was chosen is the fact that it is one of England's most multicultural cities with a rich diversity of cultural and religious pluralism. Leicester also has a very large Muslim population mostly found just within the city and this is also affected by the multitude of cultures. Practically speaking, it was considered ideal to use for my research endeavour as I live in Leicester and have connections that could have been utilized to gain access to potential participants for my study.

1.17 Methods Used in Existing Empirical Studies

In this section, I briefly review and provide a critique of the main methods used in the empirical studies of Muslim women and identity. The qualitative research method used to answer the research questions on self-identity are predominantly semi-structured interviews (see e.g. Afshar 1989a, 1989b, 1994, Afshar, Franks, Maynard and Wray 2005, Badr 2004, Basit 1997, Dwyer 2000, Franks 1994, 2001, 2004, Ramji 2007, Rizvi 2007, Shain 2003). Dwyer's (2000) study on young British South Asian Muslim women used the interview and group discussions method, and it is mostly the group discussions that are discussed in her paper in terms of analysis. I have decided to reject the use of this method as the girls in my study may be subject to peer pressure in such a situation and thus may not offer different or conflicting viewpoints. Also, when conducting group discussion research, it can often be difficult to manage and the researcher may experience a loss of control. It is difficult for the researcher to intervene in the group discussion because they may not want to disturb the dynamics of the group that are emerging, yet they need to ensure that the discussion is focussed on the matter at hand not on tangent or divergent matters (Flick 2002:118). On a more practical level, I want to view how Muslim girls develop their own self-concepts, and thus, this will be very difficult to manage within a group setting as it would be impossible for the researcher to keep up with which informant made what point. This leads to having difficulty in differentiating and applying the relevant points made to each informant (group discussions can often get very involved and participants can often forget the rules of turn-taking and listening, wanting to get their views across as well as wanting to challenge others). Ramji (2007) carried out some participant observation as well as interviewing her informants. This is also a method that I

have decided to reject as it doesn't serve to help me answer my research questions and objectives. It is not my interpretation of their behaviour that this study is looking at. In fact the aim of this study is to do the opposite, and the study is interested in what the women themselves consider to be their identities. Therefore my observing then in a given context will not inform me how they form self-concept as what I observe is not necessarily what they think. The only way I can gain understanding of this personal issue is by asking them, although there is difficulty associated with just asking about identity, it is important to have a multi-layered approach that allows me to understand from different kinds of responses they make, the identity processes they embody. I feel that semi-structured interviews are the best interpretive method to use for this study, complimented by questionnaires and vignettes to help offer a more multi-layered analysis.

1.18 The Research Study

The assessment of research methods utilized in existing studies has proven useful in determining the methods best suited to the research endeavour. Therefore, in line with the research methods and types of data generated by previous research, the data is qualitative in nature, and has been generated with the use of three methodological techniques; semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and the use of three vignettes. As the subjects of the study are Muslim women, the aim was to use the focussed sampling method.

1.18.1 The Type of Data: Qualitative

One of the key assets of qualitative data is that it produces plentiful, detailed information (Arskey and Knight, 1999: xi). Dabbs (1982) claims that 'quality' denotes the what, how, when, and where of an object – its core and character of existence. Qualitative

research, thus, concerns: “The meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and description of things” (Berg 2009: 3). Qualitative research explores individuals’ own accounts for their attitudes, motivations and behaviours. This is relevant for this research study as it must be acknowledged that the research findings can only be applied to the target group under study, and not the whole population of Muslim women. Essentially, qualitative methods permit researchers to share in the understandings and insights of others and delve into how people construct and give significance to their daily lives (Berg, 2009: 8). The investigation of qualitative research permits researchers to consider the different social forms and practices human beings use to create and sustain their social realities (Berg 2009: 9). This is very significant for this study as I looked at how Muslim women use family, religion, education and Britishness to construct their identities, which would not be easy to understand if the research was conducted quantitatively. For a study concentrating on individuals’ lived experiences, the researcher could contend that human actions cannot be understood without considering the meaning that participants ascribe to such actions; the researcher, therefore, needs to appreciate the hidden perceptions obtained through face-to-face communication (Marshall and Rossman 199: 57). Hence, interviews are the best interpretive method to use for this study as they have been endorsed by their application in existing studies.

1.18.2 Type of Method: Semi-structured Interview

The interview is one of the foremost methods for data collection in qualitative research. It is a very beneficial way of gaining insight into people’s experiences, the ways they classify situations and formations of reality, and a very powerful means of comprehending others (Punch, 2005: 168). For some researchers interviews are like

‘conversations’ (Kahn and Cannell 1957, Marshall & Rossman 1999: 108). In this definition of an interview, the researcher carefully listens ‘so as to *hear the meaning* of what is being communicated’ (Rubin and Rubin in Gubrium and Holstein, 2001: 84, emphasis original), therefore, my role as a researcher comes before my own identity as a Muslim, even a Muslim with differing religious beliefs.

Semi-structured interviews have distinct strengths. An interview is a constructive means to get significant amounts of data (Marshall and Rossman 1999: 108). Researchers often choose qualitative interviews over ethnographic methods such as observations when the topic they want to study does not focus on specific circumstances, as their curiosity is to ascertain mutual patterns or ideas between individual examples of respondents (Gubrium, and Holstein, 2001: 85). Interviewing, especially semi-structured interviewing, however, also has limitations and drawbacks. Interviews involve one-to-one interaction; therefore a respectable degree of co-operation is crucial, which at any point in the interview can become strained or can be lost. Semi-structured interviewing, may attempt to extrapolate something about the way people experience the social world and their social relationships, attempting to understand the interpretations and meanings people give to things (Flick, 2002: 2). Semi-structured interviews are often the middle ground between structured and unstructured; with an interviewer having identified areas of potential interest to discuss, it is loosely structured. This was beneficial for the study, as I would be able to probe further any points made that offered interesting or unique insight to their lives and identities. This would allow me to expand on ideas and responses, attempting to explore answers and ask for more illumination, and the respondents were freer to answer the questions as they choose the scope of their answers (appendix five).

1.18.3 Supporting Methodology

The study's methodology was three-fold, and thus the remaining methodological techniques employed were questionnaires and vignettes. Questionnaires are techniques of research that incorporate a set of questions which are completed by participants in either paper format or online. There are different types of questionnaire, postal and self-completed, for this research study, the self-completed questionnaire type was employed (appendix six). As the name suggests, these questionnaires were designed for the participant to complete on their own. For this research, the participants completed their questionnaire away from the researcher in another part of their home. Following the usual structure of a self-completed questionnaire (see Bryman, 2008), the questionnaire in the study had few open-ended questions (there were three open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire to allow the participant to ease themselves into answering the questionnaire by asking easily answerable, closed questions first) which allowed the questionnaire to be simple to follow. There was only one filter question for the participants to negotiate to allow the questionnaire to flow with no difficulty, and the questionnaire only had fifteen questions, most of which were either tick boxes or required either a word or a sentence in response. The benefits of using self-completion questionnaires are numerous, including the fact that they are relatively expense-free, can be applied to larger populations, are easy to administer and they can take less time than other methods such as observations. Also they allow the researcher an opportunity to approach sensitive topics as the participant is less likely to respond truthfully in a face-to-face situation (such as an interview) (Bourque and Fielder, 2003).

Questionnaires were used because they allowed me to gain information that would unnecessarily extended the interview and also to gain data that would have had less impact from me as the researcher as I was not with them when they completed it. Accordingly, the most important advantage in relation to the research study was that as the participants completed the questionnaire away from the researcher's presence, there was less opportunity for interviewer effects to influence the respondents' answers. Thus, if I had been present during the completion of the questionnaire, the respondents may have displayed *social desirability bias* which involves a misrepresentation of data by respondents in an effort to provide accounts of behaviour or experience that they believe corresponds to a socially acceptable model of behaviour (Bryman, 2008). The questionnaires were completed by the respondents who reported that it was straightforward and did not take a good deal of their time.

Vignettes have been used in research studies of simulations of real life situations and can be seen as useful for revealing viewpoints and ideologies. Finch (1987: 105) claims that vignettes are: "short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond". In this way, vignettes help researchers delve into a person's insight, beliefs and comprehension about particular circumstances (Barter & Renold, 1999: 4, see also Hughes and Huby 2002). Therefore, I felt confident in introducing the use of vignettes into the study. The vignettes were designed by choosing a scenario that related to three of the four resources identified as important for identity formation, family, religion and education (appendix seven to nine). The situations that were chosen for these vignettes were based on scenarios that would allow me to gain understanding of major aspects of the influences of these

resources. The family vignette looked at the relationship between daughter and parent, parenting styles, gender identity and rebelliousness. The second vignette looked at education, and concentrated on the practice of some cultures that remove daughters from school to get married often at an early age, therefore effectively ending their education. Thus, it looked at the extent to which education was deemed important for daughters by their parents. The last vignette referred to religion, and it looked at a contentious issue, the practice of veiling. It introduced a poem that focused on the implication of the nature of veiling, the significance of veiling and the 'offense' that is committed by those who do not take up the veil. There were also references to a Western lifestyle, relating it to those people choosing it over veiling. It was decided on a practical level to not do a vignette on Britishness because I did not want the participants to feel like too much time had been taken from them, but also Britishness is not a straightforward concept and to provide a scenario based on Britishness may have suggested an advocate of an understanding Britishness by the researcher and may have been interpreted as such by the participants. Overall, the use of the vignettes produced interesting results, mainly from the religion vignette than any other.

The three methodological techniques related very well with each other to ensure that the researcher was able to gain as much rich data from a variety of ways so that the participants did not feel overburdened in an interview session and had the opportunity to provide their own views and opinions. The questionnaire allowed the researcher to ask questions that would have 'taken up time' in the interview setting, but nevertheless were important in gaining understanding of the opinions and beliefs of the participants as well as practical information such as occupation and education level which were also required to

provide a picture of the participant. Also, the questionnaire allowed the participants to remain focussed on the purpose of the researcher's visit, thus whilst one participant was being interviewed, the other was filling in the questionnaire, therefore both participants were part of the empirical process at the same time without too much of a waiting period, causing them to become disinterested or bored with the endeavour.

1.18.4 Sampling

Babbie (1994: 225) claims that there are instances when the research calls for a sample to be selected based on the researcher's own knowledge of the population, how appropriate they are to the aims of the research and thus, how well they fit in with the *purpose* of the study. Therefore, this kind of research design calls for a more purposive or *focused* sample. Focused sampling is the *selective* study of chosen persons, groups or establishments, or of distinct relationships, practices or connections. Qualitative research can also be focussed exclusively on certain sub-groups or practices within the wider data source (Hakim, 2000: 170). Participants can also be chosen for more a concentrated study with regards to their characteristics or in connection with some practice or relationship displayed (ibid: 171). Focused sampling entails '*Knowing and Intentional*' selection. The sample was to be obtained from approaching four sixth form colleges in Leicester in order to access the population of 16-18 year olds. The daughters were to be informed fully of the research study aims and objectives, and asked if they felt their mothers would be willing to participate. When this was attempted, not all the colleges responded to my request, three colleges responded with a yes one of which would allow me to research subject to CRB clearance. This clearance took upwards of four weeks, which did slow down the initial sampling stage. The two remaining colleges allowed me to meet with their pupils. One

college permitted me to sit in on the monthly meetings of the Muslim Student's Association. This seemed ideal as there were more female members than males. During one of the meetings, I introduced myself and my research study through an information sheet (see appendix ten) and answered questions or queries the girls had. Initially the response was very positive; they were interested in taking part some being very eager. I informed them that as the nature of the research was a comparative one, it would also be necessary for me to interview their mothers. This caused problems, as the girls immediately became apprehensive and some refused straight away saying that they would have preferred not to have their mothers involved. I extensively explained that the purpose of the interviews with the mothers was to gain information for comparison only, and was not a way for their mothers to 'spy' on their daughters via me. This was the major issue that eventually led to the withdrawal of the majority of the girls from this college except for three girls. This was also true for the second college, even though I explained from the outset that there was to be no 'spying' on my behalf, that it was for comparison purposes only. I even offered to interview the mothers first. The girls from the second college eventually all declined to take part. The third college, once having received my CRB clearance were very unhelpful, and would cancel scheduled meetings and only let me see two or three girls at a time. This was also ineffective, as the girls did not turn up to the allocated time, and I was not offered any help in rescheduling with them. Also, the individual who I was in contact with and who was supposed to be facilitating the meetings left their job and I was told that there would be no replacement which effectively ended the access to the students as the academic year was drawing to a close. These setbacks caused me to re-evaluate the sampling process, and thus I decided that another strategy to adopt

was to target mothers as access points. This unfortunately proved to be just as fruitless, and again the reasons were of similar in nature. I endeavoured to recruit the mothers by visiting women's associations and religious groups in Leicester. The mothers I came into contact with were very interested in the research and engaged in conversation that was candid and informative. Once the full details of the study were relayed, the mothers showed reluctance towards their daughters being involved in the study. They felt that they did not want their daughters to be 'encouraged to think in different ways' and they felt that their daughters may 'get carried away and say things for exaggeration' (example quotes of the mothers that I approached). This left me with a very serious problem, and in order to find a solution, I decided that the best route to take would be to adapt a different sampling method altogether, which eventually led me to choose the snowball sampling method.

Snowball sampling is based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, permitting recommendations to be made within the context of acquaintance (Berg, 1988). Snowball sampling can be applied if the aim of a study is principally explorative, qualitative and descriptive, thus snowball sampling proffers advantages (see Hendricks, Blanken and Adriaans, 1992). Snowball sampling is used most frequently to conduct qualitative research, for the most part through interviews. Thus, for my study, I used the three girls and their mothers (met from contact with the first college) as the initial sample. They made suggestions as to potential participants, leading me onto two more mother and daughter pairs. The referrals made did not guarantee participation, as many of the mothers did not want to take part at all, whereas some of the referrals were happy to take part but not for their daughters. I spoke to approximately sixty women, and from those sixty, forty mothers

in total agreed to take part in the study, thus the snowball sampling method succeeded in allowing me to gain participants. It was decided to interview forty participants due to the issue of the limitation of time. Once I interviewed the initial three mother daughter pairs, I decided that they would be my pilot study interviews as there were issues with the interviews and questionnaire that needed to be addressed. This meant that once I was satisfied with the interview questions and questionnaires, I had to then start the task of contacting referrals made by the initial sample participants, which as explained also led to issues of non-participation. Thus, from the time when the pilot interviews were conducted to when the real interviews were conducted, a period of four months had passed and it was clear that aiming to interview anymore would not be conducive to the time I had remaining. Therefore, the interviews were conducted with 40 women in the real study and three mother daughter pairs for the pilot study.

1.18.5 Pilot Study

It is important that the areas that have been identified for exploration in an interview are indeed the ones that would have elicited responses that will help me to understand the identity of Muslim women better. Thus, a pilot study was conducted. This was to gauge opinions on the questions, to judge whether the question areas are the relevant ones and if not, what would be a better alternative. Importantly, it gave me an opportunity to test the vignettes, and observe whether they did reveal more unconscious opinions of identity held by the women, and whether these were the right scenarios that allowed me to explore their answers and help me understand their views.

The pilot study was conducted using three mother-daughter pairs that were obtained from one of the sixth form colleges. The interviews were conducted at their

homes in the evening and were recorded. I interviewed the mothers first, which was significant as they were responsible for either preparing the evening meal, looking after children and other family members or cleaning the house, thus the mothers were interviewed first to ensure that they were free as soon as possible. The daughters whilst waiting to be interviewed filled in the questionnaire. Then the situation was reversed, so that the mother filled in the questionnaire whilst the daughter was being interviewed. In terms of how the interviews went, I feel that the information I gained was generally good and useful, however, due to my own lack of interview technique, I wasn't able to delve deeper into the answers that were given to me to get a better understanding of the significance of the points that were made. I felt nervous whilst interviewing, and therefore was so concerned with the interviewing process, I missed opportunities to probe and expand answers further. I also realised that there were areas within the questionnaire and the interview that were missing and they were crucial aspects of my main research questions.

I decided to restructure the interview questionnaires and decided that I had to focus on what were the main areas that needed to be discussed in the interview. This led me to decide to break down the interview into sections concentrating on the key issues of interest which included religion, family and education. This was very helpful as it offered a great way to categorise the data later for analysis, allowing me to ensure that I concentrated on the important areas relating to my research questions. The main changes made to the interview questions involved me asking about the understanding the participants had as well application to their lives of Sharia Law. It was important for me to do so because Sharia Law is religiously bound for Muslims and a source of information in relation to the

duties and expectations for the behaviour of Muslims, male and female. The second question change made to my interview was to the first question. This was split into sub questions and the last sub question involved me asking them directly how they saw their own identity, how they defined their own identity. This was a very important question as the premise for this research is how the participants saw their own identity. It was thus fundamental that I considered how they saw themselves and what aspects of their identity they considered on a conscious level. The questionnaire also was added to. Firstly, a question on whether the participants had any non-Muslim friends was added as I felt it would be interesting to see if the mothers in particular were able to make connections with people outside of their religious community and whether these friendships were of any importance to them personally. The last question of the original questionnaire for both mothers and daughters asked whether they felt Sharia Law should be practiced in Britain. Since this question was moved to the interview, I decided to investigate further the question before this, which focused on a list of values where the participants had to select six values they felt were the most important for them. I decided to ask two further open-ended questions on these values, linking them to religion. Once these changes were made I felt confident to move on to conduct the main interviews.

1.18.6 Ethical Considerations

In terms of ethical analysis, an independent ethical approval was obtained through presenting a detailed plan of the project to the Departmental Research Ethics Committee and the following British Sociological Association's (BSA) 'Statement of Ethical Practice' (2002) was adhered to. The participants will be affording sensitive information, thus the researcher has the responsibility of preserving the appropriate interests of the research

participants and to report findings accurately and truthfully thus the data provided by the participants was protected in every way, ensuring that I was the only one who had access to the raw data from the interviews and questions. The researcher has the responsibility to honour any guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity that were made to the participants, which I have done by providing no name for any of the responses used in the thesis keeping them anonymous and assigning them numbers. Acquisition and maintenance of their trust is fundamental, as I entered into a personal and even a moral relationship with participants and thus needed to be constantly mindful of this. This shows that a concern for ethics presided over every stage of the research process. The interviewees were informed of their rights under any copyright/data protection laws which they were given in the consent form (appendix eleven), which they read and signed with full knowledge of the research objectives and aims of the study.

1.18.7 Issues Raised During The Study: Researcher Reflexivity

The research study, being an interesting and very enjoyable process had many concerns that impacted on the inferences that can be made about the findings. Due to problems such as daughters not wanting their mothers involved in the study or the mothers not wanting their daughters to be influenced in anyway by the researcher, the sample had to be obtained through snowball sampling (see discussion in sampling section). The main issue for concern with using snowball sampling is according to Erickson (1979: 299):

...inferences about individuals must rely mainly on the initial sample, since additional individuals found by tracing chains are never found randomly...

Thus means that the often members of the initial sample refer people with whom some form of social relationship such as friends, relatives etc. and recruitment sample often

reflect these connections. This unfortunately meant that I was unable to include Muslims that were not South Asian such as East African or Somalian, despite their large presence in Leicester. This is a factor that did impact the sample, as the referrals I received towards the beginning stages of the research involved the heavy recruitment of similar types mothers. Thus, after interviewing forty participants, the fact is we cannot overlook the majority of the sample being from this mother type. Thus, there could have been many other types of Muslim women that I could have accessed but was unable to. This is not to say that the sample obtained is unacceptable, it was never the intention of the study to offer a generalizable sample as it has been acknowledged throughout the study that Muslim women are not homogenous; the issue is, would the sample have been more diverse thus offering a much more varied and more innovative data to take the study further? The other impact of the study was the global context. As previously noted, this study was carried out in the context of continuous attention and discussion of Muslims in the media, politics and social research arenas. Therefore, when the interviews began, a very significant global event had occurred that I did not anticipate having an effect on the study, but indeed changed the very nature of the data collection: the killing of Osama Bin Laden. This showed me that research study does not happen in a vacuum and that as researchers, we have to be aware that events and experiences impact people in many ways, even those people who are not directly there or directly involved. This also leads onto the fact that the study asked to access the personal lives of individuals, parts of their lives, that they may not normally allow access to, thus it is important to maintain ethical considerations and have honesty and integrity. The participants allowed me access to their homes, their families as well as their lives, that was a very important and privileged position to be in,

therefore the fact that I was unable to record the interviews, to not have more time with the participants due to their lives continuing whilst being interviewed, meant that I had to accept the access that I was granted with good grace. Thus, we cannot take for granted that as we plan research, we will gain the full access we expect because the participant has said yes. Due to this major factor, there were instances where I missed opportunities to expand on answers and to follow up on points made due to attempting to gain an accurate record of the interview by hand. Thus, taken-for-granted assumptions cannot be made when attempting to collect data. If there had been time, I would have tried to balanced out this discrepancy by perhaps widening my sample search, but time constraints prevented me from doing so.

The interviews have presented some stimulating data but challenges also. Firstly, none of the respondents have allowed me to record the interview. The reasons given mainly revolve around the view that they didn't want anything they said to be on record and that many refused to take part unless I assured them that they were not recorded. The context for such a refusal was based on the fact that at the time of the interviews, Osama Bin Laden had been found hiding in Pakistan and was therefore killed by US troops. The aftermath and impact of this was felt very much within the participants of the study as the majority of them came from Pakistan. This fits in with Giddens' argument of the distancing of time and space, where something that happened miles away can indeed impact upon individuals who are not physically there. The mothers were very reluctant to be recorded; their fear of being on record was highlighted by the fact that back home in Pakistan the country was gearing up for retaliation (see Hamid, 2011 *The Guardian*). There was a fear even though I explained that the study was not to do with terrorism or views of

Osama Bin Laden, they only signed their consent forms with the request of not being recorded, which they also insisted upon for their daughters. Having interviewed them at their homes, where they had let me into their private domain, I was unable to insist on recording the interviews with the daughters. This raises the issue of the difficulty of avoiding the impact of global events on research practice and application, that this was not something that could have been predicted or avoided. This emphasizes the difficulty of researching private lives in a scientific manner.

One of the other difficulties that had an impact on the study was the fact that the respondents insisted on being interviewed at their homes. This was not surprising to me, as the majority of the mothers were self-proclaimed housewives, with only two being in part-time employment, thus the majority of their time was spent at home, so the interviews being conducted at home was more convenient for them. I went in the evenings after evening prayers so in most cases the whole family was at home and it was noisy and the mother would often get distracted with various tasks and familial demands. Thus, the interviews took longer than the hour stated as I had to try and write everything that was being said and had to wait for the interruptions to be dealt with. In most cases, I interviewed both mother and daughter in the space of three hours. The inability to record the interviews and the constant interruptions meant, inevitably, that there was missed data and opportunities to expand and further develop points. For many of the mothers, the fact that the husband was at home did, I feel, have an impact, as even though he was not physically present in the room or in fact even down stairs, the mothers would speak in hushed tones making it often difficult to hear exactly what they were saying. The role of researcher also had an impact on the data collection.

The importance of the identity of the researcher is can be controversial matter not only in Islamic studies but in all qualitative research. As Coffey (1999:8) has stated, fieldwork:

...helps to shape, challenge, reproduce, maintain, reconstruct and represent ourselves and the selves of others.

As identified in the introduction, I myself am Muslim, and I also come from a different sect of Islam from the participants in the study: Shia. My practice of Islam does not involve wearing the hijab, and if one looked at me, it would not be so easily determined that I am indeed Muslim. However, my name is an Arabic name, thus once I introduced myself to the participants, and they became aware that there was a possibility of me being a Muslim. Although I did not engage in any personal discussion of being Muslim, we cannot deny that there may have been some interviewer effects on the participants' responses. For example, the emphasis placed by the traditional mothers in particular of wearing the hijab could have also been an attempt to 'correct' my own behaviour. My own style of dress is not what I consider 'inappropriate', but I did make conscious decisions to ensure that my clothing would not have been considered offensive, as I interviewed them in their homes, the husbands and of course sons were also at home in many cases, thus I ensured that I observed a degree of decorum when interviewing all participants. Harding (1987:9) further argues:

...the beliefs and behaviours of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for the claims advanced in the results of research.

Therefore, qualitative researchers have a responsibility to ensure that their interpretations and presentation of findings is not impacted by their personal values. For that reason, in approaching the data, it was important not to attach my own meanings to the responses of

the women, but to try and present their views in situ, which was very challenging due to the inability to record the data, I was left to make notes of the context, facial expressions and tone of voice as well as the responses of the Muslim women during the interview process. This left very little opportunity to delve as deep as possible into the responses, yet did not disillusion me, in developing abbreviations, and my own short hand, the constant interruptions from household members actually functioned in allowing me the time to make notes that otherwise may have been lost in the overall interview process.

1.19 Data Analysis

Qualitative Data Analysis is the collection of processes and procedures that allows researchers to mould the qualitative data that they have gathered into some type of explanation, understanding or reading of the people and situations that were the subject of the research. The objective of analysis is to analyse the meaningful and representative content of the data to understand the opinions of people, their behaviour and their perception of themselves and the world in which they live and interact in. For the data analysis I have decided to use the content analysis method.

1.19.1 Content Analysis

There are many methods for qualitative analysis, but for this research study I have decided to consider that of Qualitative content analysis as one of many research methods used to analyze text data. According to Weber (1990) Qualitative content analysis is more than just quantifying language as it focuses on creating meaning from the classification of texts that have been categorised to demonstrate similarity. The aim of content analysis is “to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study” (Downe-

Wamboldt, 1992: 314). Therefore, it can be considered a research method for the subjective understanding of the content of text through the use of coding practices for discovering themes or patterns (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1278). Content analysis involves arranging the 'substantive' content of the interview and assigning them to categories, allowing the data to be ordered (Gillham, 2000: 59).

Firstly, I went through the interviews one by one and highlighted the concepts and categories I could see emerging. Categories can be regarded as basically headings in the first stage to depicting the range of data the interviews have revealed. Selecting and classifying categories is a functional way of assembling the data but deciding on at categories can be difficult and time consuming (Gillham, 2000). Once that was complete, I used the Nvivo software to upload and fully code the interviews, assigning the categories that I had developed 'nodes', creating trees. Coding is the process of examining the raw qualitative data in the transcripts and extracting sections of text units (words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs) and assigning different codes or labels so that they can easily be retrieved at a later stage for further comparison and analysis, and the identification of any patterns. Codes were based on themes, topics, ideas, concepts, terms, phrases and keywords found in the data that I felt were of relevance. The codes were given meaningful names which gave an indication of the idea or concept that underpins a particular theme or category.

Nvivo is reasonably straightforward to use as it allows the researcher to import documents directly and code them effortlessly on screen. Coding stripes can be made observable in the margins of documents which allowed me to get a glimpse of where and which codes I had used. Additionally, the software allowed me to write memos about

particular aspects of my documents and link these to relevant pieces of text in different documents. Thus, the Nvivo software was a very useful tool in allowing me to establish themes which I had to then discover using the memos and the coded data together, allowing the emergence of a picture of the many relationships between the interviews through their linking nodes. The software was very useful as a foundation for the analysis of the data. Once the coding process had finished, the data collected was organized into sections that were easy to retrieve. Names and other identifiable material were removed from the transcripts. The aim of analysis is to scrutinize the meaningful and symbolic content of the data to comprehend the views of people, their behaviour and their understanding of themselves and the world in which they live and interact in. The data was then analyzed thematically, matching relevant pieces of data to the themes created using Nvivo. The data was then examined to allow me to select meticulously an extract or extracts to demonstrate arguments which enabled me to develop the typology identity used in the initial analysis of the data, to then be applied further to complete the two main findings chapters.

1.20 Conclusion

In this chapter, an overview has been discussed of the methodology employed within the research, contextualizing these choices in relation to the methods used by existing studies as well as considering the nature of the data to be collected. The research process transpired to be a challenging and intense process. The sampling method proved to be a very problematic endeavour, initiating the use of the snowball method. Snowball sampling proves to be advantageous as an ‘informal’ method to attain a target population especially if the study is principally explorative, qualitative and illustrative (Hendricks, Blanken and

Adriaans, 1992). The data that was produced, I feel, fits these criteria, and eventually led me to have some very interesting and informative interviews. The research process certainly cannot be taken for granted; this study has forced me to acknowledge that the impact of events that are global in nature can affect what we might consider to be an unrelated research endeavour. Although this indeed made the research study challenging, it did not make it impossible; the ability to adapt to changes in the research process that are beyond our control is very important to master. The analysis of the data was a very vigorous and absorbing process, involving many key stages that enabled me to draw out the key findings and develop explanatory themes to help formulate the typology used in the empirical part of the thesis. When considering the research findings, the distinction of private and public domains was used to demonstrate the important facets of the data. The following chapters will now consider these themes in more detail, highlighting the principal facets of the data that alluded to the identity formation of the participating Muslim women.

The Construction of the Typology

This chapter describes the construction of a typology of identities emerging from the data and explains how the questions indicative of the roles of family, religion, education and Britishness in the construction of the identity of the mothers and daughters for this purpose. I will offer an overall picture of the mothers' and daughters' worldviews by focusing on a number of interview questions that facilitate the identification of attitudes to family and family relations, religious stance, education and sense of Britishness. These questions in particular enabled me to gain a better understanding of the types of identities that were perceived through the data, and with the help of this typology, I identify and consider different kinds of identities. I develop a spectrum of identities marked by two poles which signify a clear dichotomy that can be observed from the responses offered. These two ends of the spectrum lead to a characterization of the types of participants transpiring from the data as firstly being either religious or non-religious. This is not by all means the total picture. In going beyond just the mothers' reports of their religious observance, the responses that were made in the interview and questionnaire also indicate that this division of belief permeates the way they live their lives. The following sections will now examine in more detail the way responses to these questions assisted in forming a picture of the mothers and daughters in this study. The mothers and daughters have been assigned to three distinct worldviews, traditional defensive, traditional-fractured and modernist.

1.21 Construction of Typology

Winch (1947) noted that an empirical typology is developed principally from data rather than from theory, serving to encapsulate observations. Fundamentally, ‘Typologies are created by the process of noting homogeneous attributes in heterogeneous phenomena’ (1947:68). Through the correlation of responses by the participants, they:

...are defined by a cluster of persons who are similar to each other and different from the others in the problem. In this way the primaries provide empirical typologies of persons.

(Winch, 1947: 73).

Though this form of analysis, there is potential to cultivate empirical typologies of significance in social research. In considering the data and the responses from the mothers and daughters, a series of patterns were observed emerging from the data. Note must be made that using typologies can have the danger of reifying the individuals under study. Therefore, I decided to create a typology from the data, allowing the data to inform me rather than imposing my own opinions or making suppositions before the study was conducted. The development of the typology involved closely analysing the data and categorizing the responses made by each participant to gauge an understanding of the kinds of world views they were demonstrating. Luker (1984:193) outlines worldview as “a set of assumptions about how the world is and ought to be organized”. Worldviews are complete and integrative frameworks allowing us to have a sense of self, others, and the world in which we live. They are the filters that enlighten and shape our perceptions of reality. Worldviews are concepts of life; they are also ways of life. Worldviews can become communal and public when common ideas connect individuals together in terms of thought and action (Olthuis, 1985). Tillich (1957) for instance, sees worldviews as responses to the

big life questions – what is the meaning and purpose of life, what is right from wrong, and what is important and why; which consequently become the basis of beliefs and actions (Olthuis, 1985; Sire, 2004). Thus, a worldview permits us to decipher the world and operate within it. Through shaping our understandings, it influences us and directs our values and actions. One such resource for these values is religion.

Religion affords answers to questions of meaning. It also provides principles for how to live. More generally, it in large provides a worldview. In demarcating what ought to be (Hunter 1991:58) and by generating and reinforcing group norms through interaction (White 1968), religion has a considerable influence on worldviews. Religion determines moral tenets (Durkheim 1915), functioning as a principal source for defining "right and wrong, good and bad, just and unjust" (Hunter 1991:59). Religious beliefs and practices differ, thus individuals hold varied worldviews. In chapter three, the two main Islamic discourses were introduced as being traditional/conservative and liberal. Individuals possessing more conservative worldviews can be regarded as more active in religious practices and cultures, placing their moral conviction in the divine. In contrast, those with more liberal worldviews participate in cultures that base moral authority in the human being and the powers of reason (Granberg and Denny 1982; Hunter 1991; Luker 1984). The liberal worldview maintains that:

...each human being, born with practically unlimited potential for growth and development, must be allowed ... maximum freedom for self-development and the fullest self-expression

(McNamara, 1985:453).

On the other hand, the conservative worldview claims that human beings, predisposed to selfishness and harm, become better people through restraint, external management, and hierarchical structures (McNamara 1985). Hence, the liberal worldview emphasizes the primacy of the individual, whilst the conservative worldview emphasizes that goodness is best accomplished within a context of community. Cox (1999) maintains that the influence worldviews have in determining individuals' values, and how these therefore shape the society and culture they live in. By using the idea of world views, analyses can be made beyond just religious perspectives. This means that although religion was an important factor, there were other resources that were studied that helped to shape participants' overall viewpoint. Thus, examining all the resources allowed the typology to introduce variant types of identities that were either conservative or liberal in nature. This allowed a spectrum to develop rather than just a dichotomous differentiation. The types of identities that emerged from the data are traditional defensive, traditional fractured and modernist. Traditional defensive identities aim to protect themselves against processes that they see threatening to affect what is meaningful in their lives. The preservation that takes place is that of customs and traditions that may be seen as old-fashioned belonging to cultures of the past. The fractured traditional identity is the hybrid identity, where there is an effort to marry the traditional values with more modern Western values. Modernist identities can be characterized as not regarding religion to be an all dominating power or authority in life choosing to seek universal values and beliefs (see chapter 6 for further examination on all identity types).

To begin the analysis and to develop the typology, I considered the questions that addressed the values chosen by the participants first. I was able to ascertain the form of

attitude each participant held. I began with looking at the questions 12, 14 and 15 (for mothers and 13, 15 and 16 for daughters) which asked them to consider their values. These questions were designed to understand what is considered important to my participants not only in relation to belief but action. These are aspects that are representations of the life in the everyday, therefore in exploring their values I was aiming to get a sense of their characters. With the intention of understanding the attitudes of my participants in relation to whether they can be seen as conservative or liberal, the values that they were asked to choose from were assigned a conservative or liberal attitude see figure below.

Figure 1: Table Showing the Values from the questionnaire and their assigned attitude

Values	
Teamwork	<i>Conservative/ Liberal</i>
Independence	<i>Liberal</i>
Charity	<i>Conservative/liberal</i>
Honour	<i>Conservative</i>
Respect	<i>Liberal and Conservative</i>
Achievement	<i>Liberal</i>
Devoutness	<i>Conservative</i>
Trustworthy	<i>Liberal and Conservative</i>
Conformity	<i>Conservative</i>
Happiness	<i>Liberal</i>
Determination	<i>Liberal</i>
Education	<i>Liberal and Conservative</i>
Chastity	<i>Conservative</i>
Self-control	<i>Conservative</i>
Discipline	<i>Conservative</i>
Ambition	<i>Liberal</i>
Justice	<i>Liberal</i>
Kindness	<i>Liberal and Conservative</i>
Modesty	<i>Conservative</i>
Honesty	<i>Liberal and Conservative</i>

The values have been assigned to a particular attitude where possible; however, there are those values that can be seen as both liberal and conservative. They were assigned to these worldviews because of how they met the features of each world view discussed above. One of the major contributory factors of determining a conservative value in this context was whether the value can be characterized to be 'religious'. Religion is seen as a conservative force due to the fixed and unchanging nature of religious observance where human selfishness must be contained and the community is seen as more important; values such as devoutness, conformity, chastity and self-control are prime examples of a conservative ideology rooted in religious principles in this context. Values that demonstrate more individualized attitudes are regarded to be liberal. For example, liberal attitudes were seen to include values of independence, achievement and ambition because these can be viewed as emphasizing the individual as significant, to break away from the collective, to develop fuller with freedom; which is a concept that also engenders these qualities. The overall verification of attitudes was considered in terms of the number of values chosen. Inevitably where there was a mix and match, the predominance of the chosen attitude type would determine which world view the participant generally could be assigned to. This was also true for those who had chosen values that can be regarded as both; education was chosen by all participants, therefore in order to define where they are to be placed their choice of education was considered in relation to their other chosen values. Using the values as a starting point, an initial characterization of each participant was done, placing them in either conservative or liberal standpoints, to then build upon and move depending on the responses to subsequent questions.

1.21.1 Religion

There are many discussions of Islam and the typologies of Islam, but for the purposes of this thesis, the dominate worldviews of Islam that relate to my participants' identities were those that were either traditional or liberal (chapter 3). In exploring the responses to questions related to religion, questions 4-13 (appendix twelve) in the interview, and vignette three, distinct issues were raised in relation to the worldviews demonstrated. The questions used to help further develop the typology are listed the below. The remaining questions served to further enhance the attitude demonstrated, offering vital understanding for the effect of generation (if any) on these identities demonstrated. When considering question 4 about the way they live their lives can be seen to be influenced by many factors. Attitudes to the importance of major aspects of life were considered to determine whether they were traditional in nature or more liberal. Respondents who claimed that they felt their lives were lived differently from non-Muslims and who offered religion as the basis for this difference, were placed on the traditional side of the spectrum. This is because religious beliefs are regarded to be sacred and fixed, and therefore not to be changed or modified. They also provide a particular way of life that regulates behaviour and maintains status quo. Also, respondents who stated that religion was the main source of difference demonstrated conservatism by claiming that religious obligation comes before familial obligation, so that being religious is more important than only seeking to be part of a family. This means that proclaiming a spirit of collectivity is more important than individual interests. Respondents who claimed that they lived differently as a result of opting for family life style values rather than because of religion were placed towards the liberal side of the spectrum. This was because they showed that life was beyond just

religious observance and living essentially one way (a religious way). They felt that living as part of a successful family was more important than striving for religious devoutness, indicating that being ‘a part’ of a family means that you all have something to contribute, that there is an individual nature to your contribution.

Question 5 asks the participant to consider their identities in a religious manner. The conservative respondents considered their identities to be purposely designated as Muslim through their choice of clothing. The conservative answers to this question were expressed in terms of a desire to be not only religiously identified through their clothing, but also to be seen as adhering to religious observance through their compliance and conformity to the religious obligation of clothing. This included wearing the hijab (also known as veil or headscarf). The religious purpose for wearing the hijab they proclaimed is to preserve honour and to practice modesty. The liberal responses to this question were determined as ones which did not acknowledge their identity to be intentionally expressed as religious. Therefore, they would not be wearing the hijab for example. Additionally, religious clothing may be considered as delineating them as ‘potentially’ Muslim to the outside world, but their reasons for wearing such clothing, they claimed, was not religious but mainly for comfort and personal privacy. This shows their attitudes are more liberal because they are modifying religious elements in the context of the social environments where they feel that the Western context of the ‘male gaze’ makes them want to safeguard their bodies for personal comfort and not because of religious prescription. The key difference here is the acceptance of being considered Muslim. Question 6 and 7 aided in further establishing the importance of religion in the lives of the participants. These questions complimented each other, directly asking about the importance of religion in

terms of their identity. The conservative participants approached these questions with an emphasis on being Muslim as the foremost aspect of their identities. It was determined that participants with conservative attitudes would see being Muslim as more than just a religion, it would be regarded as a guidance on how they live their lives in an everyday context. Conservative participants also claimed that without such guidance, their lives would hold little or no meaning; showing again the all-encompassing nature of religion as being above the individual. Liberal respondents would either down play the importance of being a Muslim, acknowledging that it is one of many facets of their identities, or completely reject this as part of their identity claiming there is no importance at all. This further shows that they may be a purposeful desire to break free from a religious identification and seek one that does not offer restrictions on their thoughts and behaviours. These questions, together with question about the values allowed me to ascertain the significance and prominence of religion for the lives of the participants in the study. The significance of religion pointed towards more conservative attitudes in general, showing that many values and beliefs they hold stem from the religiously endorsed values they practice, taking them beyond the place of worship and into every day context. The liberal attitudes show a much more divergent set of beliefs. The significance and meaning of religion is minimal or non-existent as they are able to modify their beliefs and values to the more modern context of Western society. The identities of these participants are not determined by the strict adherence to religion, even if they are deemed to be belonging to a religion, they themselves feel it is more important to focus on their general values and actions rather than follow a pre-determined path.

1.21.2 Britishness

In exploring Britishness for example, further distinctions can also be made. Thus, one of the key findings examined in chapter 8 is the idea of belonging to Britain in relation to generational identity. The participants revealed many different facets of belonging, which enhances our understanding of the level of belonging in each generation. Questions 14 to 17 (appendix twelve) in the interview addressed Britishness. This set of questions was created to discern the importance of the current societal context on the formation of identity for the participants in the study. These questions consider a sense of belonging as well as identifying to a particular form of identity that is not essentially straightforward to characterise. Thus, the judgement of the participants of their own sense of belonging and their own sense of Britishness was significant for the analysis of this issue. A conservative attitude towards this issue would typically consider belonging to this society in a negative manner. The mainstay for this is the unfamiliarity of the society's norms, values and a lack of identification with them. Conservatives characteristically do not respond well to change and therefore may find it difficult to adapt to the change in environment they find themselves in by migrating to another country, with what could be argued to be a more secular outlook, has led to conservative attitudes to cling to what is familiar and in many cases replicate this in their new society. Therefore, in considering question 14, the experiences they have had in this new society, the conservative individual will be more likely to focus on when they first arrived here and how they were treated and therefore not wanting to integrate with other 'unfamiliar' individuals. This would colour their view of the potentials in this new society because it is not like 'home' therefore, in order to comfort themselves they may focus on preserving their 'home' values, norms and beliefs and not

accept those of the new society. When identifying what being British means, (question 16) conservative attitudes will focus on those aspects of Britishness that they may either have rejected or feel not belonging to their own national identities of back home. Thus, question 17 will lead to responses that claim a lack of belonging to this society or a complete rejection. For liberal attitudes, experiences may be generally positive and accepting. Liberal attitudes will tend to adapt to new situations, aiming to either integrate completely or enough to consider they belong to the new society. They are more likely to focus on the aspects of the new society that offer benefits for them, willing to try new things, new ways to live and develop alternative values and life paths. By not being afraid of change, they will be less likely to seek comfort in practices from 'back home' and actively aim to belong to the new society. Thus responses to question 17 from this attitude type may signal a more complete sense of belonging. Also, it is important to consider in impact of citizenship of belonging. Half of the sample was born in Britain (the daughters) therefore in order to ascertain the level of liberality or conservativeness of these participants, belonging could become more than a psychological acceptance of the society which is not new for them as it the only one they are familiar with, therefore the impact of the values and beliefs from their parents (in this case mothers). The rejection of the society that they are now living in (which for the mothers was as long as 25 years) shows that there may be a conservative outlook still in existence. Persons with Liberal attitudes tend to focus on adapting to change and develop ways of integrating to new situations and contexts. People with Conservative attitudes are more likely to find this difficult and in order to cope with this difficulty, and tend to return to what they find familiar and comforting, religious community, religious customs and practices. Thus, even though they are living in a

different society, they are still seeking to live in the 'home' they left behind. For liberal attitudes, the integration into a new society could be seen as a way of escaping their 'home' and seeking a more independent way of living.

1.21.3 Education

The questions in relation to education, 18 to 21, (appendix twelve) with differences in questions 19 and 20 for mothers, aimed to understand the value attached to education in a broader sense. The aim was to understand attitudes towards secular education, and this was understood as such by the participants. Individuals endorsing a more conservative viewpoint initially would claim that education is indeed important in a general sense. It broadens the mind and develops one as a human being. The differences can be observed when discussing their daughters' education. Question 19 could potentially reveal concern not in a sense for the education the daughter is receiving in terms of content, but the *environment* that the daughter is in. Potential areas of concern are the friends she is making, the values of the educational institution and the exposure to behaviours and mores that do not 'fit' with those of the family as well as religiously. Therefore, educational choices made (question 20) are significant in terms of parents finding ways of counteracting the concerns they have highlighted in question 19. In most cases, those holding a conservative view would essentially allow their daughters to attend college if they had specific reassurances that it was 'acceptable' which can be ascertained through speaking to other parents from the community. Community support in this way acts as an added form of surveillance, ensuring that daughters are not following the wrong path, and are in every sense, 'accounted for' during the time spent in the public sphere. One way this can be managed is through using male members of the community who may also be attending the

same college. When answering question 21, although viewing education as important, for conservative mothers there would be a reluctance to advocate extensive educational endeavours. This is because of the preference and stress attached to the woman's role being in the home. It is important for daughters to gain an adequate level of education, and then at a reasonable age, be married to start a family. When considering the other liberal position, education would also be a fundamental aspect to their lives, recognising not only the philosophical aspects of education, but also the economic advantages that come with educational qualifications. Therefore, in regards to question 19, the liberal mother may be more critical of their daughter's progress, fearing that she will not perform well or lack concentration or motivation to focus on their college work. Thus, the anxiety here is more in relation to the educational performance of the daughter, not necessarily the environment of the college. Questions 20 would show that liberal mothers endeavoured to research the college in terms of educational achievement and suitability for their daughter's educational requirements, thus rather than perhaps asking members of the community for the suitability of colleges in terms of alliance with religious values and norms, liberal mothers would be more concerned with taking to parents whose child(ren) have either attended the college or are attending the college. Thus, suitability is a key concern for them also, but in relation to the kinds of education they will be receiving. Question 21 would also be a key concern for the mothers, wanting their daughters to achieve their *own* educational aspirations in order for their daughters to be economically independent individuals. In line with a more liberal outlook, daughters would contend that education is indeed very important to them, stating that education will give them the opportunity to be independent and financially active. As educational institutions are the second place they spend a large majority of their time, the

experience of college is indeed a very individual process, and therefore will be confirmed by the overall value placed on education as a whole. If the experiences have been negative (question 19) then they may feel their educational experience is tainted and may not wish to advance beyond college; and vice versa, if the experience has been a positive one, education may be viewed as worthwhile endeavour to pursue further. Responses to question 20 would additionally contribute to this by showing the importance of the impact of the institution directly on the daughters, perhaps exposing perceived forms of discrimination, racism and Islamophobia.

1.21.4 The Family

The family questions, 22 to 29 (appendix twelve) seek to outline and bring together everyday contexts, attitudes and beliefs in practice for the participants in the study. These questions aimed to consider the importance of old versus new. The first question (question 24) was of more significance to mothers therefore the daughters were asked an alternative question (question 22). For question 24, the conservative attitude would show a pleasurable discussion of life 'back home' as it is a way of life they would like to return to or replicate. Conservative attitudes would show their family life back home as being focussed on large group activity, close family ties and a different atmosphere. This will be in contrast to question 25, where they may discuss the reluctant differences that they have had to accept due to living in a different society. Nonetheless, people with the conservative attitudes will endeavour to replicate what their family life was like from back home, therefore affirming the point that conservatives are more likely to preserve what is familiar that seek to accept change, to keep the status quo rather than accept a different way to live. In relation to question 29, the conservative attitude would be more likely to accept the traditional gender

order in relation to the roles in the family; they will particularly focus on the female role as being at home and looking after the family the males being responsible for the financial stability of the family, accepting that this is religiously proclaimed. Thus, as this has always been the status quo, they would be less willing to diverge from this view, considering it to be right and therefore fixed. Continuance of the status quo may also mean that individual desires are less important than the overall functioning of the family; therefore independence from the established familial order will not be allowed or endorsed. The liberal attitude may differ in some ways to those of the conservatives. Firstly, questions 24 and 25 may demonstrate that they were not as keen or happy with the way their family life was at home. In terms of question 24, they may feel that their family life back home was something that had to be escaped from or modified within the context of the new society they are living in. They may feel that the life back home belonged there; back home, and therefore in order to progress they seek to adopt the practices from the new society. Consequently, for question 25, they may feel that their culture and family life is less similar to theirs from back home, and more different. Being more amenable to change and reform liberals are more likely to 'pick and choose' from traditions and customs, practices and lifestyle choices to integrate them to the new society and thus develop different familial practices. In relation to question 29, there may be differences to the acceptance and belief of the traditional gender order. Some liberals may completely disagree with the gender order, and actively seek to change the way roles are practiced at home. Others are more likely to view roles as shared and equal, therefore there is no gender division as such, and there is recognition of both genders being equally responsible to fulfil these roles. There may yet be a practice of traditional gender roles within the

family, yet this is tempered with the view that this is inevitable and so instead of fighting it they ‘get on’ with it, recognising that it may not be ‘right’ but it doesn’t mean they have to restrict themselves to just these roles. For the daughters, question 22 aimed to see how important the family as an institution would be for their identities. The conservative view would be to consider the religiously-endorsed family roles as important and therefore something that is to be emulated in later life. In living in a more postmodern context, liberal attitudes may deem the family as less important than their personal and individual desires, seeking guidance from other sources other than the family. People with conservative identities in relation to the family see the family as a fixed institution that promotes the existing state of affairs (which are judged as correct due to religious validation). To divert from this would be seen as wrong and sacrilegious, therefore familial practices from back home would be preserved and continued as much as possible in their current families. Persons with the liberal attitudes would see the family structure back home as ‘old’ and therefore in need of change and adaption. They may include some aspects of family life may be taken into their current practice, but they are more likely to adapt their practices and adopt those from their new society.

1.22 Conclusion

In completing a detailed analysis of the responses of each participant, I was able to group the participants who offered similar responses together, and extracting the commonalities and differences, I began to see a ‘type’ of identity that could be ascribed to participants who demonstrated the same characteristics and values. This led to a conclusion that there were definite identities within the typology developed. The spectrum for this differentiation in worldview began at a more conservative view (I label this as *traditional*)

and ended with a more progressive and modern view (I label this as *modernist*). Thus, in order to assign a position on this spectrum, each participant was considered individually, their responses and opinions were analysed to detect the features of their worldview. Hence, quintessentially, there are two forms of Islamic identity that are largely demonstrated of firstly is a conservative identity based on the traditional, pre-modern view of Islam where nothing changes, identity is fixed and the status quo is maintained, with emphasis placed on the collective. Secondly, there is the more liberal Islamic identity which looks beyond religion as a way of life, not seeing it as the only way to live; it is concerned with reform based on the condition of the existing society and one that encourages the pursuit of knowledge and individual endeavour. A spectrum was designed there is not only a two-fold identity, there is an acknowledgement of variation and extent, and therefore the women were placed on the spectrum based on the predominance of their responses, demonstrating the flexible nature of identity. In the next chapter, the identities on the spectrum are examined in more detail.

Two Generations of Muslim Women: A Comparison of Worldviews

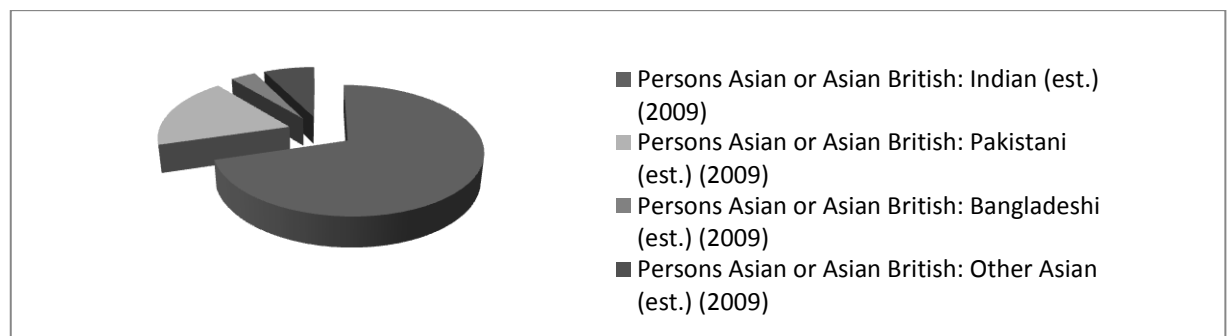
This chapter will discuss in more detail how the participants utilized the resources of religion, family education and Britishness to create a sense of identity. In order to determine the typology category relevant to each participant, I examined their responses to the questions relevant to each source of identity, which allowed for a better understanding of each participant and their identities as discussed in the previous chapter. I examine the main identities assigned to the participants from the spectrum created in chapter 5, presenting the generationally differentiated identities demonstrated by the participants. The last part of the chapter will consist of two case studies demonstrating two examples of the relationship between the mothers and daughters from the typology developed. These evaluative case studies explore the differences and similarities in relation to the formation of their identities. In essence, the mothers with a more modernist viewpoint had daughters that were also modernist. How their viewpoints were very much aligned will be argued in case study two. Modernist participants see life beyond religious boundaries, recognizing that modern society has benefits such as democracy and education. However, in case study one, for the traditional defensive mother there are clear differences between their viewpoints and those of their daughter's depicting that although the daughters are religious, there is more of a Western influence in their construction of their identities that is not present in their mothers. These case studies will form the basis for the following chapters that will centre on the connections and diversions that are revealed in the data in relation to the identity constructions of the participants in the research study as a whole. Therefore, the chapters that follow will examine in detail two major aspects elucidated

from the data; firstly the relationship between the influence or not of religion as a belief system that can be passed down primarily but not exclusively from mothers to their daughters, and secondly a reflection on the sense and extent of belonging experienced by mothers and daughters to living in Britain. As a result, the subsequent chapters I will evaluate the impact and influence of the mother's identity formation upon the daughter's own identity.

1.23 Presentation of Sample

In Table 3 (appendix thirteen) a summary of the main features of the sample can be observed. The research enterprise was to consider how two generations of Muslim women create a sense of identity focusing on resources of the family, Britishness, religion and education. The table provides a summary of the sample profile of the participants in the study demonstrating the Muslim population trend of Leicestershire below shown below.

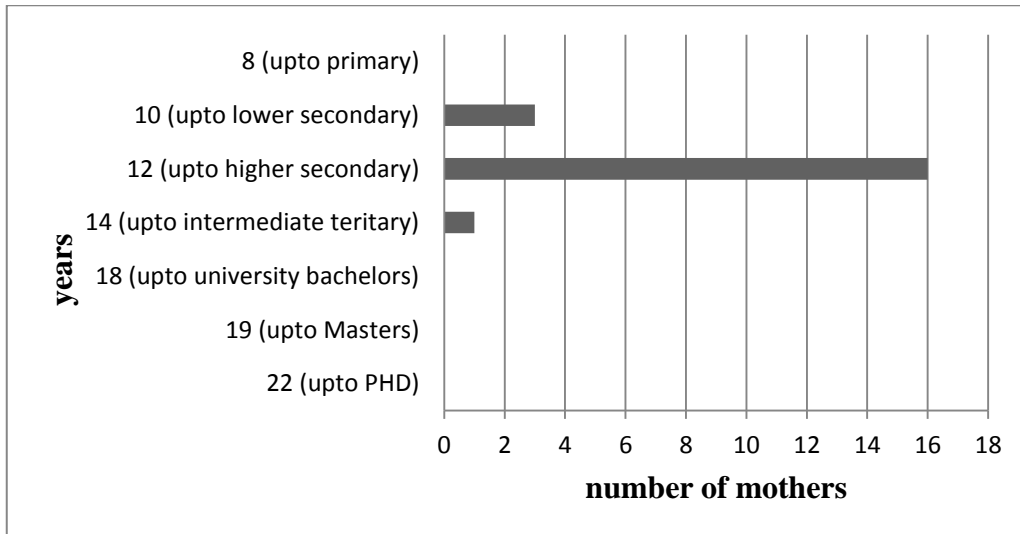
Figure 2: Leicester: Estimated Population numbers



Source: Adapted from Office for National Statistics (ONS) published 2001-2009 Ethnic Group Population Estimates for Local Authorities

The below graph shows that the majority of mothers both Pakistani and Bangladeshi finished secondary level schooling, with only one mother going to tertiary level which is the equivalent of the English A Level stage.

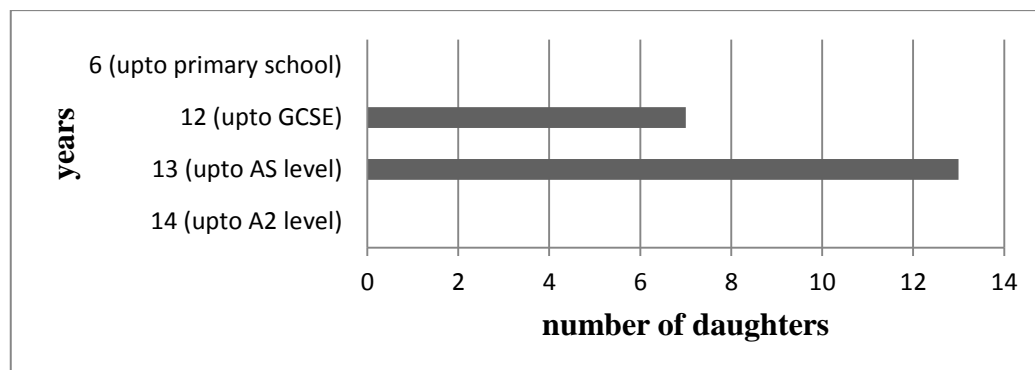
Figure 3: Years and Level of Education: Mothers



All the mothers have stated that they have come from fairly large families back home and that their families here are smaller, consisting of their spouse and child or children with the exception of three mothers who had an elderly family member living with them, usually the mother-in-law. The mothers generally spoke English well with one or two who needed to have the questions explained again or in a different way. Their language profiles from the questionnaire shows that they either speak Urdu, Hindi or Bengali as their preferred language. Only two of the mothers are employed, one is a part-time teaching assistant; the other is a part-time receptionist so the majority of mothers are housewives. In terms of their social life, it seems that the mothers prefer to spend time with friends from their community with only one or two stating that they spend time with non-Muslim friends.

The second age group consists of 16-18 year old daughters of these migrant mothers. All of them were born and raised in the Leicester. The majority of the daughters are between the ages of 16 and 18 and attending college for their AS levels thus all of the girls have GCSEs. The graph below shows that the majority of girls have completed their GCSE education and are either in the first year of A Levels (AS) or working towards finishing their second year of A Level (A2).

Figure 4: Years Spent in and Level of Education: Daughters



In terms of their language profiles, they identify English and either Urdu, Hindi or Bengali as their languages, putting English as their preferred language. They are more outgoing with their social life within the confines of their parental restrictions and spend time shopping and time with friends. The majority of the girls spend time with other Muslim friends with a few spending time with both Muslim and non-Muslim friends. The data collected shows that the mothers have spent a considerable part of their adult lives in Leicester, with half the mothers spending at least 17 years living in Leicester. What can be seen with these representations is a picture of the women interviewed and how significant major aspects of their lives will have impacting their experiences and their senses of self. I decided to include the country of origin and length of stay in Britain as it demonstrates a

major aspect that differentiates the sense of belonging experienced by the participants to Britain that was revealed in the data: that is that the daughters felt they *belonged* to Britain due to that fact that they were born here as compared to their mothers who have come here from abroad. This, of course was not the only reason and a detailed discussion of this will take place in chapter 8. The employment column illustrates that only two of the mothers had employment and that this was part-time. Demonstrated here is that the majority of the mothers spent a large amount of time at home; perceived especially by the traditional defensive, as a fundamental aspect of the roles of Muslim women, the authority in the domestic sphere as prescribed by religion. The mothers who were modernist and who were housewives claimed that they identified as housewives because they did not need to work and that they *chose* to be housewives and were not adhering to religious scripture or law. These contextual aspects of the women interviewed will be explored further in the following chapters to gain an overall understanding of the identity formation of the two generations of Muslim women, with particular reference to the research objectives of the study.

1.24 The Typology Demonstrated

The analysis of the data began with the examination of a questionnaire item that allowed me to focus my comprehension of the types of mothers and daughters that were emerging from the data. This question required the respondents to choose up to six values from a provided list that they regarded as important for themselves (see figure 5 below and appendix fourteen and fifteen). With the intention of establishing the types of mothers and daughters that were emerging from the data, a series of key questions from the interview and the questionnaire were also chosen that allowed the analysis to generate a better

understanding of the participants in the study. The development of the typology involved closely analysing the data and categorizing the responses made by each participant to gage an understanding of the kinds of world views they were demonstrating. I began with looking at the questions 12, 14 and 15 (for mothers and 13, 15 and 16 for daughters) which asked them to consider their values. These questions were designed to understand what is considered important to my participants not only in relation to belief but action. These are aspects that are representations of the life in the everyday, therefore in exploring their values I was aiming to get a sense of their natures.

Figure 5: Table Showing the Number of Participants Who Chose Each Value

Values	Mothers	Daughters
Teamwork	3	2
Independence	1	20
Charity	8	4
Honour	15	16
Respect	20	20
Achievement	5	20
Devoutness	15	10
Trustworthy	17	15
Conformity	15	10
Happiness	3	9
Determination	1	18
Education	20	20
Chastity	18	12
Self-control	16	15
Discipline	20	12
Ambition	4	20
Justice	0	1
Kindness	6	9
Modesty	18	15
Honesty	14	15

The table above is a very important source of data and will be used to demonstrate key observations that I have made. When looking at the numbers here, (and I will state that not

all mothers and daughter chose six values each) I find that the mothers mainly chose similar values. We can see that the majority of the mothers chose values that appear to be religious in nature. Indeed, one of the follow-up questions related to these values asked the mothers: Which of your chosen values would you say are based on religion and why? The responses from those mothers, who claimed that they were religious, unsurprisingly claimed that they felt that the values that they had chosen were indeed religious. The selection of values by the daughters in the table above reveals that they are more liberal compared to their mothers. The daughters are expressing a very modernistic ideal here of having freedom to lead autonomous lives. To validate the importance of a sense of independence, we observe that all daughters chose education and ambition. The importance of education was also discussed by mothers who also all chose it, however the daughters choosing ambition and 18 of the daughters choosing determination are taking the significance of having an education a step further. All the daughters value the importance of having an education as a chance of achieving a form of independence.

The next step was to consider the overall picture of the participants as individuals rather than groups. Therefore, I concentrated on all the values chosen by each participant to gain a better understanding of their world views.

Figure 6: Table showing the values chosen by mother and daughter 1 and 2.

Values	M1	D1	M2	D2
Teamwork		√		
Independence	√	√		√
Charity				
Honour			√	√
Respect	√	√	√	√
Achievement	√	√		√
Devoutness			√	
Trustworthy	√			
Conformity			√	

Happiness				
Determination		√		√
Education	√	√	√	√
Chastity			√	√
Self-control			√	
Discipline			√	
Ambition	√	√		√
Justice				
Kindness				
Modesty	√	√	√	√
Honesty				
TOTAL	7	9	9	9

In the above table, the highlighted sections indicate the same values chosen by mothers and daughters in each pair. Mother and daughter one chose all the same values except one; the mother chose trustworthiness whilst the daughter chose determination. This showed me that they shared a similar worldview in general and that there was a succession of values passed down from mother to daughter. The values they both chose could be argued as being more universal than particularly religious, perhaps except for modesty. In case study two later in this chapter, I provide more of a detailed examination of this mother daughter pair, this pair are seen as typical examples of the modernist identity type. In looking at mother and daughter 2, there again are similarities in some of their chosen values. They both choose values such as honour, modesty and chastity, which can be seen to be religious in nature. They also both choose education, a trend that is consistent with all the mothers and daughters. This is not entirely surprising, as some when education was discussed in the interview; some participants (i.e. mothers) talked of the religious importance of gaining an education. What is noteworthy, are the differences in the values chosen by the mother and daughter. The mother goes on to choose devoutness, conformity, self-control and discipline, values that can be deemed as decided religious. The daughter additionally

chooses independence, achievement, determination and ambition, values that can be regarded as more secular and modern. The first case study later in this chapter looks at an example of a mother daughter pair which demonstrated this similarity and illuminating difference, exploring what kinds of identities they created because of these differences. This pair demonstrates the identities that regard religion to be of more significance, traditional defensive and fractured traditional. Therefore, in examining the values chosen by the mother-daughter pairs, showed there were similarities between them yes, but for some mother-daughter pairs there were marked differences. In order to expand on these further, I endeavoured to consider the responses to other key questions, in order to examine how these values shaped the worldviews demonstrated by each participant.

In the examination of the participants' responses to the interview questions, especially in relation to whether they felt they lived differently from non-Muslims, fifteen out of twenty mothers claimed that 'yes', they felt that they lived their lives differently from non-Muslims citing religion as a key factor for this difference. The mothers who named religion as a factor for this difference claimed that rebellious behaviour occurred *because* there was a lack of religious commitment and familial values, which they aligned with religious commitment. Of these fifteen mothers, 11 chose the value of conformity, all 15 chose self-control and discipline. Thus, we can see here that the values they hold are influenced by their regard for the importance of religion in everyday life, so much so that they are arguing that those individuals who don't have religious values and commitments, are living risky lives with children that can become potentially rebellious and out of control. These 15 mothers, in regarding religion to be of importance here, fall into the traditional defensive type. The remaining five mothers claimed that their lives were also

lived differently but this was more to do with how they lived as families and raised their children. Thus, here these mothers are arguing that religion isn't necessarily the only determining factor of how they live their lives; it is familial relations and their responsibilities to raise their children that determine how they live. Therefore, these mothers were assigned to the modernist type.

In considering Britishness for example, further distinctions can also be made. Thus, one of the key findings examined in chapter 8 is the idea of belonging in relation to generational identity. The participants revealed many different facets of belonging, which enhances our understanding of the level of belonging in each generation. The data collected shows that overall 60% of the mothers expressed that they have had a negative experience living in Britain. The 40% of the mothers who identified having a positive experience of living in Britain, discussing that the quality of life, the opportunities available and better welfare provision were the main reasons for such as experience. On the other hand, all the daughters had positive experiences of living in Britain the main responses centred on the opportunities they were able to access here in Britain such as education and shopping. This allowed me to consider whether the participants viewed Britain and being British as also a key component in their identity formation. There were clear disparity not only between mothers and daughters, but also between mothers in relation to the importance of Britishness to them and their identities. Thus, those participants that demonstrated a more positive outlook towards living in Britain and being British were assigned to the modernist identity type.

Family questions elicited two main differences, firstly between mothers and daughters and secondly between mothers. In terms of the mothers, 15 out of the 20 mothers

talked of a form of nostalgia for family life back home. In order to deal with their sense of loss of this form of family life, they actively engaged in the religious community, seeing this community as an extension of family life. These mothers were seen as traditional defensive because they were actively involved in preserving their family life back home, rather than negotiating and re-forming their family life to the society they were currently living in. The 5 remaining mothers, argued a family life that was far from based on the one they had back home. They talked about their family life as more of a cultural choice, allowing them to 'pick' and 'choose' those aspects of family life they felt would 'work' in Britain and leave behind those that did not. This further helped to distinguish mothers who were able to embrace a different society from those who felt they did not belong to the society they have moved to. The daughters generally agreed on their view of the family, demonstrating that although they recognized the importance of the family as an institution that helps to provide a safe and secure environment for individuals, they were far from accepting some of the cultural aspects of family life such as the division of labour; which some of the mothers felt was religiously ordained.

1.24.1 The Traditional Defensive Identities of Mothers

Traditional defensive identities could be seen as a particularly protective response of migrant Muslim to living in the West. This is typically expressed by the insistence to preserve what has traditionally been meaningful to them, rather than adapting to the new ways of the society that they find themselves living in. The preservation that takes place is that of customs and traditions that maybe seen as old-fashioned and belongs to cultures of the past. The West is the main catalyst for the development of a traditional defensive identity, as - especially for Muslim women - the notion that their daughters can end up

behaving like non-Muslims (namely white women) is considered an all too risky option that must not occur. The fear of the undignified influence of the West is seen as a threat to group identities and thus it is not surprising that Muslims also have this fear (Gool, 2006: 28-29). The idea of the traditional defensive mother is present in my study as this is the majority mother type in the sample. The type describes very well the majority of mothers in the study, they are not completely conservative because there is an acceptance (grudging) of the benefits society they now live in, acknowledgment of the role of education and the opportunities they can bring, however, these are mothers who offer strong opposition to belonging to the Britain and who want to maintain the cultural customs and traditions that they have grown up with in terms of their own familial and religious obligations. especially as these are mothers who offer strong opposition to belonging to the Britain and who want to maintain the cultural customs and traditions that they have grown up with in terms of their own familial and religious obligations. The mothers that have been ascribed to the traditional defensive viewpoint have offered an understanding of Islam that argues that men and women have very different roles to play in the family and society (see chapters 7 for extensive analysis and discussion). According to the traditional defensive mothers' understanding of the Quran, the man is financially responsible for the family, and is to be the protector of his family. The main duties of women in an Islamic family are nurturing the children and the foremost duties they are required to fulfil are those of wife and mother. In other words, their responsibility is for the domestic domain of the house. Consequently the woman's obligation is to be obedient.

Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard.

(Quran, verse 34).

Both men and women also have the responsibility of the observance of prayers - usually with the man attending mosque for these prayers and the woman praying at home - and observing the fast and doing charitable work. The other major feature of this traditional defensive viewpoint relation the participants in my sample is in relation to dress (which the term as *Islamic* dress). Emphasis is placed heavily on the woman's responsibility to dress appropriately compared to men, with the justification for such emphasis derived from the Quran.

And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their zeenah (charms, or beauty and ornaments) ... that they should draw their khimar (veils) over their bosoms and not display their zeenah except to their husbands, their fathers

(Quran Chapter 21 verse 31).

These are the chief features of a traditional defensive viewpoint that are part of the identity demonstrated by the majority of the mothers in the study. When examining the data, I will illuminate how these features are consistently demonstrated by the traditional defensive mothers. For the daughters, a religious viewpoint was more tempered with a Western or dynamic viewpoint. This means that their identities are more hybridized with a mixing of religious and Western viewpoints.

1.24.2 The Fractured-traditional Identities of Daughters

The daughters that expressed a fractured-traditional worldview were more inclined to hold religious beliefs and see the significance of religion for their identities. These daughters had mothers who endorsed a traditional defensive worldview. The term

‘fractured’ was introduced to demonstrate a very key difference between these daughters and their mothers; that they were influenced by the more Western features of a British society that allowed them to forge an identity that was more hybrid than singular. The fractured nature of this identity expresses itself with the meshing of religious values with Western cultural ideal. The fractured-traditional daughters, with a formation of an identity that is multi-faceted, showed a reverence towards religious beliefs that was similar to that of their mothers; whilst at the same time endorsing Western values of freedom and ambition through education for instance. Their practice of religion is essentially the same as their mothers, embodying the traditional aspect of their identities. These traditional aspects related more to areas of religious belief and practice rather than familial roles.

The fractured-traditional daughters talked about how they felt they could negotiate their religious as well as secular lives in a harmonious fashion. An optimism was demonstrated where the mixing of these aspects of their identities would allow them to locate themselves in many contexts, not just one major context, with the others being subsidiary (this was in opposition to their mothers who saw themselves primarily as Muslims first and then a mother etc.). The daughters here are stating that they have simultaneous identities; therefore they had no difficulties in being both British and Muslim (see Song 2012). This is one of the chief differences between these daughters and their mothers, the acceptance of a British identity to compliment their religious identity. The selection of values by the daughters in appendix fifteen reveals that they are more liberal compared to their mothers. They chose honour, respect, education and modesty, whereas their selection of independence, achievement, determination and ambition points to a more liberal stance. Hence, there is a balance here between values that are more in keeping with

a liberal outlook and those values that are more traditional, showing that the daughters have a more hybridized identity than their mothers.

1.24.3 Case Study One: Mother 15 and Daughter 15

This case study highlights the typical mother-daughter pairing that brings together the mother with a traditional defensive identity and a daughter with a fractured-traditional identity. As the data analysis has delineated in previous sections, the daughter diverts substantially from her mother's viewpoint in three areas, the family, education and the sense of belonging to society. This mother-daughter pair is very passionate about the importance of religion in their lives which connects with the overall argument of the legacy of religious observance being passed down from mother to daughter. Yet it also supports the finding that the fractured-traditional daughters are just as influenced by the liberal, Western context as the modernist daughters.

Figure 7: Endorsed Values by Mother and Daughter 15

	Teamwork	Independence	Charity	Honour	Respect	Achievement	Devoutness	Trustworthy	Conformity	Happiness	Determination	Education	Chastity	Self-control	Discipline	Ambition	Justice	Kindness	Modesty	Honesty
Mother			✓	✓	✓				✓			✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	
Daughter		✓		✓	✓	✓					✓	✓			✓	✓			✓	

From figure 7 above, we can see that values that are aligned between mother and daughter are those that are religious in nature and that have been discussed earlier in the chapter. It can be observed that the daughter has also chosen values such as independence,

achievement and determination, similar values to those chosen by the sample of daughters in general. In taking into account the responses made by this mother-daughter pair, there are some very significant points to note. The mother claims that she is identifiable as a Muslim through her modest clothing and headscarf and that these are the important ways she identifies herself as a Muslim. It is very beneficial to her to be a Muslim. She feels that religion is crucial for her identity as she believes that she doesn't want to be out of touch with her cultural and familial roots that are based on Islam. The concept of modesty is a very significant theme for this mother; her headscarf is her identifier, and it is fascinating how she said that in public she tries to blend in with the crowd, yet wears a symbol (headscarf) that would render it difficult for her to be inconspicuous in an unfamiliar outside setting. Religion for the daughter is seen as a progressive force which informs the way life is lived. She speaks lengthily about how the media are instrumental in the misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims, drawing upon her personal experiences of non-Muslim friends who have had misconceptions of her as a Muslim. The daughter feels completely comfortable with her belief of Islam as she is able to correct the people, such as her peers, who - she feels - are misinformed. She is secure in her religious knowledge.

There are also similarities between the way the mother and daughter view the importance of the family. They both agree on what the role of the family is; that of supporting and being a form of security. One of the chief differences that can be noted however is that the mother sees family on a broader scale aligned with the community, whereas the daughter views it more as an individual source of comfort. For the mother, family is like an extension of the community, whereas the daughter views the family as a support network that offers security on a one-to-one level. The foremost differences that

can be noted between mother and daughter are in relation to the roles men and women play in the family. The daughter argues that within the framework of Islam, men and women are equal. Thus, all aspects of family life should be equally shared between the genders, including childcare. The view of equality expressed by the daughter mirrors a more Western view of equality, which suggests that being born and brought up in a Western society has had an impact on the worldviews developed by the daughter. The mother, on the other hand, states that she feels that men and women do have distinctive roles within the family, that the mother's maternal nature will innately make her more suitable for looking after children, and the male's role is that of protector especially of children and that this is religiously ordained. Both mother and daughter view education as important, with the daughter regarding it as very important. The mother seems to have definite plans for her daughters, which don't match those of the daughter.

The mother mentioned that she sees marriage as equally important as education and therefore desires that her daughter be married and have a family whilst in her early twenties. For the daughter, her future aspirations consist of wanting to teach, doing education studies, doing a PGCE course and then eventually a PhD. She doesn't make reference to marriage or aspiring to be married. Thus, it can be observed that the mother's view has not affected the daughter; she has definite ambitions for her future which shows that not all her mother views are as influential upon the daughter and her personal views to the same degree as the mother's views of religion seem to be. One of the other major issues that separated this mother and her daughter was their respective feelings of belonging to Britain. In contrast to her daughter, the mother claimed that she didn't feel that she belongs in Britain and that she misses being back 'home' in Bangladesh.

This case study demonstrates that religion is a fundamental component of identity construction for this mother-daughter pair. The daughter has inherited from her mother a religious identity. She sees religion as a key factor in her identity and as a source for learning 'good things'. She feels that her personality has developed since she has started to practice Islam. The daughter further claims that her parents were also 'proper Islamic' thus religious observance was something that was encouraged by the family. However, the mother's lack of a feeling of belonging to Britain seems to have functioned to distance her from her daughter. The mother's viewpoints on marriage and education as well as the role of family do not fit in with those views of the daughter who emphasizes the value of freedom and independence. There was no mention of how this difference of opinion affected their relationship, but it seems that the mother is less aware of the differences than the daughter. This could be because the daughter has not indicated this difference in order to maintain a harmonious home situation, or even more simply that she does not see it necessarily as a problem as yet. Thus, this mother-daughter pair indicates a similar pattern for the rest of the sample, where the mother is traditional as well as religious, and the daughter is more liberal and religious. These differences demonstrate generational divergences in a kinship sense because they have opposing impressions and attitudes on most shared sources of identity except religion. Both are living in Britain, yet their preference for living in Britain and belonging to it is very separate. This is furthered by the fact that the importance laid on the roles of women in the family is traditional, and inherited from the mother's upbringing from her country of origin which do not mean the same for her daughter.

1.24.4 The Modernist Identities of Mothers and Daughters

Rahman (1982) in his discussion of the different viewpoints of Islam, especially his discussion of a Liberal viewpoint, offers a good explanation of some of the features of the modernist participants in the study. This Liberal viewpoint refers to explanations of Islam that have a particular concern of issues such as democracy, separating religion from political involvement, women's rights, freedom of thought, and endorsing human advancement. For such issues, the contention is that both Muslims and religious practice would be in a better position with reforms and a more free society (Kurzman, 1999: 11). These are the main features characterizing the modernist participants in my study. The modernist mothers and daughters were able to show how features of Islam were more democratic and universal than are believed by practicing Muslims, especially in relation to values and familial upbringing which is discussed in chapter 7. It can be observed that there are ten participants in this sample that do not regard religion to be a major aspect in life. This was made plain in their responses to the questions considering the importance of religion for their identity construction. These participants are less traditional as they do not accept the dominance of religion and seek other 'expert systems' of knowledge in order to understand the world around them. We can see this viewpoint emerging from their responses to the question about living their lives differently to non-Muslims. The modernist mothers also claimed that they did live their lives differently from non-Muslims but insisted that this was not to do with religion, but rather to do with how they lived as families and the way they raised their children. Thus it may not be surprising that these five mothers identified themselves as 'not religious' throughout the course of the interview.

1.24.5 Case Study Two: Mother 1 and Daughter 1

The case study will consider modernist mother-daughter pair who are similar in their world views, as both claim to be non-religious and do not wear hijab. So this seems to suggest that this daughter has been influenced to a certain extent by her mother in her beliefs and values. Yet they are also compounded by the daughter's friends and media. Thus, this mother-daughter pair is a prime example of the alignment of world views which seems to be found in the sample amongst the modernist mother-daughter pairs in general.

Figure 8: Values Endorsed by Mother and Daughter 1

	Teamwork	Independence	Charity	Honour	Respect	Achievement	Devoutness	Trustworthy	Conformity	Happiness	Determination	Education	Chastity	Self-control	Discipline	Ambition	Justice	Kindness	Modesty	Honesty
Mother		✓			✓	✓		✓				✓				✓			✓	
Daughter	✓	✓			✓	✓					✓	✓				✓			✓	

The above table shows that the mother-daughter pair selected mainly the same values with the exception of three. This is illustrative of the sense of closeness and shared solidarity that this mother-daughter pair enjoyed, as during the interview it felt like I was interviewing very close friends rather than a mother and daughter.

There are similarities between the way the mother and daughter view the importance of the family. They both perceived the role of the family as that of supportive and being a form of security. They both state the family is a place where they can be themselves, more so the mother who feels the most confident within the family setting than in any other setting. It seems clear that the mother has made conscious efforts to have a

different family milieu for her family than she had when she was younger. The idea of escape from her family is clearly visible in the way she speaks of her family of origin, which is something she has aimed to avoid repeating with her own daughters. It seems to have been implemented successfully, as both mother and daughter talk of communication and respect being important facets of family life.

The family vignette and their responses to it also provide proof of their shared modernist views. Both mother and daughter felt that the situation may have been avoided if the parents had talked to their daughter rather than restricting her. They both have similar ideas of the role of men and women in the family that women are more likely to remain at home and look after children and the men go out to work; the mother appeared more accepting of these than the daughter who feels that they are unfair. The mother felt that there should be more of a partnership between men and women, where the majority of the duties were shared, which is more in relation to her own family situation than in general. The daughter still perceiving inequality in the family roles reveals that there may be less equality than what her mother believes there to be.

In relation to education, both mother and daughter view education very highly and regard it as very important. The mother seems to have definite plans for her daughter. The daughter endorses the mother's ambitions for her, stating resolutely the qualifications she hopes to achieve which will end in her becoming a Pharmacist. The mother sees her daughter's future in academic terms, without mentioning marriage as a possible aspiration. The daughter, on the other, whilst supporting this desire for the highest level of education mentioned that she wanted to be married by the time she was 28/29. It is also evident that education is regarded by both mother and daughter as an opportunity, the mother

intimating that education was her way of escaping her family for a better life in the West and the daughter feels that education in this country is an opportunity to gain a decent job.

In this case study, it is apparent that both the mother and daughter do not regard religion as being a significant determinant of their aspirations and everyday life. Both expressed the view that being a Muslim requires a person to be practicing Islam which is something that they do not do. The daughter did not mention this as she was very strong on her position of not discussing religion with her friends, thus didn't answer the question as to what girls her age would view Islam and being Muslim. The experiences of Islam the mother had when she was younger seems to have affected her daughter as neither regard Islam as important, so much so that they claim they are unsure of what Shari'ah Law is. Yet they seem to be aware of issues that affect Muslim women such as dress (hijab for them mainly) and marriage. They both have a comparable view of the hijab, namely, that it restricts women. They don't accept it, as their reaction to the poem illustrated in the religion vignette demonstrated. The daughter felt more negative towards the poem, while both of them claimed that it was judgemental. They both feel that Shari'ah Law has no place in Britain as it restricts women and that they feel that it is not part of their everyday life. Here there is less generational differentiation as the two kinship groups show a similar experience of the sources of identity available to them. The strong alliance between mother and daughter show that cohort in this instance is not as significant factor in experiences of different groups, because despite the disparity in ages, the life experiences of this mother-daughter pair are mirrored.

1.25 Conclusion

The analysis of the data derived from the participants served to illustrate the two extreme poles of the typology developed in chapter 5. The discussion of the data demonstrates the key components of the participants' experiences, values, concerns and constructions of identities. The developed typology allowed me to map the standpoints from which the women in my sample are coming from; helping to understand that their identities are complex constructions, forged within their life experiences as well as their upbringing and personal endorsement (or not) or religious belief and practice. Generation is also a key differentiating factor. The majority of the mothers uphold a traditional defensive viewpoint, where their life experiences are predominated by upholding traditions and cultural patterns that they consider to be under threat from living in a more liberal society. The modernist mothers, a smaller portion in the sample, are more accepting of the society they are now in, accepting and integrating within it with no such anxiety (see chapter 8). The daughters demonstrated a more liberal outlook which allowed them to engage in the selecting and choosing of social and cultural behaviours and leaving behind others. The daughters were able to do this in relation to rejecting the wearing of 'inappropriate' or 'immodest' clothing, and the choosing of education, food and shopping opportunities. Thus, the fractured-traditional daughters compounded their religious identities with a liberal outlook that didn't match their mothers. This mother daughter pair demonstrated clear generational differences, as their viewpoints differ in many instances except for religion. The opposite can be seen for the modernist mothers and daughters, who show less generational variation due to the alignment of their views. Accordingly, the typology demonstrates that the worldviews and attitudes of the participants are indeed

generationally tempered, with the similarities between mothers and daughters being more pronounced than the differences. The differences within the generations are discernible, with the traditional aspects of the spectrum showed more variety between the generations than the modernist aspects. The next chapter takes each of the types of identities further, explaining how the identity demonstrated is relevant to generational differentiation. The noteworthy aspects of these generational identities are two-fold; there are differences between one generation (mothers) to the other (daughters); as well as differences within each generation (cohort differences). Therefore, generational differences as a theoretical distinction both in the kinship sense and cohort sense, is very important in terms of this research study. In the next chapter, I will look at the underlying factor that connects mothers and daughters, religion, considering the idea that daughters seem to be espousing similar religious views, values and behaviour as their mothers. This seems to suggest that mothers have indeed succeeded to a certain but not exclusive extent in passing down their religious beliefs and practices through the process of socialization.

Factors Shaping Muslim Women's Identities: The Roles of Family and Religion.

In this chapter, the discussion of the findings moves to show the impact of the family religion and upon the identities of two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester, extending further the analyses from the previous chapters. In their own words, we begin to see a picture of how the everyday lives of these two generations of Muslim women interplay with significant aspects of identity construction, establishing a generational difference in terms of impact and acceptance. I explore the importance of the family as a source of identity for the participants, noting that the mothers attached more significance to role of the family while it was a less important factor in shaping the daughters' identity. I show how a large proportion of the traditional defensive mothers feel nostalgic towards their family life back home, where they reminisce about the harmonious and happy aspects of family life they once had, noting that it is not the same with their family here. In addition, consideration is given to the views of the roles within the family, illustrating how mainly the traditional defensive mothers align their roles in the family along religious lines, whereas the daughters (both modernist and fractured traditional) appear less happy with the division of familial duties within the family along gender lines.

Secondly I examine the function religion plays not only for the construction of identity, but also the way the mothers and daughters live their lives. There are indications that the significance of the impact of religion for the identities of the Muslim women in the study was very compelling, especially for the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters. The idea of 'religion as a chain of memory' introduced by Hervieu-Léger (2000) is utilized to show the endurance of religious belief and commitment

among the majority of the participants, despite living in the context of a modern society, where the process of secularization: is well advanced (see Bruce 2002). The mothers and daughters essentially defined themselves as ‘religious’ and ‘not religious’, and they were comfortable discussing religion and the importance (or not) of religion in their lives. Thus, this examination shows the impact of these sources in the private identities of the women in the study.

1.26 The Muslim Family

One of the most prominent features of Muslim society is the importance ascribed to the family. The family unit is considered to be the foundation stone of a strong and balanced society (Doi 1984). The traditional Muslim family is extended, often traversing three generations. An extended structure presents many advantages, including stability, unity, and physical and psychological support, principally in times of need (Anwar 1994). Muslim youth in the West are confronted with lifestyle choices such as such as better access to education, a more ‘open’ society which are not accessible in more traditional countries especially those with South Asian cultures. Therefore, the opportunities pertaining to individual freedom presented by a nuclear family setting for forming identities prevail over any benefits of living in an extended family (Anwar 1994). Despite these changes, the man is considered the head of the family and such a leadership role brings a certain amount of responsibility. Economic responsibility is the most fundamental responsibility of the man as he must provide for the family regardless of whether the wife is earning money. However, one cannot ignore the ‘dark side of the family’ which affects women in the family through situations such as domestic violence and abuse. The most clear examples of violations against women in the South Asian families is honour killings,

which typically see a female member of a family killed because her behaviour (for example, being too Western, having boyfriends, refusing to get married to suitor chosen by the family) has been deemed as bringing dishonour onto the family. As migration flows can be seen as resulting in the disintegration of the extended family structure, such violations occur in order to maintain 'face' within the community established in the host society. As it can be observed that many second-generation Muslim migrants in Britain have grown up in nuclear families, being isolated from the immediate acquaintance, with the depth and intricacy of living within an extended family setting, has caused families to form such close-knit communities.

The Quran (2:187) states: "They (your wives) are your garment and you are a garment for them". This concise Qur'anic extract captures the principal aims of marriage—to provide warmth, comfort, and protection as is offered by a piece of clothing. Within the Islamic tradition, children have a right to be conceived and nurtured in a stable and secure setting; marriage is considered to afford such an environment. Celibacy in marriage and sex outside of marriage are powerfully opposed because they are deemed to be behaviour extremes that are not advantageous to a healthy society (Al-Qaradawi 1960). This displeasure and hostility toward such extremes of behaviour is demonstrated by the majority of the mothers (both traditional defensive and modernist) in numerous examples in their interview responses which will be considered in the chapter. The division of the roles places women in the role of domestic responsibility, looking after the home, the children and in many cases elderly members of the family. As discussed in chapter six, the division of labour along gender lines is seen by the traditional defensive mothers to be endorsed by religious scriptures and laws. Thus, in summary, the family is regarded as a

very crucial element in the lives of Muslims as it is the most important basis for establishing a secure and stable environment for the socialization of children into becoming good Muslims, with each gender playing a part in such an endeavour. This view was highly endorsed by the traditional defensive mothers in the sample.

1.26.1 The Familial Background Of Mothers In The Sample

The sample of women in the study expressed the importance of the family for their lives in different ways. For the mothers in particular, all of them reported that they came from large (with both sibling and cousin, aunts and uncles) families back home in either Pakistan or Bangladesh, which is a significant feature of South Asian families typically. The mothers stated that having such large families was a norm in their communities and that this gave them a sense of security and familiarity that was important for them (in particular for the traditional defensive mothers). The families all lived either in the same house or very close by, thus the extended structure of the family was prominent in their lives, giving them the company of aunts, uncles, and cousins. The traditional defensive mothers claimed that the large families they came from gave them a sense of belonging and alleviated the feeling of loneliness and isolation as there were many people in the home such that they, in effect, could never be lonely, there would always be a family member. The household was looked after and kept running by the women; the mothers, aunts and daughters, as the fathers, uncles and sons were often at work in the fields, in the market place, in shops, restaurants and other businesses. The economic situation for these mothers was that they came from low income families; some mothers mentioned that their own mothers and aunts would work to supplement the family income by doing laundry for

others such as ironing and often taking up cleaning jobs for families who could afford to hire a household helper for domestic tasks.

Yes family life was different back home. We used to work harder there as children than we do here as mothers! My mother, aunts, sisters and I would be scrubbing, and cleaning cooking and washing. Sometimes, if we had people coming to visit we would be up early so that we could have everything ready. Here, I do the housework and my daughters help, but the house isn't big and it is only the four of us (Mother 3 aged 46).

Therefore in situations where their mother was working, the everyday household tasks were carried out by the remaining women in the house, the daughters and so, the majority of mothers had learnt to take up the responsibility of the home from young ages, either through helping their mothers in the house, or often being the ones doing the majority of the housework. This often extended to looking after family members such as younger siblings and for four mothers belonging to the traditional defensive type; they had to look after elderly aunts and uncles as well as grandparents in some cases. Three out of the five of the modernist mothers stated that in terms of the family, they were not close to anyone in their family from back home; identifying a close friend as being the person they were close to when they were growing up. This differed greatly from the traditional defensive mothers, who all named a family member, such as a sibling or their father, with one stating her mother and another stating her aunt. Of the remaining modernist mothers, two stated that they had been close to their sisters. Demonstrated here, is that for the majority of the mothers, both traditional defensive and two of the modernist, the family was important in terms of offering a confidant and someone to rely on. This was further confirmed by the responses given in relation to the person they felt inspired them the most. From the twenty mothers, all the traditional defensive mothers (fifteen) and three of the five modernist

mothers identified a family member as being a person that inspired them. This family member was either a sibling (seven identifying a sibling) or father as seven of the mothers did. The other three respondents identified a grandparent and only one identified her mother as a person of inspiration.

Living in Britain, the family background for the participants is in many respects very different this firstly, in relation to size of family, as well as practices and methods of upbringing to a certain extent. Of the twenty participants, fourteen live in a nuclear family setting, with their husbands and their children. The remaining six have different situations, with three having an elderly relative living with them, often their mother-in-law, and the remaining three living on the same street or a few minutes away from extended family. Thus, the comfort of the extended family is only present for a small number of the women in the sample. Of the twenty women, only two have employment, which is part-time. Thus, the main wage earner of the family is the husband/father. The women have identified themselves as housewives and they were generally comfortable with this role this also includes the two part-time working mothers. Due to the majority of the mothers living in a nuclear family set up, fifteen out of the sixteen claimed that they are in regular contact with family back home, often calling at least twice a month. This illustrated that the mothers (traditional defensive) still felt a strong attachment to their family back home; despite the distance they lived away from them. They reported that the principle topic of discussion in these conversations is news about the family, marriages, births, deaths, domestic problems, success stories and gossip. The other main topic of discussion in these phone conversations was news of the issues and activities in the home country, with political news being the main concern. The one mother who is modernist who didn't keep in contact with her

family back home stated that she left her home country in order to escape her family life as she wanted more freedom from her family.

1.26.2 Nostalgia For The Family: Traditional Defensive Mothers

The traditional defensive mothers generally offered a shared view of the family perceived it as a very central aspect in their lives. They coupled this with the idea of the ‘community’ stating that a community (both geographical and religious) that offers support is just as important as the family. The collective articulation of an Islamic identity is conveyed through a renewal of the concept of the *Ummah*, the community of Muslim believers, which permits the growth of a universal identity in Islam (Bodman and Herbert 1998). The role of the family for these mothers is that of support, being there for each other and helping each other.

The family back home was lovely. There was such a feeling of happiness and we lived together so we had many celebrations like birthdays and weddings, and because we were so big, there was never a time when you were lonely. Family life back home was more secure and there was a feeling of support because we were there for each other (Mother 18 aged 48).

Conceptualizing family support was suggestive, as it highlighted a sense of community within the family structure itself; the large family setting was like a community, therefore the idea of living in communities with other families from the same country who endorse the same culture and traditions, was an inevitable development to compensate for the lack of extended family support they were used to back home.

I don't really have non- Muslim friends, I feel more comfortable from within my community they are like family (Mother 17 aged 46).

This feeling can be extended further with the idea that the mothers felt nostalgic for the family life they experienced back home. According to Boym (2001: xiii):

Nostalgia (from nostos- return home and algia- longing) is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy.

Ideology of nostalgia was very significant for the traditional defensive mothers as they demonstrated nostalgia for their homeland in specific relation to their family life. There was a sense of loss established by the traditional defensive mothers when discussing the differences between their family lives back home to their family life now. Nostalgia is a real longing for a community with a 'collective memory', a yearning for endurance in a disjointed world. Thus,

Nostalgia inevitably reappears as a defence mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals. (Boym 2001: xiv).

For the traditional defensive mothers, the yearning (a fantasy) for their life back home was a reaction against living in a country that they felt no connection with, no acceptance for. The underlying factor that may account for such nostalgia could be concern of maintaining religious and ethnic identification among their children who have been born in Britain, transmitting religious and cultural traditions to the next generation depended on utilizing their own experiences of family socialization.

The desire to have a sense of community was behind a need for security as they dealt with the trauma of migrating to another country and living in unfamiliar territory. The experience of migration had disconnected the narrative attached with locality, therefore the need to feel some sense of security, a need of anchoring in relation to the anxiety of no longer being 'back home'. The sense of security comes from going back to a time when

they felt secure, the time of childhood. In a comprehensive function, nostalgia can be a reaction against living in modern conditions. The family life that was experienced back home by the traditional defensive mothers was the life they experienced as children. There was discourse from these mothers that outlined how having a large family meant there was always a never-ending possibility for games, pranks, gossip and fun. They were constantly 'happy and laughing with no real worries' (mother 9 aged 46) which gave them a sense of belonging to their family and community. This is the feeling that they are missing, which was evident in their considerations of their family life now. When looking at their family life now compared to their life back home, the traditional defensive mothers answered similarly with the view that they overwhelmingly felt that their current family life was missing the connection, unity and harmony that they felt 'back home'. There was also a sense of not doing enough things together as a family, as their children often did things with their friends and the older they get, the less they want to do things with their parents.

My family back home was very lively and active, we did many things together as a family that were fun and enjoyed each other company. There was always something to do and people to share activities with. Now although I love my family, it is so much smaller and we don't get to do many things together. My children, especially my daughter, prefer to do things with their friends (Mother 10 aged 46).

In considering the concept further, Boym (2001: xviii) identifies two varieties of nostalgia: the restorative and the reflective. Restorative nostalgia highlights *nostos* and endeavours a reconstruction of the 'lost home'. Reflective nostalgia flourishes in *algia*, the craving itself and impedes the return home. In terms of the traditional defensive mothers, restorative nostalgia appears to describe their feelings more closely. This is because the mothers never mentioned the idea of actually going back home to live again; they instead portray how

they have tried to incorporate their life back home into their present life especially in terms of establishing a community with shared norms, values and cultural traditions (this relates closely to the idea of developing chains of memory in relation religion). When asked if they considered their culture and lifestyle to be different from their parents back home, the traditional defensive mothers claimed that mostly yes it was, however, they felt that they have tried hard to establish core patterns of behaviour that they inherited from their parents. The reasons for the differences with their parents' culture and lifestyle were that they lived in the West, and that the society has different priorities and expectations, coupled with their children thought some of their practices were old-fashioned. This is in line with existing literature that argues that young generations have no affiliation with their parents' customs and practices from their home countries (Alam and Husband 2006).

Well my parent's culture and life was very strict, especially with the girls and they were always making sure that we were not up to mischief. They were very trusting because they knew that we would not risk doing anything to get into trouble, because punishment was severe and painful. It is different here with my family. The idea of being so strict is not acceptable here because society is freer and this is what the children are learning living here that the way we were brought up is old and not the right way anymore. I am strict with my children but not the same way as my parents were with me (Mother 4 aged 49).

Thus, for the traditional defensive mothers, the family life they lived back home is a desire, a fantasy but there is also a recognition that this could never actually be recreated as the society that they are now living in is not conducive to recreate the conditions of their childhoods. As Boym (2001: xvii) describes it: "Nostalgia tantalizes us with its fundamental ambivalence; it is about the repetition of the unrepeatable, materialization of the immaterial".

The nostalgia for the family that they desire was at the centre of the traditional defensive mothers' sense of identity because this is where they feel the most confident and it is where they feel they can be themselves. Their nostalgia for family life back home didn't devalue that family life they have now. The traditional defensive mothers stated that when they are in the family context, they feel confident because that is the one place where they are dominant.

My family is where I spend most of the time so I am practical and strict and I present myself with authority and in charge. My husband works a lot so I have to be there to discipline the children most of the time so I have to be firm and keep them in line (Mother 3 aged 46).

Outside the home, they mothers felt less assured and lacked confidence in the public sphere, depending on husbands or children, but within their communities and households, they regarded themselves as authority figures in the preservation and transmission of cultural and religious values (Ansari 2002). Consequently, they were at the centre of what occurs in the family unit, so the traditions and customs are generally taught by the mothers. The most important aspect that underlines the family as the domain of the traditional defensive mothers is that they clearly believe that Islam has proscribed the gender roles within the family unit. It is believed that men and women have equal but different roles for the maintenance of the family; the men are responsible for the economic well-being of the family. The father as well as any sons and other male family members were the ones that ensure that there is enough food for the family, there is money for clothes and adequate shelter for the family. This is considered a heavy burden for the man of the family to take on. Thus the traditional defensive mothers felt that the woman's role in the family as

endorsed by Islam was to look after the domestic sphere, including caring for children, other family members and maintaining a clean household so that the fathers have a warm and inviting environment to come home to so that they can relax and have their worries and stresses lightened (Parson, warm bath theory). Thus, when asked to consider what they felt the differences to be in terms of the roles mothers and daughters undertake in the family compared to fathers and sons, the traditional defensive mothers claimed that the gendered differences in the family were right and that they were determined by religion.

Islam directs women and men on how to behave. In the family, men are responsible for making sure the family has money, and the women look after the house and children and the family. This is how it should be, my husband has a good job and works a lot and so I make sure the house is clean and food is cooked. It is normal (Mother 8 aged 49).

Butler (2004) contends that a gendered sense of self is fashioned through repeated performances, functioning with minimum self-reflection, this can be seen in this example as when the mother related this view, there was a clear impression of not understanding why I had asked this question, as if it was 'routine' or 'accepted'. Thus gender identity here can be seen to be preordained, through religion, therefore a conscious divergence from this would mean diverging from what Islam prescribes. There were slight variations in the understanding of the direction from Islam on familial roles, as four mothers from the traditional defensive type did mention a more shared family responsibility of roles.

Well Islam says that women look after the home, cooking and cleaning and men earn the money and protect the family. This is generally what happens in my family but my husband does do things around the house like DIY and I am able to contribute with my earnings so it can be like a partnership. We have to share the burden but we also must play our parts (Mother 7 aged 42).

The general adherence seems to show that this has been passed down from their families back home, as the description of family life offered by the traditional defensive mothers demonstrates this division of labour described in their own families in Britain. What is noteworthy is that this acceptance of the gendered roles in the family was not shared by all the daughters. In this instance the daughters of the traditional defensive mothers have similar views to the daughters of the modernist mothers discussed in the next section. When considering the responses to the family vignette, the traditional defensive mothers showed sympathy with the parents although did feel the punishment was too severe. The fractured-traditional daughters felt that Maryam had bought it on herself, behaving in a way that was not Islamic and therefore should have thought more of the consequences. Modernist participants were more philosophical, claiming that both Maryam and the parents were wrong, and if they communicated better, there would be more of an understanding between daughter and parents. This further demonstrates the integration modernist mothers have been through as these views are more in line with a liberal way of thinking. The family seems to be one of the few issues where the daughters of both types of mother had similar views despite the different world views they endorse. One reason to account for this could be the fact they were brought up in a British context which differs greatly from the societies in which their mothers grew up. With access to education, media and other sources of knowledge, daughters have been exposed to alternative ways of living, and like the daughters in Afshar's study (1989b) recognize there are alternative and more 'equal' ways of living that are not so constricted like those of their mothers.

1.26.3 The Modernist Mothers: Family As A Cultural Choice

The modernist mothers validated the modern world view that they demonstrated throughout the interview and this is easily applied to their view of the role of the family. Of the five, only one was in employment as a part-time teaching assistant, all of these mothers defined themselves as housewives. What is significant about this definition is that they saw this has a cultural choice not one that has been determined by religion. The modernist mothers made differentiations between religious aspects of family life and cultural aspects of family life. This is particularly in relation to the roles between men and women. They felt that the roles men and women practice now in Britain are not religiously determined but culturally influenced, that is women being largely responsible for domestic duties and child care. Thus, this can be applied to the idea that Muslim women's lives and the choices that they make are shaped, to a large extent, by patriarchal social organizations as they are by religious thought (Mabro and El-Solh 1994: 1). Subsequently, when violations of women's rights occur in Muslim communities, they "are reflections of culture, not of Islam" (Saleem 2004 interview quoted in Brown, 2006: 240). This was a theme that was clearly discussed by modernist mother number one, as these beliefs were applied to her own family. When describing her family life back home, like the traditional defensive mothers, she said she came from a large extended family and that she was also was punished for any transgressions by parents and other family members. This mother actually felt 'stifled with the many family members in the house that I couldn't breathe for someone being there in the way' (Mother 1 aged 45). Thus, this form of family life was not what she wanted to recreate, this modernist mother felt that she had to 'escape the suffocation of a large family' (Mother 1 aged 45). This modernist mother is more extreme in her aversion

to the family life back home, as the remaining modernist mothers were not so vehement about their family life. The remaining modernist mothers, also experiencing the same kind of family upbringing as the traditional defensive mothers, felt that they were able to apply and change this upbringing to the context of a contemporary society. Therefore, all the modernist mothers feel that family life, whilst changing in relation to being more progressive and parenting being more lenient, some of the traditional cultural ways their parents brought them up was still intact. For example,

The family life I experienced was very strict and restricted in many ways. It was very community based as the community was involved in disciplining the girls, which was always referred back to Islam. Islam says etc. There are some practices that I have adopted such as ensuring that elders are respected, to listen to parents and obey house rules, but I also make sure that they understand the importance of the rules, my parents never explained they just said I had to obey (Mother 13 aged 46).

This practice of mixing cultural values emphasized the idea that they had formed hybrid identities. Thus like the young Asians in Ghuman (1999) these modernist mothers have retained some features of their own culture and simultaneously adopted some of the majority cultural norms offering an identity formed in a “hyphenated way”, (1999: 69). Such features of identity are usually associated with the younger generation, which supports the point made that there are cultural differences in the way generations can be formed, where generational identities are like *habitus*’ (Bourdieu) having certain features, tastes behaviours and norms. Thus, modernist mothers can be seen to be exhibiting a cultural generational identity based on accepting the norms and values of British society which is generally what younger individuals do. This shows that cohort definitions of generation can be problematic, as the modernist mother is not *located* similarly to younger

people, therefore this kind of identity would not necessarily be seen in her cohort because of the differences in their historical experiences. In relation to family roles, modernist mothers argued that roles in the family are important, and the basis of these should be equality. This they claimed was how Western families lived to a certain degree, and therefore from the experiences they had from their own families back home, they felt that domestic roles should be more shared and not divisive.

Living in Britain means has shown me that families don't need to be strict you know with who does what in the house. I think family life should be equal, men and women should share the tasks in the home, and so I think that yes women can be at home and have jobs it's not a problem (Mother 11 aged 45).

However there was not a complete rejection of the domestic duties of men and women, the views revolved around equality and sharing rather than rejecting or subverting. The family was an important aspect of their identities also; they described the family as being a place 'that offers me the chance to nurture my family and see them develop' (mother 20, aged 47) and essentially a site that 'make me feel wanted as a person not just a mother or wife, because we all live with respect and try and communicate rather than fight' (mother 16, aged 45). Such responses highlight that being in a family for these mothers offers a sense of recognition of their identities, a purpose which underscores the view of the family being the domain of women. The modernist mothers in general terms showed that their family was underpinned by common values found in any society, therefore religious prescription was not the dominant influencer as it had been for the traditional defensive mothers. By advocating family as culturally operated rather than religiously, these modernist mothers

negated the expectation that religion underpins family life for all members of the older generation.

1.26.4 Daughters And The Unfair Family

The daughters of both the modernist and traditional defensive mothers shared the same view of the role of the family. The modernist and fractured-traditional daughters all identified the family as being important for them personally because of the sense of unity, security, help and support that can be experienced from being in the family setting.

They are very important because they are the ones that will support me and guide me in my life and if I go through bad things or problems then they will be the ones that will help me
(Daughter 2 aged 17).

The daughters acknowledged that the family is an institution that functions for their benefit and that in some circumstances; the family offers more freedom than is perceived.

Well I have more freedom than my parents did when they were young although my parents are strict they are reasonable like if I want to go shopping with my friends or if they have parties because they pick me up to make sure I am safe. Also like money because they give me pocket money every week which I try to save so that I can go shopping and they don't force me to wear things and do things I don't want to (Daughter 2 aged 17).

The daughters demonstrated here that the family is not necessarily a restrictive institution, that it can be an institution that provides security and a sense of wellbeing and sanctuary. Therefore, even in the context of contemporary British society, the family is still regarded as a significant institution for individuals. However, there were differences between the way mothers and daughters viewed and accepted the roles within families. In terms of the roles played by men and women, the daughters, whilst also acknowledging the division of

labour identified by their mothers, were less accepting of it, stating that it wasn't fair and that men should help out more. Of the twenty daughters, twelve seemed to resign themselves to the idea that even though it wasn't fair; men won't help so the women have to do it.

Laughs well I think men have an easier time in the family because they don't do that much really. I mean me and mum and sometimes my sister cook and clean the house whereas my dad and uncles and even cousins when they come round just expect us to do everything and have food ready and that when they are talking they don't like us being there because we should be in the kitchen helping mum or doing homework. It really frustrates me sometimes but we have no choice I guess (Daughter 15: aged 17).

The responses of the daughters suggest that they do not feel the same about the 'Islamic' endorsement of this division of labour; this was particularly true for fractured-traditional daughters who self-defined themselves as religious. The daughters claimed that this role division was more cultural than religious and they recognise that this is how their parents were brought up to be and not something that is necessary true for the time they are living in (see Dale 2008: 5 for example).

Well the way my parents were brought up was very old-fashioned and their parents were very strict and traditional which is a different culture from the one we are brought up, I mean my parents are strict but not the same because things are different there is more freedom and the things they experienced is not the same for us (Daughter 11 aged 17).

Thus, although there is a level of strict parenting which extends to their behaviour the daughters were allowed to engage in, the biggest difference with the 'policing' of the daughters' behaviour in families now is that the majority of the girls (fourteen out of the twenty) live within nuclear family settings and thus are not subject to the eyes of extended

family members. Hence, they were relatively 'free' from the prying eyes of the family, and as such are able to develop a sense of freedom within the family setting that their mothers were not able to obtain in their family setting back home.

Well for example even though I don't go out in the evenings my parents let me go out on the weekends to town or to cinema with my friends and they don't make a fuss about it. They also give me money if I need it for clothes or books because I love reading and I buy more books than anything else. I think it is easier being a young person in Britain than in Pakistan because there are so many restrictions there and it can be very oppressive (Daughter 3 aged 17).

The way my parents were brought up was very different because there were many people in the house and they were always keeping their eyes on the children and making sure they behaved. My mum told me how her and my aunties would have to behave when they were around family because they weren't sure which one of their relatives would tell on them if they were naughty and which ones didn't. That's one of the things that I am glad I don't have to worry about. Our family life has more freedom, even though my mum does set rules for us to obey; it is not the same situation that she was in (Daughter 18 aged 17).

The interviews reveal that the three daughters that lived with an elderly member of the family appeared to have an easier time than the three daughters that live near extended family, because this family member (the mother-in-law) is more concerned with the behaviour of the mother (daughter-in-law) than her granddaughter. The suggestion here is that the three traditional defensive mothers who were in this position are also subject to familial pressures of performing a domestic role to maintain the family unit as well as endeavouring to perform this role due to religious proscription. Thus the pressures to live

up to ideals of Muslim femininity permeate throughout their life course. In relation to the remaining daughters, of the three that lived near extended family members one claimed that when these family members were 'visiting' they had to make sure that they behaved when the relatives were there but could return to 'normal' once they depart. The remaining two daughters said that as their extended family members lived so nearby, they still had a feeling of pressure about watching their behaviour and that they had to be careful about their activities. Such responses endorse the view of the familial function of the community, for the migrant families, as the community acts as a second parent as such, ensuring that the behaviour of the younger generations is scrutinised. This is especially true for the females in the community, as their behaviour is often equated to the 'honour' of the family, and so the extended family members and the other community members are there to ensure that the daughters behave in ways that do not bring shame to the family. It appears that this was one traditional custom that has definitely been inherited from back home.

1.26.5 Generational Differences

In addition to there being differences in relation to the types of Muslim women emerging from the data, there were also differences in terms of generation. In the examination of the role of the family, there are clear cohort differences between the mothers concerning the experiences of familial relations from their countries of origin being similar yet; a minority of the sample (the modernist mothers) had diverging experiences. Mannheim claimed that individuals born within the same historical and cultural periods in time also experience the events and incidents in the same way. Thus, as Pilcher (1995: 24) states the assumption made here is that individuals are 'fixed' within a socio-historical vacuum that had been dominant in their young lives, and as such, the

values and beliefs learnt and adopted within that vacuum are carried on into the rest of their lives. However, the study showed that this is not always the case. The modernist mothers, born in the same countries as the traditional defensive mothers, were brought up in broadly the same family set-ups (large families, often living with each other or close by) and for much of their young lives were brought up in similar Islamic dominated ways. Yet, in their older adult lives, we find that the modernist mothers have not taken all these values, cultural and traditional customs forward and indeed have certainly not taught them to their daughters.

According to Mannheim, owing to ‘differential exposure and exclusion due to location in historical time’ there are different ‘social generations’ that have their own unique world view. Therefore, individuals of differing ages can experience the same events differently (Pilcher 1995: 23). This has been demonstrated in the study primarily in terms of difference between the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters. When considering the role family plays in the construction of identity, the traditional defensive mothers believed that religion proscribed the roles men and women play in society and the family, and therefore are justifiable. However, these fractured-traditional daughters regarded these roles as unequal but unavoidable, thus showing that there wasn’t a complete alliance between the religious mothers and their daughters. Indeed, like the modernist daughters, fractured-traditional daughters have been born and raised in Britain, a society that is known to be freer and less restrictive culturally than the countries their mothers were born and raised in. Therefore, the influence of such values cannot be expected to have no impact on the lives of those who have been born and raised in a

society where they are practiced outside the family setting. Consequently, generational differences do exist in the way the role of family is utilized during identity formation.

1.27 The Role of Religion

The way individuals live their day-to-day lives is a very fundamental aspect of the sense of self one performs (Goffman). Therefore, the participants in the study indeed considered this issue in relation to religion. This was explored in relation to the differences (if any) between the ways Muslims live compared to non-Muslims. Muslim women who held a more modernist stance argued that religion play a relatively limited role for them within a society, as they have implemented many Westernized values that did not make the lack of religion in their lives a problem. Muslim women abiding by more traditional interpretations followed Islamic philosophies that encompassed the importance of covering the body from male view signified through wearing the *hijab* (veil). The differences in such viewpoints points towards cohort differences that is the mothers belonging to the same cohort group have gone down different paths in relation to the adoption of religion into their lives, even though they were all brought up in religious families. I consider the three important areas where these differences were most perceptible, showing how these have been indeed passed on to the daughters. Firstly, comes the idea of living differently from non-Muslims which are separated between religious adherence versus cultural adoption. The second area is that of the identification of being a Muslim which is expressed through the visible representation of dress. Lastly, I will examine the relationship between religious knowledge and practice, looking at the understanding and application of Shari'ah law.

1.27.1 The Way Muslims and Non-Muslims Live Their Lives

One of the most significant aspects that indicated these divergent approaches encompassed how differently they felt they lived their lives in relation to non-Muslims. The traditional defensive mothers and fractured-traditional daughters believed that they indeed lived differently from non-Muslims, citing religion as a key factor for this difference (see Beishon et al., 1998). The modernist mothers and daughters also accepted that they lived differently from non-Muslims, but claimed that this was not to do with religion but to do with how they live as families and how they raised their children.

Yes I think that generally we are living differently to non-Muslims not because we are Muslims but I think we value family and family life more compared to non-Muslims. We were brought up to value family life and that is something that we are providing for our children. I think whites like Christians don't value family life in the same way we do. They have broken families and high levels of teenage pregnancies. (Mother 12 aged 47).

Thus, for modernist mothers values that were religiously defined were not as important to *most* non-Muslims as they were to Muslims. The reasons for this mainly circled around the idea that they felt *most* non-Muslims were not religious in their behaviour and outlook of life and thus it would not be a priority for them to remain chaste before marriage. This suggests that the day-to-day life that is lived by the majority of these women is lived within context of religious scriptures and so offers the view that religion is not a sum of rites and ceremonies; it is indeed 'a way of life' (Hitti, 1970: 2).

The traditional defensive and fractured-traditional participants that cited religion as a factor shaping the way they lived their lives, claimed that rebellious behaviour occurred *because* there was a lack of religious commitment and familial values which they aligned with religious commitment. These participants are claiming that religion is more than just

prayers and performing religious duty, religion is a pattern of behaviour that connects one to their families as well as to God, highlighting the socialization functioning of families, to ensure that religion as a way of existence has been passed down. Exploring the views of the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters, there was a feeling that non-Muslims were less religious and thus engaged in behaviour that was morally questionable, and secondly they felt that they lacked good family values, allowing their daughters to behave inappropriately.

Well we I think are a more traditional family where religion guides the way we behave and the way we live our lives, thus I think that we are more focussed on our religious duties which emphasize the religious life of people whereas non-Muslims focus on things like making money and having possessions and I also think that some, not all lack, moral guidance so they are you know mothers outside marriage and things like that. (Mother 2 aged 46).

Yes. I think Muslim is more religious and we respect each other more. The children are taught to respect mother and father and elders. The others who not Muslim, they don't have family respect, they drink and wear the small skirts and always shout the parents. It is not very good. (Mother 4 aged 49).

Here, the mothers are discussing two aspects of religious influence. Firstly, religion in terms of practice, as religious duties that have to be performed which inform a 'religious life'. Secondly, they see religion as a way of showing respect to elders, parents and families. Both of the mothers quoted above go on to claim that non-Muslims lack religion in their lives, and that consequently non-Muslims lack 'moral guidance', 'family respect' and engage in behaviour that is irreligious, such as the pursuit of material possessions,

marrying outside of religion, drinking alcohol, dressing inappropriately (Dwyer 2008); and the younger generations seem to be communicating in unsuitable ways with their parents. These views suggest that, for the traditional defensive mother, there has been a breakdown of religious and familial duties in British society among non-Muslims (see Afshar 1989a). These mothers are expressing the view that daughters from non-Muslim families are behaving inappropriately (wearing revealing clothes, having boyfriends) because in essence they have not been taught correctly the values and norms of what they believe to be correct *Islamic behaviour*. Thus, they are different from non-Muslims precisely because non-Muslims they do not practice values that are similar to those of Islam.

No I don't think most non-Muslim see these values as important. I think that white people lack these values because they are so free with their behaviour and don't follow religion closely and so they behave in ways that are quite disrespectful and shameful. (Mother 13 aged 46).

No not at all I think most white people are not religious, they should be Christian but they don't follow their religion. They also believe that people should be married before they have sex but they are the ones that have teenage pregnancy, they are not teaching their children they don't have religious values. (Mother 17 aged 46).

These extracts illustrate that the recurring theme of sexual behaviour and the idea of chastity and sex before marriage is troublesome for these mothers. Sex before marriage is not only prohibited in Islam, as the mother above notes, other religions also share this principle, thus it does not surprise that this idea has been identified by mothers to be of moral concern. When considering whether non-Muslims held the values the mothers had identified as important, none of the mothers mentioned other religions as not having them,

which could be interpreted as they may have felt that other religions probably did believe in these values, yet they felt compelled to discuss the one ethnic group that they felt did not. It is provocative that they have isolated the ethnic group of 'white' people who they assume should follow the Christian religion, when of course not all 'white' people are Christian, and not all Christians are 'white'. This can be seen as similar to what they themselves may experience where all 'Asians' are considered Muslims and often are only distinguished otherwise by markers of dress such as a Sikh turban (for example see Dwyer 2000: 480). Taking this further, for the mothers this is compounded by the influence of society; for example materialism is seen as an unacceptable pursuit in Islam and thus these mothers are claiming that religion is more than just an act that occurs in a suspended period in time, it is an on-going endeavour that permeates all aspects of life, which here includes how they live. We can see how material pursuit or the enjoyment of excessive materialism as mentioned in the quote from mother two can be conflated with a more 'modern' society, and such a society, according to traditional defensive mothers, is not in keeping with a pursuit of a Muslim identity. In examining this closely, in the questionnaire, mothers and daughters were asked to choose six values from the list provided that they believed were important to them. One of the modernist daughters interestingly claimed that she felt that it was the non-Muslims' *religion* that affected the way they lived their lives.

Yeah I believe that we live our lives differently to non- Muslims because my parents bought us up to be respectful of all people and to accept all people no matter what religion, colour, age, gender they are. So like... we learn to respect everyone and that includes elders to peers you know? I mean I think that like Hindus especially their families are strict about behaviour and they force their children to do things and behave in certain ways, and

so the children don't learn to respect them and they rebel, and then the parents blame not following religion. It's wrong but what can you do? (Daughter 20 aged 17).

Thus, for this daughter it seemed that being religious for non-Muslims was more of a forced commitment than a choice and so children of non-Muslims rebel against such parental pressure in order to break free. This shows the diversity of belief found in the sample.

The values (appendix sixteen) that were chosen by all the traditional defensive mothers for example can be regarded as being highly religious in their estimation. For instance, the traditional defensive mothers maintained that honour, chastity, self-control, discipline and modesty are all important values to be held by individuals who want to be known as true believers of Islam. Modesty for example was equated with dress where:

Wearing my religious clothes makes me identifiable as a Muslim and it is of course a religious duty for us to wear religious clothing in order for us to be seen as true Muslims.
(Mother 19 aged 45).

Therefore, when considering which of their chosen values they felt were religiously derived, the responses from the traditional defensive mothers, predictably showed that they felt all their chosen were indeed religious.

All are based on religion because religion teaches us to be these things and practice them in our daily lives and so we must teach these to our children so they can pass it on to theirs
(mother 18 aged 48).

Religion teaches us these values there is no question, whereas could our parents have got them from to teach us? Religion is the only good guidance for our lives. (Mother 13 aged 46).

This shows that for mother 18 Islam is more than just a symbolic action; it is a practical application to everyday life and as these are the values which she feels is the responsibility

of the family to transmit; the responsibility invariably lands on the shoulders of mothers, as the following mother relates:

These are of course religious values as they are based on the teachings of Islam. They are to be taught to children so that they practice them. That is my job, the job of the mother. We pass them on. (Mother 9 aged 46).

Women therefore are responsible for maintaining the ‘chain’ of religion, to keep it alive by the teaching, nurturing and the passing down of religious values of Islam. These values are taught to be practiced, not simply to be paid lip service to. The religious mothers show that traditions are crucial in upholding religious values, as traditions are often family-orientated and thus the family has a key role to play in this value transmission. Accordingly, family-life within a religious view is gender-driven, so that women are responsible for this early religious teaching, as well as for teaching daughters skills needed to be good wives and mothers when they get older. We can see here how the traditional defensive mother has held onto the traditional belief that the family responsibility is religiously designated to the mother and it is thus her responsibility to execute this duty. We can also see that values, like respect, devoutness, conformity, self-control and discipline, were highly appreciated by nearly all the mothers. In the context of the religious worldview, these are all the traits necessary to maintain the status quo. Thus, it does not seem surprising in this context that the religious mothers did not choose ‘independence’ as an important value. This value was not selected by them as it is a value that would encourage the possibility of questioning, of wanting to change, and going further still, to think for oneself.

The modernist mothers acknowledged that their parents had taught them to practice and believe in the same religious values, which their parents had garnered from religious

observance; however the modernist mothers practiced them and taught them to their own children without the religious emphasis or significance.

These values like discipline and respect were taught by my parents to me when I was younger and they got them from religion, but for me I teach them in a way that doesn't emphasize religion, respect is general, and it is something that should be given in every context not just religiously. The same with discipline. (Mother 1 aged 45).

Modernist mothers also argued that they did not think their chosen values, such as independence, achievement and ambition, were based on religion as they felt these were values that all people should have whether they are religious or not.

Not really these are not religious for me they are values that all people should have it doesn't mean that you have to belong to a religion to practice them. (Mother 16 aged 45).

No they are not religious at all. These are values that belong to everyone no matter where you live and these are ones that I chose to be important to me and for me to teach to my children, not to be told that I have to teach them. It's my choice. (Mother 20 aged 47).

Thus, these modernist mothers are illustrating that values are open to negotiation and can be applied in a non-religious manner. This demonstrates a more open-minded viewpoint, as these values are negotiated, and applied in the way a person desires them to be applied, emphasizing the aspects of autonomy and personal control. One of the modernist mothers said that the values should be, and probably were, important to non-Muslims. Yet she felt that it was external factors such as media, celebrity and 'American' practices that were influencing behaviour more than the lack of religion. It is striking that this mother makes reference to USA and its culture as influencing behaviour in a negative way, considering America is a society largely based on Christian values (see Ahlstrom 2004, Schultz and Harvey 2010). This shows that this mother is aware of the traditional nature of some of

these values and that these values may not agree with the more Western society. She also believes that being a religious society doesn't necessarily mean that the culture of that society is more religious or religiously bound as American culture is multi-faceted so religious values are one in many sets of values found in that society. Media are also mentioned here which also demonstrates that secondary socialization is seen as an important factor in the development of individuals, not just parents and family.

Examining the responses from the daughters, it is interesting to note the differences in the priorities they have compared to their mothers. As appendix shows respect and education were chosen by all the participants, mothers and daughters alike. The daughters also all chose independence, achievement and ambition with determination also being highly chosen. When examining these choices, it could be argued that these are more aligned with a Western outlook which is not unexpected as these girls were all born and brought up in a Western society. It also shows that religious aspects were not the priority for the fractured-traditional daughters, certainly not the only priority as they were for their mothers; for example only three of the daughters chose devoutness compared to six of the mothers. That does not mean that religious values were not important to the fractured-traditional daughters, as we can see, honour, self-control and modesty received were highly chosen. When considering the religious nature of their chosen values, all the fractured-traditional daughters that claimed they were religious responded that they believed *most* of their chosen values were based on religion, whilst other values were based on what they had learnt from school and other friends.

Not all of these values are taught religiously, I mean of course respect and modesty definitely are, but I don't think you could say independence is I mean I learnt that from school, doing things for myself. (Daughter 9 aged 17).

I think some of these are religious like modesty and self-control, but others I learnt from school like determination where they make you believe they don't think you can do it so you become determined to prove them wrong. Also my friends taught me to be ambitious, we are always having competitions to see you can get the best grade and who will get the best job. (Daughter 17 aged 17).

In relation to those daughters who are modernist, they reported that their chosen values mostly came from their upbringing but and also from sources of secondary socialization; namely, friends and the media.

These values I feel I got from my mother and father as they brought me up to be respectful and to be disciplined in my behaviour as I had to be careful of the society that I am in. also my friends because we all want to do well in education and careers so we all support each other. (Daughter 11 aged 17).

I got these values from my parents who taught me how to behave and how to respect people and their religions. Also, I get a lot from the media, I mean we watch programmes that teach us to be ambitious and succeed in life and to be independent and look for justice like Erin Brokovich. (Daughter 16 aged 16).

These daughters expressed the idea that their sources of values were not just confined to religion and the family, but other 'expert systems' are used in order to help them gain a sense of self. When considering whether the values listed were similarly important for non-Muslims, these daughters claimed that the values were important to all people and that every individual was ultimately responsible for their own desire and commitment to practice these values. Modernist daughters further stated that they felt that some non-Muslims failed to adequately practice these values, and was the reason why they thought

the younger generation of non-Muslims were rebelling against their parents. This demonstrates that the daughters are acknowledging the role of mothers in passing on values to children, in ways that see them as role models, to be copied and therefore children will eventually accept them if they are exposed to them throughout their childhood. The two daughters that diverged from this viewpoint argued that they felt that the non-Muslim youth were too influenced by Western society and trying to be 'white' and so it is why they disobeyed their parents. It is worth noting how these daughters discuss non-Muslims as belonging to non-white ethnic groups and how these groups have become less rigorous in their religious practice in order to become like 'white' people. Thus 'white' are already deemed 'fallen' as they automatically lack or don't aspire to the values they were asked to choose from. It is the non-white groups who seem to them to be lacking in religious values. The modernist daughters argued that non-Muslims more than likely did want to aspire to the listed values and that again, it was the choice of the individual whether he or she followed and practiced these values.

It is up to the person themselves if they want to practice these values they are important for everyone and they are generally taught I think by parents. The children decide if they want to practice them. They have to look at what influences them. (Daughter 12 aged 16).

Extending our understanding further, the modernist daughters argued that they lived their lives differently from non-Muslims because of the way their parents had brought them up. It is interesting then, that those women, who cited religion as an important factor for the way they lived their lives, claimed that rebellious behaviour occurred *because* there was a lack of religious commitment and familial values, whereas this daughter is suggesting that it is because of the pressure to be *religious* that causes non-Muslims to be rebellious.

In taking into account the responses of the fractured-traditional daughters, it can be observed that they too identified lack of religious practice as a factor differentiating them from non-Muslims.

Mmm yeah I guess so. I mean our lives are mainly focused around religion whereas I think most non-Muslims are less religious and some don't even believe in God. (Daughter 7 aged 16).

There was also an emphasis on the idea that non-Muslims have more liberty and thus can do what they want without having as many parental restrictions as perhaps Muslims have.

Erm yeah I would say so...well I would say that non-Muslims are more freerer to do what they want and their parents aren't so strict but I think this is mostly true for whites and Hindus. We are very controlled and Muslim parents are more strict and controlling. (Daughter 4 aged 17).

This response can be seen to further verify the need for freedom by the daughters, as they recognized that being religious in their family homes came at a price, that is of not having this freedom, thus the emphasis on educational success could be a route to escape such restrictions.

1.27.2 Identifying As A Muslim

The predominant response to this idea of being identified as Muslim revolved around the issue of Islamic dress. In the sample of women, studied, twenty six women wore the hijab (also known as the veil). These participants endorsed the traditional defensive viewpoint (thirteen mothers) and the fractured-traditional (thirteen daughters). This was with the exception of two traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters, who claimed that they did not wear the hijab or veil due to the lack of

comfort experienced when wearing it, but that it did not change their level of commitment to Islam. This shows that the practice of Islam doesn't necessarily have boundaries, and that a believing Muslim does have autonomy to decide what aspects of religious practice they wish to engage in. Although it can be argued that this is a liberal way of viewing Islam, these mothers in particular did not endorse a liberal outlook in life generally. They still wore what they termed 'modest clothing' suggesting almost that they were compensating for not being 'completely' modest with the hijab by ensuring the clothes they did wear are indeed adherents to the tenet of modesty.

The majority of the respondents wore the hijab, explained that it is a fundamental aspect of their religious practice and identity and it was their main form of presenting themselves as Muslims. Mothers and daughters, who wore hijab, discussed its wearing in relation to being comfortable and observing modesty. In addition to wearing hijab, they stated that they preferred loose-fitting clothing as it showed they were respecting the ideals of modesty. This takes the issue of modesty wider to the inclusive issue of dress that is modesty was more than just covering the head; it incorporates covering the body too.

It is important for us to be modest and show this modesty in the way we dress. I prefer wearing modest clothing because it is loose and comfortable and I know that I am not being judged on my body by the people that I meet. (Mother 14 aged 48).

I am identifiable through my clothes as I wear the hijab and of course modest clothes. It is important for me as a Muslim to be dignified and present myself as a good Muslim. Also wearing loose-fitting clothes is very practical and comfortable. (Daughter 13 aged 18).

The dispute over Islamic dress pivots mainly around the view that it is not based on religion but more on patriarchal dominance and requirement. It has been disputed that

veiling has no validation in the Quran (Wadud 1992:10, Karam 1998: 134). The religious participants in the sample however regard the ideals of modesty as fundamental to her identity, which is religious in nature and, as the above quotes demonstrate, these ideals are regarded as 'religious duty'. Bilge (2010) argues that many researchers who consider veiling practices have been likely to disregard the religious explanations that Muslim women offer for veiling. The participants who wore hijab did not present it as a form of radical resistance or a form of oppression but essentially as a principal principle of their practice of faith. Therefore, even though Dwyer argues, the hijab has become: 'an over-determined signifier against which individual women must negotiate their own identities in relation to a complex of different meanings' (1999:8), for my participants, there were no other meanings attached to the hijab except for observing religious piety. This is interesting, as discourse surrounding the veil shows that it has many different facets such as a fashion commodity to a defensive political statement. The women who wore hijab made no such references, thus simply for them the hijab was a sign of the religiosity. One potential aspect of this is that due to the inability of recording the interviews, I was unable to always identify areas of further probing, thus instances like this are missed as I could have questioned further and perhaps gleaned more information.

In reference to the issue of dress and modesty, the modernist mothers claimed that they were not easily identifiable as Muslim because they did not wear the hijab. Moreover, they did not mention clothing or dress in any other way in response to the question of what made them identifiable as Muslim. The modernist mothers still acknowledged that they wear modest clothing which they equate with being loose-fitting. Furthermore those mothers that emphasized their 'loose-fitting' dress as 'comfortable' expressed the view that

there is nothing problematic about wearing ‘modest’ clothing as it is practical, not only a way of observing religious duty but also for respecting one’s body. Once again tracing back to the body, loose-fitting clothing operates to hide the body from the ‘male gaze’. Afshar (2008) has called attention to the idea of the ‘gaze reversal’ implicit in the tradition of veiling, where the woman, in covering herself, prevents herself from becoming the ‘object of the gaze’ and alternatively becomes the observer with liberated freedom to gaze at men (Afshar cited in Franks 2000: 920). The responses from the modernist daughters maintained that modesty for them was not a religious practice.

I don’t wear hijab because I don’t practice Islam so I am not really identifiable as a Muslim. I wear loose-fitting clothes because I believe in modesty and that we should be respectful of our bodies which I don’t see as only religious obligation I think it is something that all women should do to earn respect. (Daughter 16 aged 16).

I’m not religious but I think people still believe that I am Muslim because I wear loose-fitting clothes. I know that Muslims wear this for religious reasons but I accept their view of practicing modesty because I think we should wear clothes that present us as respectful and as people who have intellect not through our bodies. (Mother 11 aged 45).

The overriding point here is that a person’s intellect is more important than their body. There is an emphasis on being respected as ‘women’ not ‘Muslim women’. Consequently, this shows the problematic nature of labelling due to assumptions of what it is to be Muslim, as not all practices are religiously prescribed, and thus the modernist mothers are demonstrating awareness of the preoccupation Western society has with anything that could be deemed as ‘Muslim’.

When looking at the religious vignette, which consisted of a poem by a young girl on the merits of wearing a hijab, the modernist mothers and daughters claimed that it was very ‘strong’ and potent, but they were not convinced by the arguments made by the poet in relation to the merits of wearing hijab. They appeared unconvinced because of the way the writer had belittled and criticized those women who don’t wear hijab. These modernist mothers were mostly dismissive of the poem claiming that it was ‘fundamentalist’ and too narrow-minded and thus they were not surprised with the way the poem was being too forceful. This was because they felt that the poem was too judgemental and sought to make the point by damaging the image of women who don’t cover. As a consequence, these mothers felt like they were not being offered a choice, rather they were being given a prescription.

I disagree with the overall message of the poem because it is very judgemental showing that people who don’t cover are wrong and allow themselves to become abused, or worse victims of STDs! That is quite ignorant, and a simplistic view. (Mother 11 aged 45).

I disagree with the poem as it doesn’t offer the freedom of choice; it says if you don’t cover then bad things happen to you, if you cover then these bad things won’t happen. How is that fair? Where’s the choice? (Mother 16 aged 45).

The mothers here claimed that the poem legitimizes covering as a shield that protects women from the ‘bad’ things in society. When looking at the poem, these negative aspects of society discuss sexual behaviour, having a body that is regarded as a sexualized object and sexual violence. Although the poem states that wearing ‘the hood’ is a choice, it also makes the argument that those who don’t make this choice are ‘fools’. In opposition to this, the traditional defensive mothers responded very positively to the poem, claiming that

it gave clear reasons for women to wear hijab. For some of the traditional defensive mothers the fact that it was written by a young Muslim girl, made them feel hopeful that other young Muslim women will be influenced by the message as it is written for their level of understanding.

Returning back to the chosen values namely, honour, chastity and modesty stimulate a much contested aspect of a Muslim woman's identity; the concept of honour. These three values I believe are significant because they are all connected to each other; the observance of *modesty* keeps a woman *chaste* until she is to be married, ensuring that she has upheld the *honour* of the family as well as her own. According Mernissi (1987: xxiv), the whole model of patriarchal honour is shaped around the notion of virginity, which reduced a woman's role to its sexual facet, that of reproduction within early marriage. The ideal of honour is considered to be the woman's responsibility as the common role of women in Islam is to defend the honour of their families and the state by the integrity of their behaviour and the modesty of their appearance (Lorber 2002: 388). We can see that this is indeed a view shared by some of the mothers as they discussed, in response to many questions, the idea of sex before marriage as wrong or 'shameful'.

The truth is that I believe we do live differently from non-Muslims because they are not religious as much as we are. They behave in ways which are very shameful especially the daughters, they are having sex now! Before they are married. It is so difficult to try and teach your daughter to be religious when there are white daughters doing these things, getting pregnant and they are too young to understand how to be mothers. (Mother 15 aged 49).

For that reason, the traditional defensive mother above stressed a need for young daughters' religious upbringing to be strong as a way of preventing them straying into behaviours that are shameful and wrong.

In considering the impact of religion on the identity construction of the participants in my sample, it can be said the majority of the participants who claimed that they were religious provided very passionate responses, indicating that being Muslim was indeed very important.

It is important because it is a way of life and it is guidance to be a good Muslim and role model for others like my children. (Mother 5 aged 42).

This response demonstrates the idea that religion is seen as a way of life, a form of guidance that helps them to be 'good Muslims'. For the traditional defensive mothers religion was regarded as a:

Symbol of our lives and the only reason we find ourselves here. Of course religion is important to be Muslim; it is the only thing in the world that makes sense to me. It is all that I am nothing more and nothing less. (Mother 10 aged 46).

The strong feelings of the fractured-traditional daughters were very apparent when they were asked How important is it for you to be a Muslim? This question received very ardent reactions and it was evident that for these daughters being Muslim was considered to be very important.

Erm yeah it's very important. It is a big part of my life and I see it as valuable because it makes me understand who I am so yeah it is important. (Daughter 3 aged 17).

For me, being a Muslim is very important because it is who I am and it can't be taken away from me as I feel it is part of me. (Daughter 13 aged 18).

These quotes show that religion was regarded as a very fundamental aspect of the identity by these fractured-traditional daughters and that being a Muslim is more than just religious observance, it is a part of who they are and what they are. This is in agreement with traditional defensive mothers who also emphasized the importance of being Muslim.

It is extremely important. For me it is a way of life and I cannot see anything as being more perfect at helping me live my life. (Mother 2 aged 46).

There is a strong relationship with identity and belonging to a religion as has been demonstrated here by the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters.

The data from the study shows that for the modernist participants in the study not being religious is important for their identities, they are happy to by live the values of British society.

No religion is not important for my identity. The person I am is based on the values I have grown up with and the ones that I choose to practice. These values are seen in religion but they are not religious for me. I am happy to live according to society's rules and laws rather than religious ones that I don't trust. (Mother 20 aged 47).

When taking into account their standpoints, the modernist daughters emphasize that their way of life was based on parental teachings and that these teachings were never proclaimed as religious. For the modernist mothers, the Islamic way of life was too restrictive and that they did not fully accept its supremacy on their daily lives.

Well, because I had many friends when I was younger that had strong views against Islam and they said it was restrictive to women, and I guess it put me off so no I didn't want to really take part. (Mother 1 aged 45).

This idea of Islam being ‘restrictive’ was a recurrent theme within the viewpoints of the modernist participants which goes some way towards explaining why, in particular, the modernist mothers rather than the traditional defensive mothers felt a more developed sense of belonging to Britain where one mother (mother 1) felt that Britain was more ‘open minded’ which served to appeal to her wider liberal viewpoint. It was evident from the responses of the modernist daughters that they had been more generally influenced by their mothers’ viewpoints; there was a smoother alliance of views for the modernist mother-daughter pairs than for the traditional defensive mother and her daughter. The other modernist mothers mentioned that religion wasn’t important to them because they felt that it was too ‘controlling’ and ‘restricted freedom’. The daughters of these mothers endorsed these views, stating that being Muslim:

...is something I don't really think about I mean I am not Muslim as I don't practice Islam, so no it is not important to me at all. (Daughter 12 aged 16).

For the modernist participants, religion also played a part in their lives. However, for them, religion was the cause for them to identify with an alternative lifestyle, one not based on religious scriptures.

1.27.3 The Place Of Shari'ah Law

One of the most significant aspects of the religion of Islam is the adherence to Shari’ah Law otherwise known as religious law. Believing and adherence to its principles is regarded as a key part of being a practicing Muslim (Mayer 1995 in Brown 2006: 417). This has been seen as a very fundamental for Muslim women, as there are discourses that claim that Shari'ah Law is oppressive of women as, all too clearly, freedoms have been discarded in support of the formal law that both infringes upon the human rights of and

victimizes against women (Shaheed 1994: 1001). Existing literature on Shari'ah argues that the enduring inequity is the upshot of particular social institutions intended to contain a woman's power, that is to say, isolation and legal inferiority within the family structure (Mernissi 1987: 19). The law arises from the social relations that it aspires to classify and transmits a model of behaviour for society distinguishing between the restrictions within which an individual is free to act in, as well as the limits within which they have to create both a collective and personal identity (Shaheed 1994: 999).

In the interviews I endeavoured to engage in a discussion of Shari'ah Law. Firstly, I asked the women to define Shari'ah law. All of the participants – mothers and daughters, defined Shari'ah law as religious law. The following questions were more pointed: What aspects of Shari'ah law do you think are most important for Muslim women? The majority of mothers believed that for women:

Well, Islam says all the laws are important. I would say that those that tell women about their marriage obligations and how they should dress in society are the most important ones. (Mother 3 aged 46).

Some mothers extended their views further:

Well I would say those that discuss how to be a good wife, mother and Muslim generally so they would include dress and behaviour. The law is there to govern aspects of all Muslims' life, so all Muslims have to abide them not just men or women and dress and behaviour apply to men also not just women. Men must also be guarded in what they wear, so they must not show off flesh and wear tight clothing. It works for both genders. (Mother 5 aged 42).

Such responses occurred within the context of equality, that is the mothers took the significance of Shari'ah law to include all believers' not just either men or women. It also

shows that these areas are not actually gender specific, and that in their assessment both men and women are required to adhere to these laws. The two women who knew more of Shari'ah show that that is not true for all Muslim women in the older generations. Yet one mother's response stood out as not complimentary; being a modernist mother she and did not believe that these laws are equal.

Ooo that is a hard one! Mmm well I guess the marriage ones and the ones on dress... well mmm well because they are about the correct behaviour of women right? I mean they tell women what the correct way is to behave in society (Mother 1 aged 45).

When asked if she agreed with this, she responded with:

Well erm mm not really. This is a hard thing to talk about for me because I don't really know that much about them but I don't think I can agree because they are very strict and I think they should be made adaptable... well you know with society because it changes all the time and I think that they should take into consideration these changes. For women things have changed in society they are more equal, so then so should these rules as they are not equal at all. (Mother 1 aged 45).

In relation to women, this reflected the ideas of dress and marriage, which she felt were too strict and needed to be adapted to the current societal form, she felt that they were largely outdated and shouldn't be practiced in Britain today. Thus for this mother, Islam was restrictive and needs reform.

The responses from the daughters are generally the same yet less informed. This interests me as existing research, (see the girls in Dwyer's study 2000: 483 as well as Ramji 2007 for example) claims that the younger generation are more religiously aware than older generations. The daughters were not able to offer a more informed opinion of Shari'ah law despite the fact that they have more opportunities to access religious resources

and materials with the excessive availability of technology and books. From the twenty daughters, eighteen identified the laws that discuss appropriate dress and marriage obligations as the most important for Muslim women. These responses are surprising since it might be expected to find discussion of Shari'ah law as an all-inclusive set of behaviours that is not gender specific. Yet, it would seem that the level of religious knowledge we might expect the mothers to have was actually also demonstrated by the majority of the daughters; and the level of knowledge expected from the daughters was demonstrated by only two of the mothers (traditional defensive mothers). One of the daughters identified prayer as a significant aspect of practicing Shari'ah and did not mention dress or marriage, or correct behaviour. The other remaining daughter responded rather vaguely. She defined herself as non-religious, and accordingly when prompted responded that:

I don't know that much, I suppose those to do with the dress like the headscarf and the robe-thing like err burkha?

When asked why she thought these were important she responded:

Well obviously for behaviour like I mean when they go out they have to be covered and not show their bodies and be like quiet.

When asked whether she agreed with this, she said:

No I don't, I think it is wrong and they should not have to be controlled in this way.

(Daughter 2 aged 17).

These responses show that she doesn't have much religious knowledge, although what knowledge she does have she doesn't agree with. This falls in with the general pattern demonstrated by the daughters that there didn't seem to be much independent religious enquiry taking place in order for them to truly and personally understand the significance (or lack of) of Shari'ah law for their lives.

In order to understand the place of Shari'ah law in the lives of the women, I asked Which aspects of Shari'ah law affect your day-to-day life? The mothers and daughters who identified themselves as religious and who wore hijab (traditional defensive and fractured-traditional) all identified dress and the appropriate dress to be worn in the home and the family as significant aspects that affected their daily lives. The mothers went on further to state that marital obligations and behaviour were also important for them. From two the mothers who claimed they were religious but did not wear hijab, there was an emphasis on marital obligations and correct behaviour, with the idea of modest dress as a whole being more important than just the wearing of religious dress such as hijab.

To be honest I don't wear religious clothing like hijab as I don't find it comfortable. I however do wear modest clothing, loose-fitting that doesn't show off my body. Of course, the biggest thing that affects my life is marriage. I have duties as a wife and then mother which I must complete in an Islamic way (Mother 5 aged 42).

These women show that the idea of wearing religious dress is not the issue; it is the discomfort that they have problems with.

I think for me marriage is the one that affects me the most. Off course I have to fulfil certain duties as a wife. I know that dress is important and I wear modest clothing, I don't like showing my body shape, it is bad to do so. I don't wear hijab simply because I find it hot and quite restricting (Mother 4 aged 49).

The fractured-traditional daughters also offered responses that did not differ as they also viewed dress as something that affected their lives significantly. With the exception of modernist participants, where one particular modernist mother-daughter pair, having identified themselves as non-religious, claimed that as these laws were not endorsed by them or their family they did not see them as important enough to affect their lives, the

remaining responses of the traditional defensive mothers and fractured-traditional daughters generally show that there is significance placed on Shari'ah law for the majority of participants in my study despite their actual lack of knowledge of it. This is quite surprising, considering the strong and intense nature of religiosity expressed by the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters (not so surprising for the modernist participants, their lack of knowledge especially for the daughters reinforces the fact they have not been brought up in a religious manner, and the mothers lack of practice of religion can be seen to account for their gaps in religious knowledge).

In relation to the level of knowledge the women had of Shari'ah, I was also interested in the opinions and attitudes of the women towards the idea of Shari'ah law being formally practiced in Britain. This was asked to gain an understanding of how important they felt Islamic law to be and if it was something that needed to be incorporated into their lives in a more formal manner. Unsurprisingly, the traditional defensive and fractured-traditional felt that, indeed, Shari'ah law should be practiced in Britain. Of the mainly the responses represented views like:

Well I think it should be practiced in Britain because there are many Muslims who live in Britain and I think that it will help Muslims to feel a sense of belonging and unity if we have the law and it will be shared laws for all Muslims to follow. (Mother 2 aged 46).

The idea of a sense of belonging was a very important aspect of these women's lives as they feel that their religious community is the backbone of their own family life and that they feel they are always looked after and protected:

Of course it should be practiced. In Britain there is too much difference and I think it is important for Muslims to have this shared law so they can build stronger communities and

families. Having a religious community who believes the same things as you is very important. They are like your second family. (Mother 14 aged 48).

The remaining four traditional defensive mothers felt that it was important for Britain to have Shari'ah because:

Yes I would say it should because it will help to educate the younger Muslims about their religion and their religious obligations. It is very important for us to have stability as Muslims. (Mother 5 aged 42).

This is important as this mother felt that young Muslim girls were becoming too influenced by living in a Western society (see Afshar 1989b):

I think the lack of discipline amongst girls. They are faced with too much temptation to be Westernized, drinking, and boys, I think they need to be disciplined better and better controlled to not go off and behave badly or shamefully. I think girls have too much pressure from their friends to be like everyone else and it is quite worrying sometimes as a parent... (Mother 5 aged 42).

The modernist mothers claimed that they did not think a formal implementation of Shari'ah law in Britain was a good idea as:

Well to be honest, I think they are outdated and no longer relevant to the society we live in. (Mother 1 aged 45).

They felt that the laws were not in line with a progressive society, especially one like Britain, and so felt that it should not be formalized.

I don't think so. At the end of the day, we live in Britain so we should follow their laws and try and live in peace with other people. By having a formal Shari'ah law, they [Muslims] will be further isolated and make things worse. (Mother 20 aged 47).

This is an important point as this mother is expressing the idea of blending with British society and not attracting attention by differentiating oneself from others. This further

demonstrates the acceptance of the modernist mothers to living in Britain, the idea that they recognize that certain behaviours and belief systems can work to distinguish them from other members of British society, which has been a significant theme not only in existing research, but policy also where Muslim communities are seen as isolating themselves and living inwardly. The response from the daughters were more general in nature; the fractured-traditional daughters claimed that Shari'ah law should be practiced so that Muslims can become better Muslims as they will formally have to follow the laws. Again, like their mothers, the modernist daughters felt that Shari'ah law should not be practiced in Britain because:

Well no I don't think so cos well it seems to restrict women in terms of their behaviour which I don't think is right. (Daughter 2 aged 17).

No it should not be practiced as it is not relevant to all the members of society and it would be unfair to implement it. People who don't practice Islam but are born Muslims will force them to practice which is not fair. (Daughter 16 aged 16).

Both these quotes show that the implementation will be a restriction, whether it is on women as women or as non-practicing Muslims.

1.28 Explaining The Differences

The examination of role of religion has demonstrated some very significant differences between the way women view religion in terms of cohort differences. For Mannheim, generational location fixes the constraints of experience and influences them to a typical kind of thought and experience thus it aims towards 'certain definitive modes of behaviour, feeling and thought' (ibid 291). Thus whilst the mothers have had similar migration patterns, belong to the same socio-economic backgrounds and have all grown up

with religion as their backdrop in their lives. Why this discrepancy? It seems that although they don't practice Islam, the modernist mothers acknowledge that their upbringing took place within Islamic family contexts. They were not born modernist; they developed a world view that took them (in their minds) away from Islam, causing the desire to not live in an Islamic manner due to the experiences they had in their childhood. Nonetheless, the upbringing they received and the values they learnt in their families have infiltrated aspects of their modern lives. The active search of a life away from Islam allowed them to develop alternative viewpoints, gleaned from peers mostly, causing them to identify some practices in their upbringing as restrictive and thus not adopted in their own worldviews, allowing the modernist women to actively pick and choose, from their upbringing; those practices that they felt were universally important and practiced everywhere regardless of religion or nation. For example, the idea of respecting one's elders is present in all religions:

Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

(Exodus 20:12, Oxford King James Bible 1769).

Therefore, the modernist mothers are maintaining that values don't necessarily belong to any one religion; that in essence, we can all be regarded the same if we endorse the same values. Consequently, this viewpoint is in conflict with the advocacy for being religious provided by the traditional defensive mothers. Broadly speaking, values are not bought forward because of religion, values are assigned to religion. Thus, for modernist mothers the differences in their lives compared to non-Muslims is based on the inadequate validation and practice of values in general where without their guidance, families are finding it hard to control their children. In fact, the concern for projecting a religious way

of life and the pressure to live by such religiosity can also account for family breakdown, according to the modernist participants. The pressure, especially for some non-Muslim religions like Hinduism, could also lead to rebellious behaviour. This reverses the argument made by traditional defensive mothers, where they state that being religious means that an individual is 'automatically' good. Taken as a whole, both fractured-traditional and modernist daughters acknowledged that their values don't necessarily have to be religiously taught, where fractured-traditional daughters responded that they learnt certain values like independence from school and the media. What this reveals is that for the fractured-traditional daughters, the development and practice of values that were not seen as Islamically compatible by their families could be accessed and self-taught through other 'expert systems'. In line with theory such as postmodernism, this shows that religion is one in many available sources of information that can help construct and maintain identities. Thus, as stated previously, for fractured-traditional daughters, as they inhabit two worlds, it is necessary for them to (in Goffman's terms) develop the 'props' necessary for them to perform their identities in these different contexts. The fact that education was identified as a source of information for identity formation means there is wider access to worldviews that are not as enclosed as religion is. Thus, all the daughters demonstrated a very significant characteristic of a more modern outlook in society which involves the pick and mix ideal, where individuals engage in the picking and choosing of social and cultural behaviours and leaving behind others. The daughters were able to do this for example in relation to leaving behind alcohol and the wearing of 'inappropriate' or 'immodest' clothing, and the choosing of education, food and shopping opportunities.

1.28.1 Religion As A Chain Of Memory

The existing research highlights that young Muslims are developing religiously dominated identities despite living in a Western society that is secular thus lending support to the ideal of successful religious transmission (Nesbit 2019; Scourfield et al., 2012). I view this phenomenon as demonstrating generational alignment because the traditional defensive mothers and their daughters are endorsing a similar viewpoint of religion. This I believe can be explained using the idea of Hervieu-Léger (2000) of the chain of memory.

Industrialization brought with it a series of social changes – the fragmentation of the life-world, the decline of community, the rise of bureaucracy, technological consciousness – that together made religion less arresting and less plausible than it had been in pre-modern societies.

(Bruce, 2002: 36).

According to theorists of secularization like Bruce above, religion has declined in the societies like Britain. In light of such contention, Hervieu-Léger (2000) introduces a unique opposition to these assertions, by challenging and aiming to revise theory of religion to take into consideration, the resurgence of religion now that we are living in a post-secular society. Such an argument is in accordance with Berger (1999):

The world today, with some exceptions...is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means that a whole body of literature by historians and social scientists loosely labelled 'secularization theory' is essentially mistaken.

(Berger, 1999: 2).

Thus, the main declaration made by Hervieu-Léger is that the conditions of modernity, which have been argued to destabilize the credibility of structures of religious systems, have also produced new forms of religious belief (Hervieu-Léger, 2000). She

maintains that modernity itself creates the necessity for religion. Individualism, autonomy, and “the uncertainty that flows from the dynamics of change has made the need stronger, as illustrated by the infinite diversity of the demand for meaning on the part of both individuals and groups, and the imagination-fed solutions arrived at” (Hervieu-Léger, 2000 : 93). Taking this further, she claims ‘that the question of religious modernity is above all one of *the way of believing*’ (ibid: 70). Religion, subsequently, is about believing; a manner of believing that is committed to a chain of belief. In believing, the individual becomes a member of a community and its accompanying tradition. ‘Seen thus, one would describe any form of believing as religious which sees its commitment to a chain of belief it adopts as all-absorbing’ (ibid: 81). Thus religion is based on tradition, as she states that:

The assumption I shall make is that there is no religion without the authority of a tradition being invoked (whether explicitly, half-explicitly or implicitly) in support of the act of believing

(Hervieu-Léger, 2000: 76).

The predicament for religion is that for the living collective “chain of memory” is damaged by modernity, but the very existence of modern contexts call for a need of a sense of belonging which is readily fulfilled by religion.

In applying Hervieu-Léger’s ideas to the study, the idea of religion as a chain of memory is demonstrated by the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters. The cultural memory of religion developed by the mothers takes the form of ‘lineage’ where the collective group (Muslim) defines itself in terms of being ‘a lineage of belief’ (ibid: 125). Thus, in order for religious belief to continue, there has to be a continuation of believers (younger generations). The idea of continuing the religious

heritage of their community is a theme demonstrated by the traditional defensive mothers in their interview responses,

Yes I think we do live our lives differently from non-Muslims. We live by Islam, as it is a way of life. This is how our family has always been brought up, and this is what I teach my children. We live religiously, respecting our elders. I think non-Muslims don't have a strong religious belief that is why they have broken families (Mother 7 aged 42).

Thus, the continuity of religious belief 'is affirmed and manifested in the essentially religious act of recalling a past which gives meaning to the present and contains the future' (Hervieu-Léger, 2000: 125). This applies to the traditional defensive mothers, as they have been born and raised in societies where religion and religious belief were dominant parts of traditions and culture, thus the religious memory was strong. However, having moved to Britain, a different society to their own, they are faced with the threat that this modern society can fragment or demolish their memory of the past and tradition which are the principle components of being a true religious believer (ibid: 127). Thus, in order to form some kind of legacy or lineage in their new modern context, the traditional defensive mothers are left to reconstruct religious significance and meaning, but it can't provide a sense of social solidarity anchored in tradition and shared memory. This crumbling of real memory and religious memory, cannot essentially be associated with the loss of belief. New chains of belief are to be reinvented because:

...accelerated change... paradoxically gives rise to appeals of memory. They underpin the need to recover the past without which collective identity... is unable to operate

(Hervieu-Léger, 2000: 141).

When looking at the relationship between family and religion for the traditional defensive mothers, their desire for their family life from back home translates closely to this idea of

creating new chains of belief, which the traditional defensive mothers have demonstrated. Thus these chains of memory have helped to shape the identities of their daughters, as well as reinforce their own.

1.29 Conclusion

The intersection of religion and identity is complex and shows how they interact when in relation to the public sphere and in situations where religion is believed to be a significant part of the public sphere. According to Davie 1990, older generations are specifically more religious than younger ones; ‘for many young people, disconnected belief is, increasingly, giving way to no belief at all’ (Davie, 1990: 462). This is not entirely true, as the majority of daughters in the study were religious and did not demonstrate such disconnection. Mondal (2008: 3) stated that in her study:

Nearly all the participants confirmed the view that they were more religious than their parents, that they were not practicing Muslims like their children. For the older generation observance of Islam was more to do with participation in communal life

This also was not substantiated in my study. The data in fact shows that religion was a significant factor for the majority of the sample, which was allied with generational relations. This means that the majority of my sample contained religious mothers who had religious daughters. Equally, the minority in the sample of modernist mothers and modernist daughters, so an equal level of connection for *not being religious*. Thus religion was a very important factor in determining the identities of the women in the sample, both in terms of identifying with a religion, and a complete rejection of religious philosophy. There is evidence that suggests that religion is indeed a legacy that is passed on from mother to daughter, confirming that religion can be seen as a chain of memory, which can

be observed most clearly in the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters. The significance of religion for the majority of the fractured-traditional daughters is a powerful part of their identity which acts a way of traditionalizing their behaviour as well as their values. Also, it can be observed that there is no comprehensive inheritance of values of the fractured-traditional daughters, as they also endorsed values that were more aligned to modern or 'Western' standpoints, looking to move beyond a traditional mind-set and embrace a value compass that is a hybrid of traditional and liberal. However, this is perhaps tainted somewhat by the fact that the daughters appeared less informed about religion than expected. I felt that the younger generation would be more religiously aware because they would have better access to religious texts and knowledge, have better access to tools such as the internet and better ways of communicating and discussing religious observance through social network websites. This I feel is also true for the modernist daughters who did not regard themselves as religious as they too offered markedly similar answers to their mothers, and so it shows the importance of the socializing process in familial contexts as one way of transferring beliefs, values and norms.

The family does indeed appear to play a very significant role in the lives of the Muslim women in the study. What is of interest is that the roles within the family are contentious in relation to the views of the mothers compared to those of the daughters especially for traditional defensive mothers and their daughters. Mothers from the traditional defensive world view feel that gender roles are assigned by religion and that they are acceptable, natural and right. Therefore, like other Islamic proscriptions, these roles are adhered to and aimed to be passed down to future generations. The daughters,

however, feel that roles are unequal but inevitable, suggesting like the modernist mothers, that these are more a cultural time and place that is not relevant to them now; there should be more consideration given to the values and norms of the current societal context; which in the case of Britain advocates freedom and a less restrictive family setting in their view. In turn, I disagree with Mondal (2008) and Mirza et al (2007: 12 in Mondal 2008: 7 that ‘the rising interest in religion amongst second and third generation British Muslim is not an outcome of parental or community influence’. Like Shaw (1994 and Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995) I show that daughters adopted positions that are generally matched with those of their parents because they are not just simply reacting to cultural process, they are actively absorbing and projecting attitudes and expectations about family and the preservation of a Muslim identity (for fractured-traditional daughters in particular) belonging to their parents.

Factors Shaping Muslim Women's Identities: The roles of Education and Britishness

This chapter examines the roles of belonging to Britain and education in shaping the identities of two generations of Muslim women living in Leicester. These aspects of identity construction addressed on the public lives of the Muslim women, demonstrating the level of engagement involved in the public sphere, which is generationally tempered. Undeniably, education is one of the most notable influences in the lives of young people, shaping their values and attitudes (Nyoni 2009: 88). The education system provides opportunities for young people to develop individualistic values by emphasizing the importance of education for the individual; taking into consideration a possible future that can be achieved with the aid of educational qualifications in the formal sense, as well as through the development of skills, qualities and values in a personal sense. In the study, the importance of education was highlighted by both mothers and daughters, with both groups understanding that the opportunities education provided thus it was worth striving for.

The two generations exemplified very distinct facets of belonging, enhancing the overall understanding of their identity formation within a national context. The respondents' sense of belonging to Britain was very much related to generation, with the younger generation's view being orientated towards citizenship. This in turn shows the effects of the historical significance in relation to feelings of belonging amongst the respondents, as policies of multiculturalism, and renewed debate about whether multiculturalism has worked, or indeed is even necessary, now places Muslims and quintessentially Muslim women, in the forefront of these discussions, providing relevance to generational differences in belonging to Britain for my participants.

1.30 The Role Of Education

Education played provided some divergent responses that demonstrate generational differences in relation to kinship relations. Although all mothers and daughters endorsed the importance of education, within the traditional defensive and fractured-traditional mother and daughter pairings, there were examples of discrepancies in relation to the amount of education that will be permitted to be achieved by the daughters. The issues surrounding this discrepancy were shown to revolve around marriage and familial duty, as the mother held expectations that their daughters would marry and raise families. This isn't to say that the fractured-traditional daughters claimed that they did not want to get married or have children; the point is that the daughters had expectations of completing education to a level of their *choosing* often stating university degrees being such levels, to a small number wanting to complete a PhD. This shows that there is tension between the aspirations of mothers and daughters that seem not be acknowledged by the mothers. The British education and the burdens it places on young inquisitive minds produce individualistic attitudes to the construction of identities which can lead to a new ways of thinking about Islam in a British context (see Vallely and Brown, 1995). Thus, when considering generational differences in relation to kinship, the variances demonstrated between the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters can be explained by the fact that the daughters themselves claimed that they have hybridized identities, identities that are 'half and half'; religious on the one hand, and liberal on the other. This shows that the fractured-traditional daughters were constantly involved in negotiations between two worlds; they are required to present identities that are dependent upon the contexts they find themselves in. Goffman's dramaturgical approach is applicable

here, as the daughters are involved in ‘performing’ identities depending on the ‘audience’, whether they be a college setting, or a the family setting. This performance of identity in different contexts further shows the fluidity of identities, that identity is not fixed or stable. For example,

I’ve applied for university I’m hoping to do social work. I did mention it to mum but and she was happy. After that I want to get a job, like straight away. I don’t want to study more after I just want to work. When I’m home I’m doing housework and that I would rather be working, but mum doesn’t know that she says let’s see. My mates are also thinking of doing the same. (Daughter 9 aged 18).

Here we observe that this daughter recognizes that the future ahead of in terms of her family is one of domestic expectation, thus in desiring to seek employment straight after her degree, she implies that she does not want to return to domestic roles when she can increase her level of freedom by working. The non-committal response of her mother shows a lack of awareness of her daughter’s intentions, a situation that was also present in many of the fractured-traditional daughter and traditional defensive mother pairings. We can see this in the following example,

I want my daughter to do well so that she can get good results in college. I think after she will finish her studies we will talk about marriage. We have seen some boys for her she will have a good choice inshallah (Arabic for hopefully) (Mother 17 aged 46).

Her daughter aged 17 had said that after college she wants to pursue a degree in law; therefore she will start to think about applying for university next year. Since I had interviewed her mother before her, I had it in my mind that her mother had different plans, thus when I asked her about what her family thought she replied:

I haven't told them yet. I'm not sure what they will say. I will probably have to stay and study in Leicester. (Daughter 17 aged 17)

This lack of awareness on both sides shows that perhaps not all the values, norms and expectations are being internalized by the fractured-traditional daughters in the same way they have done with religion. Also, the mothers seem to have underestimated the influence of the education system in fostering desires of further study, therefore it would be of interest to see if these aspirations have indeed been met. For the modernist mothers in the sample, education was an enormously important means of making the most of the opportunities that were available to their daughters is particular. Education was seen as more than something that would help the family function, as:

Education is very important to me personally because it gives you an opportunity to be the best person you can be. Educational opportunities here are so great and so accessible; it would be a waste not to make the most of them. (Mother 16 aged 45).

Education, here is more than just the means to provide for the family; it is something that helps to inform and enrich the individual themselves. All of the modernist mothers stated that they wanted their daughters to achieve the highest educational qualification they could.

Well I want her to go through the education system and get to a Masters so that she has a good chance at getting a good job. She is very clever and I want her to make the most of the opportunities available to her. (Mother 1 aged 45).

This exemplifies and supports existing research on Muslim women where educational aspirations were shared by parents who endorsed a burden of expectation to achieve educationally (see Afshar, 1989a, 1989b; Brah, 1993; Basit, 1997; Ahmad, 2001, Ahmad et al, 2003). Modernist daughters had similar aspirations to their counterparts, the difference being that they were secure in the knowledge of having parental support.

When looking at the experiences of Muslim girls in the education system, research has underlined how young British Asian women feel that teachers have lower expectations of them educationally therefore have insufficient advice and support for career and educational aspirations (Basit, 1997a; Parker-Jenkins *et al.*, 1997). This was not true for the daughters in the study, as they all reiterated that they had no racism, discrimination or low expectations from their teachers.

I love college I have never had any issues the teachers are all good generally I've never had problems. My teachers don't treat students badly, not that I've seen, in college they treat you like adults, if you want to work then great if not it's your choice. (Daughter 20 aged 17).

This was also true when they were asked to consider their experiences in relation to other groups in school such as Hindus and whites. They claimed that teachers 'focus on the work in class and essays they don't show any favouritism to anyone' (daughter 12 aged 16). One potential reason for this could be that being educated in a multicultural city such as Leicester, the teachers that these daughters have may either be from the same or similar backgrounds as themselves; or that the conditions of pluralism of cultures means that it is difficult to identify a potential 'favourite' ethnic group over a 'discriminated' one. As I was unable to record the interviews, further probing was not possible in many instances therefore potential to get more information was lost.

1.31 The Role Of Britishness

Britain is a country where people of many different cultures and faiths live. What brings British people together is that they listen to different points of view, they have respect for

equal rights and they believe that community is important. (Home Office, UK Border Agency 2009 in Weedon, 2011: 209)

This extract understands ‘Britishness’ in two ways. First, Britishness is geographically bound tying individuals to the country of Britain, and second it is an identity based on shared values. It seems straightforward and yet the concept of Britishness itself is a much challenged issue in academic as well as political discourse still today:

There is no common culture, first language, or robust set of values shared by British citizens, nor is there a shared way of life that could provide the basis for a shared national identity.

(Cesarani, 1996 in Hussain and Bagguley 2005: 414).

British national identity is ‘a relatively recent construct’ that was ‘superimposed on earlier national identities of English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish’ (Heath and Roberts 2008 in Sales 2011: 35). Weedon (2011: 211) argues that the Agency is attempting to define Britishness based on ‘shared values’ and this can be seen as distinct from basing it on cultural and religious identities. As Kellner (2009: 62 in Weedon 2011: 211) claims, Britishness is based on “‘geography/tradition or values’” both ideas claimed by the above quoted UK border Agency statement. Political theorist Bernard Crick (2004) demonstrates this view:

Britishness is, to me, an overarching political and legal concept: it signifies allegiance to the laws, government and broad moral and political concepts – like tolerance and freedom of expression – that hold the United Kingdom together. But there is no overall British culture, only a sharing of cultures.

Young Muslims are seen (by media and politicians) to have the biggest problem with a ‘British identity’ and as being ‘not British enough’ as they are believed to not adequately endorse and practice British values; believed to be the result of erroneous

policies of multiculturalism which have authorized 'separate and oppositional ethnic/religious identities' to fortify and consolidate above collective national identities, thus destabilizing the country (Thomas, 2009: 2). An article in *The Times* (7 October, 2006 quoted in Meer. Dwyer et al, 2010: 99) has argued:

[I]ntegration is not aided by the wearing of veils, just as it is not aided by the failure of immigrants to learn English. It is another example of the damage done by multiculturalism to the cause of real integration.

These and similar arguments have also brought Muslim women into the arena in relation to multiculturalism. The wearing of the veil has been portrayed as a deterrent to integration. Through clothing, Muslim women are becoming the 'signifiers' of national identity and thus are seen to 'embody' the nation (Lutz et al, 1995: 9-10 in Meer. Dwyer et al, 2010: 85). Accordingly, as Khiabany and Williamson (2008: 69 in Meer et al., 2010: 103) argue, 'veiled women are considered to be ungrateful subjects who have failed to assimilate and are deemed to threaten the British way of life'. As a result, Muslim women in particular are constantly expected to establish their identities in relation to many contexts, and nationality and belonging are fundamental amongst such contexts.

The issues raised thus far are significant for Muslims in Britain because growing discourse is claiming that Muslims are not 'British enough' and thus responsible for their own isolation such as community cohesion policies. The most prominent comments in relation to this claim are that it is the younger generations of Muslims that are 'un-British', one unmistakable result of such discourses was a rekindled debate around 'Britishness' and the necessity to advocate it (Thomas, 2009: 1). This belief has been shown to be incorrect as recent research shows that most British Muslims are not only 'proud' to be British, but they believe that Islam is not incompatible with British values of democracy and culture

(Ipsos MORI 2005). The more recent Demos 2011 study clearly showed that British Muslims have a high sense of pride in being British, and that being religious in fact increases their feeling of patriotism (Demos 2011). The concern is that Muslims need to work relentlessly to achieve convincing claims on citizenship rights as these rights come with certain responsibilities and it is argued that Muslims in Britain have not made adequate attempts to meet these responsibilities (Abbas, 2005: 156). In considering the importance attached to Britishness for my study, examining the responses offered by the participants themselves, are significant in placing them within this discussion.

1.31.1 Mothers: Reluctant Britons?

As dialogues such as those that claim that it is the younger generation that are failing to be British, the study showed that in fact, it was the *mothers* and more specifically the traditional defensive mothers that were actually demonstrating a lack of belonging towards Britain. Rassool (1999:30) notes that second generation immigrants (which would apply to the mothers) may be involved in:

...dis-identifying with the dominant culture, a means of rejecting the culture of those who reject and marginalize them as 'other'.

According to the Social identity theory identity is formed by membership of an 'In-group' and opposition to an 'Out-group' situation (Turner (1984 and Turner et al 1987 in Jenkins 2008: 112-113). The arrival of the mothers in the late 1980s generated a negative experience for those mothers who typified the traditional defensive worldview.

Mmm well when I first came here it was very scary because my husband had been here a while working and he sent for me and I remember people would look at me like I was

strange and it made me uncomfortable. That is the worst thing when you go to a new place where you stand out because you look different it is very worrying. (Mother 2 aged 46)

It was not that great an experience when I first came to be honest. I was of course newly married and I came with my husband, he said it could make life easier for us. When we lived in our first house, we lived in Beaumont Leys a very white area. They were very rude and racist, and the women would make comments. I couldn't hear properly, but some were do with my clothes as I wore hijab and salwaar khameesz and that I was smelly because of the cooking. I didn't go out much not when I had to hear that. (Mother 8 aged 49).

There was a difficulty experienced by the mothers in living with 'white people' which made the Muslim women feel like they are the 'other'. In this manner, the members of the In-group (white) were able to determine that these new arrivals did not belong with them there was no sense of shared values or culture, therefore there was no sense of similarity; the Muslim women were assigned to the out-group. Brah (2007: 143-4) similarly observed:

Identity is not an already given thing but rather it is a process... it is constituted and changes with changing contexts.... To have a sense of being, say Muslim is therefore different when confronted with non-Muslims than with friends and family. This sense of self will vary depending on whether the non-Muslims are friendly or hostile.

The traditional defensive mothers demonstrated that the potential for them to have a sense of belonging to Britain was affected by the hostility they were shown by the non-Muslim, white groups. As British National identity has been constantly defined as a white ethnic identity, barriers are created between whites and 'others' by upholding differences in which the 'other' is continuously produced (Hussain and Bagguley 2005: 413) and in this instance the 'other' is Muslims. These women arrived into Britain just after Rushdie affair which propelled Muslim communities into the forefront of British society and the media.

The controversial book and the aftermath in Britain led British (mainly white) people to become 'aware' of Muslims and thus may go towards explaining the 'looks' and references to culture and dress that were experienced by these particular mothers. Also, the extracts show that the mothers had expectations of coming to Britain that were not quite met. As one of the mothers put it, 'Britain was meant to be this free country where there was freedom and the promise of better things, all we got was hostility and backbiting' (Mother 9 aged 46). This supports the view that migration experiences can have an impact on the potential integration of immigrants to their host societies.

Traditional defensive mothers felt disengaged from the society around them, so much so they avoided spending time in society and even less time socializing with non-Muslims. The majority of traditional defensive mothers related that they only had Muslim friends. This suggests that these women belong to a very insular community where ties to others outside this community are not forged, further accentuating the idea that these women have failed to integrate into mainstream society. This can be seen with the growing Muslim religious landscapes with the mosque as a focal point and then other Islamic institutions (Phillips 2006). This led to the burgeoning Muslims shops, food, clothing and other cultural artifacts which rendered venturing further into the city almost unnecessary. The reasons for the lack of public sphere engagement were twofold. Firstly, some claimed that they do not venture out into the public social sphere often as they preferred to spend more time at home as they felt that they wanted to avoid trouble and not engage with people (meaning non-Muslims). Secondly, they preferred to be quiet in public and not social or chatty, needing to be focussed to get what they have to do done, thus spending as little time as possible in public.

Well I think I would say that I am quiet in public because I like to get things done and not have to get involved in unnecessary chatting so I am focused with what I have to do especially when I am out shopping as I prefer to get it done and not stop and chat you know? (Mother 2 aged 46).

Although deciding not to spend a lot of time in the public sphere, what these mothers show is that contrary to the notion that Muslim women have limited freedom and are prevented from venturing into the public domain, (Mernissi, 1987), these women did have freedom of choice and they were not subjugated or controlled, indeed they chose not to go into society.

The majority of the traditional defensive mothers did not regard themselves as British. They all claimed that they did not like or endorse any of the features of Britishness they had identified. The common theme was food, where they felt British food was bland and tasteless.

Oh not very! I live here and it is a lot easier in some ways to live here because you get everything you need like groceries and things easily, but I don't like the culture, all this drinking that they do and I definitely don't like the food! I don't eat much British food because I think it has no taste. (Mother 2 aged 46).

I don't feel British as this is made of white people's culture and I don't live like they do. I mean all they seem to do is drink and watch football! The food is awful also. They have no taste or flavour. They people themselves are okay, the culture I don't like it. It does not make me feel like I belong you know? (Mother 8 aged 49).

Both these quotes are supported by similar comments made by other traditional defensive mothers, who felt that the culture of Britain was not something they endorsed, lived or approved of. Cultural aspects and lifestyles are dominant here, with food and drinking being clear and consistent themes. This relates to their views of British people not

endorsing similar values as Islam because the features of Britishness they focussed on were all cultural aspects and therefore they did not mention values such as democracy, justice, freedom or education. This further shows that there definite distinction between Islamic values and everything else; with the 'everything else' being seen as lesser or limited. Thus, as Dominic Grieve (2007 in Uberoi and Modood, 2010: 313) stated that there are a large number of Muslims who whilst expressing gratitude at for living in Britain a 'pluralist society' they would rather be living in a society that was more to their liking. This expresses the view that perhaps some members of Muslim communities want to leave behind the improper behaviours and values of host society and maybe replace them with a more Islamic way of life. Muslims often turn to their religion as a safeguard from the effects of 'Westernization'. They seek comfort from their communities, which are the foundations of religious principles, as they feel that the 'West', with its processes of modernization, is a threat to their religion (Jacoby and Yavuz, 2008: 3). The traditional defensive mothers in particular felt that some of the British values such as drinking and staying out late were bad for their daughters and were concerned that their daughters would abandon their religious values if they too were to practice such behaviour. Thus maybe adopting a British national identity was challenging because in their view 'Britishness' is for the most part a White identity (Hussain and Bagguley 2005). When examining what being 'British' actually meant for the traditional defensive mothers, the response was largely the same and involved phrases such as: being British meant that a British person liked living in Britain, liked and or supported the Queen, liked the culture, food and lifestyle which included drinking alcohol and liking football. It was evident from the responses to further questions that the traditional defensive mothers generally had an

unenthusiastic view of Britishness and thus were not keen to identify themselves as British (that is they did not like the food, football, the queen etc.). Also, that these mothers saw the British culture as something that did not *belong* to them, something that they were struggling to make part of their lives. Multiculturalism can be seen as responsible for engendering the development of a separatist identity to that of the nation that sees them living *in* the nation, but not becoming an active *part* of it; this is to some extent what the traditional defensive mothers are demonstrating with their views on Britishness and their lack of acceptance of it. Thus, for these mothers there is more of reluctance to living in Britain than there is for their modernist counterparts.

In contrast to the traditional defensive mothers, the Modernist mothers reported a positive experience of living in Britain, remarking that the quality of life, the opportunities available and better welfare provision were the main reasons for such an experience.

I like it is good many good things like shopping and good community I like living here in Leicester it is very good. (Mother 11 aged 45).

Well it has been mostly positive as things are so much easier here and readily available making life easier in relation to shopping, groceries and healthcare. (Mother 20 aged 47).

These modernist mothers having had more positive experiences of living in Britain, also answered that they had non-Muslim friends and that they also claimed that they present themselves as confident and polite when in public, not expressing the view that they did not want to be in society or take part in it. Thus, being British did not have negative perceptions and pessimism for the modernist mother as was demonstrated by the traditional defensive mother.

Well... Laughs. I guess feeling like Britain is your home and supporting it in sports and things like that... well, erm being happy to eat British food, me and my girls love fish and chips! And also to support the Queen and be happy to call yourself British. (Mother 1 aged 45).

Claiming that they felt British, the modernist mothers stated that this was because they liked British food, watched the football, liked the Queen and one of the mothers even mentioned looking forward to watching the then forthcoming royal wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton. These mothers claimed that they felt British because:

Well I have been here for 20 years so I would say that I am British. I have lived here most of my life. (Mother 16 aged 45).

These modernist mothers felt British not only because of taking part and enjoying the culture of Britain, but because they had lived in Britain a long time and thus felt they belonged there because of this long period. The modernist mothers show a higher level of allegiance to Britain than has been noted by researchers and other commentators. The modernist mothers offered a more open attitude towards life in Britain, demonstrating more of an acceptance of British culture that is not seen in the lives of the traditional defensive mothers. Thus, the modernist mother is more of an *active* British citizen than the traditional defensive mother. By this, I mean that the modernist mothers expressed the view that they felt not only that they belonged to Britain but that they also felt they contributed towards society, making them feel that they were like ‘other people’ in Britain that enjoyed British culture in an enthusiastic manner. Modernist mother one and her daughter talked about the wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton extensively and their enthusiasm for the event led the mother to feel that:

...watching the wedding will be very exciting, I wish I could go there and see it properly however as I can't I have decided to make British food, and I have even bought British flags! Laughs. I like weddings doesn't matter which religion or culture. (Mother 1 aged 45).

This signifies the importance of not only feeling accepted as British, but to act British, to eat the food and to enjoy those things that all Britons will enjoy this illustrated the active nature of the sense of belonging by modernist mothers.

In essence, when considering the relationship between a sense of Britishness and the mothers, it seems that for the traditional defensive mothers, their first experiences of arriving into Britain have indeed influenced their extent to which they identify with Britain.

I know I should feel British but I don't really. It's not where I was born and where I lived my childhood. I have lived here a long time and still I don't know I don't feel it is my home I can't explain why... just feels strange. (Mother 10 aged 46).

Britain isn't my home, although I like living in Leicester, it is a nice city; it is not Home you know? It feels like I am staying with relatives and so when you stay with relatives you don't always feel comfortable. (Mother 6 aged 45).

Here the two mothers are demonstrating largely what the younger generations demonstrate: a feeling of belonging based on birth. Therefore there is a suggestion that the feeling of being at home involves familiarity and living at home through their formative years i.e. childhood and early adulthood which they did in their home countries. Overall, a sense of Britishness or some form of connection to Britain they felt should have developed with the length of time they have stayed in Britain, but for these traditional defensive mothers, this has not occurred. Indeed they are demonstrating how they do not fit in with what existing literature says as according to Gordon (1954) the longer immigrants reside in a country, they are expected to accept the values, norms and expectations of this country. This was not

applicable to the majority of the sample, although we can apply this to the modernist mothers. A possible reason for this maybe the exclusionary Muslim community practices of excessive cultural constraints, living in a closed community, which lead to a poor level of integration. This may be in contrast to the modernist mothers because these mothers made efforts to adapt to British culture, and indeed had expressed themselves that they wanted to feel part of Britain; there was no force involved or perhaps societal pressure to do so.

1.31.2 Daughters: The Engaged Briton, Born This way?

Some of the research and discourse (academic and political) on Muslims and belonging to Britain seems to suggest that younger generations of Muslims are finding it hard to belong to Britain than any other group. However, a recent survey carried out by Demos (November see Wind-Cowie and Gregory 2011) reported that 83% of Muslims said that they were ‘proud to be British’. This report however doesn’t clearly state the ages of the respondents, thus it is hard to determine who answered this, however what it does show is that “clearly many British citizens have both a strong religious identity and a strong national identity” with the report also suggesting that:

...strong ethnic and religious identification and pride do not necessarily disrupt social cohesion and those who are confident about their differences are better able to sign up to and invest in British identity.

(Wind-Cowie and Gregory, 2011: 27)

Of significance from this survey is this idea of strong religious belief leading to strong levels of patriotism, emphasizing the hybridization of identity idea. In actual fact, I support the point made by Mondal (2008) that ‘Westernisation’ and Islamisation should be regarded as separate options, claiming that ‘the turn to Islam is not therefore a turning *away*

from the cultural climate of modern Britain (Britishness) but in fact and *expression* of it' (Mondal, 2008: 25). Fractured-traditional daughters fit into the group of Muslims that are described in the Demos report, as they discuss at length their strong religious beliefs as well as demonstrating an equally strong level of belonging to Britain. In saying this, it is also important to note that modernist daughters not having a strong religious affiliation or identification also demonstrate a strong sense of belonging to Britain. Religious belief can increase feelings of belonging to a nation, but the fundamental factor that is observed in the study was that being born in Britain seals the level of belonging to Britain which has no religious basis. As all the daughters (both fractured-traditional and modernist) had positive experiences of living in Britain, their responses were not that wide-ranging and mainly centred around the opportunities they were able to access here in Britain such as education and shopping.

Err well I would say that I have had a very good experience of living in Britain I mean I like it is a lot more advanced than Pakistan and it has many good things like the education and lifestyle like shopping so yeah a good experience. (Daughter 2 aged 17).

I like living in Britain because it has good opportunities and is more developed and have good things like education and jobs and that there is more freedom here. So I have had a good experience so far. (Daughter 14 aged 18).

Both these quotes demonstrate the relative ease with which the young Muslims claimed to enjoy being in Britain, identifying the idea that being born here gave them the feeling that it was thus natural for them to be British. The enduring claims that young Muslims are struggling with their Britishness is questioned by the daughters of this study. Michael Gove (2006 in Uberoi and Modood 2010: 7) claimed, 'a rising generation has been encouraged

by those Muslims most prominent in public life to put their Islamic identity ahead of their citizenship'. This idea seems to suggest that influential Muslims in society are encouraging the younger generation to be more Islamic than British. Several of the daughters (fractured-traditional) disagreed with such a point, demonstrating that they believed they were *both* Muslim and British. For example,

I feel British because I was born here and I have lived here all my life. I'm a Muslim too though and I think that I can be both, no problem... I mean there is room to be both because I am either Muslim when I am in religious occasions and I am not so Muslim when I am in college, apart from when I wear hijab, but I enjoy life and eat fish and chips like other British people. (Daughter 9 aged 17)

The above extract displays a more modern feature of identity here, as identity is fluid and ever-changing; this daughter is able to negotiate her sense of self depending upon the context she is interacting in. This also shows that although being Muslim is important for this daughter, she also feels she is able to be British 'like other British people' by practicing cultural aspects of Britishness, in this case food. Even though this practice of British cultural lifestyles is not shared by all the daughters, but despite this, being British and Muslim is still possible for them.

Half and half I think cos I like Britain and living in Britain. It offers you freedom and opportunities to better yourself, but I don't like drinking alcohol or watching football and I don't mind the food, but it can be boring sometimes. (Daughter 5 aged 16).

This 'half and half' idea of Britishness was shared by many of the fractured-traditional daughters who similarly argued that living in Britain and taking part in opportunities like education and shopping made them feel British, but cultural aspects of Britishness like alcohol, football and liking the Royal family in some cases were not so readily endorsed.

To borrow the term used by Haw (2010) the younger generation are an ‘in-between’ generation who are part of a British multicultural society in terms of being British, being Muslim and being British Muslims. Like Haw (2010: 358) I see these daughters as:

‘in-between’ generation in the sense that their identity is in part defined by their active re-construction and re-evaluation of the relationship between the traditions they inherited from their parents, the role of religion within that and the relationship of those traditions and religious beliefs with British culture and identity.

The daughters were involved in negotiating and re-negotiating their sense of self in everyday situations as they traverse through public, educational and British contexts, performing the identity they feel is warranted for each context. Thus they can be the dutiful Muslim daughter in the home, an individual in pursuit of education in college, and a British citizenship in the public domain of society. The daughters expressed a positive experience of living in Britain which is very much related to the fact that they have only lived in Britain. Thus, in the same way, they feel a stronger bond to Britain as the traditional defensive mothers generally feel towards their homelands.

Consequently when asked to consider how they felt being in the public social setting, the responses of the daughters were mostly different to the traditional mothers in particular. Responses included from being confident and comfortable when in a public setting, feeling that they were able to manage themselves and their behaviour. Others claimed that they were quiet, polite and friendly in the public setting and these daughters all belonged to the fractured-traditional type. What we notice here is that they are able to navigate a public setting without feeling insecure or anxious and unsure of themselves and who they are; there were no feelings of unwillingness demonstrated to actually be in the public setting not surprising as they spend a large majority of their time in college therefore

in public. When considering how many non-Muslim friends they had, all the girls answered that they indeed had non-Muslim friends, with five girls stating that they mostly have non-Muslim close friends these daughters were those that belonged to the modernist type. These daughters stated that the reasons they had more non-Muslims friends were because:

...they don't judge you for not wearing hijab or not being as religious as they are. They let me be myself. (Daughter 1 aged 17)

It would seem that the concern for the younger members of the Muslim community is felt by the mothers in the study. The issues that the mothers felt that were affecting Muslim women in Britain were those specific to *young* Muslim women. Half the mothers (who were all traditional defensive mothers) claimed that they felt 'Westernization' was a troubling factor in the lives of young Muslim women which is supporting research (see Bunt in Gilliat-Ray 2010; Gool, 2006). Many of these mothers (from the traditional defensive type) made reference to the fear of their daughters becoming Westernised. They were scared that their daughters will become too Western and very much like non-Muslim girls who drink, take drugs and have many boyfriends. The West, and its ideologies, is feared for drawing young Muslims away from the values and traditions of their parents.

I think the lack of discipline amongst girls. They are faced with too much temptation to be Westernized, drinking, and boys I think they need to be disciplined better and better controlled to not go off and behave badly or shamefully. I think girls have too much pressure from their friends to be like everyone else and it is quite worrying sometimes as a parent, but we are always explaining the reasons why we object to something and they understand and eventually accept! Laughs. (Mother 5 aged 42).

The young Muslim girls are my worry because they are so easily influenced by this western culture and it is not good. Drinking and taking drugs are a worry of course, but it is the

other things you know like interest in boys, sex, wearing immodest clothes. These cheap shops make it easy for them to buy such clothing and I worry I don't want my daughter to become like that. (Mother 9 aged 46).

Mother 9 uses the very things identified by some girls as being a positive thing about Britain (that is shopping) as a potential cause for concern. The idea that 'bad things' are so readily available for their daughter is seen as a very real negative point of living in Britain. Also the quote from mother 5 uses more intense words such as 'shamefully' and 'disciplined', 'controlled' to emphasize worry. She seems to feel that she and her husband are successful in stopping her daughter from being influenced, yet the worry remains, almost like a cycle where one issue is raised and dealt with and another one surfaces which again needs to be dealt with by parents. This could also account for the investment into creating chains of memory to safeguard their children (daughters in particular) from the effects of a damaging Western culture.

1.31.3 Generational Differences

A sense of belonging to be Britain for the women in the study was affected by generational variances both in terms of kinship and cohort. Generational differences in relation to kinship ties could be observed between the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters. The mothers having had negative experiences of arriving in Britain, feeling dislocated from her much preferred country of origin, therefore had not endeavoured to integrate themselves into their host societies (see Brah 1996 in relation to diasporic identities in new societies). Therefore they were disparaging of Britain (and indeed some aspects which of British life that their daughters enjoyed such as shopping for Western clothes) and British culture and did not feel British. Their daughters

however were able to forge identities that incorporated both their religio-cultural values with those that belong to British society. Thus they had hybrid identities. Therefore, instead of endorsing their mother's view of Britain, or internalizing an idealized version of a society they had never been to, the daughters drew upon discourses of citizenship to advocate their British identity, and adherence to religious principles for their cultural identity. They showed that their identities can at once be public and private, secular and religious, British and Islamic.

Differential acceptance of Britain highlights cohort differences also. Although the mothers shared the process of migration, their differential *experiences* of migration have meant that they responded to arriving in Britain differently. A factor that may account for this is that some of the modernist mothers had expressed a desire to escape the lives they had in their countries of origin, to gain more freedom and better opportunities, therefore moving to a society like Britain was met with excitement and anticipation. This could have prepared them psychologically and emotionally for the move to another country. On the other hand, we have observed that traditional defensive mothers have been focused on recreating their lives from back home, making chains of memory to pass onto their children. Thus the trauma of leaving the society they loved and where they were happy would psychologically *impair* their experiences of moving to a new country, therefore affecting how they 'took' to their new societies. So, in investing time and energy to form and create their chains of memory, they have not allowed themselves to become part of the not so new society, therefore living in the memory of their past. This was further affected by the treatment and resentment they received when arrived into Britain, bringing home to them that they were not like the white majority, they were different, the 'other'.

1.31.4 Locality: Leicester

The premise for choosing to base the study in Leicester was that it was regarded as a successful example of multiculturalism. Thus, in assessing the potential impact of the city in relation to the identities of the women, it was observed that Leicester provided the conditions for all identities blossom. Firstly, Leicester has many ethnic and cultural communities, each with their distinctive practices, customs, food and more important areas of residence. The traditional defensive mothers all resided in the highly populated Muslim areas of the city, therefore, when considering the enduring religious and communal ties that the traditional defensive mothers have formed; this environment provides the exact conditions for these to occur as Leicester has polarization both on geographical and ethnic lines. The Muslim community is strong, and therefore offered the traditional defensive mothers the source of security and common shared values that they spoke of in helping them create a sense of identity in Leicester. The modernist mothers were more geographically dispersed, with two living in the Muslim community and the other three living in what can be regarded as predominantly white areas. The neighbours for these three mothers were mostly white with other ethnic groups such as Hindus and Sikhs. Thus, as one of these mothers spoke of looking forward to the royal wedding, she mentioned the possibility of having a street party, a traditional way people in Britain have for celebrating occasions related to the royal family. Thus, their modernist viewpoints could be attributed to some degree to the influences of the community around them that appeared more secular and open and friendly. The two modernist mothers living in Muslim communities did not give the impression that they found it difficult to live in the Muslim community as they were being religious, however it could be observed that their modest clothing could be

taken as an implicit assumption of their Muslimness, and I can only presume this. The fractured-traditional daughters benefit from both the traditional community they live in and the more secular community of the college they attend, making it possible to create their hybrid identities. The modernist daughters also benefit from living in community that is more open and less religiously inclined, suffering no external forms of surveillance and able to make connections with a variety of different people in their community setting. Thus, Leicester although was not explicitly discussed, did provide a backdrop that further contributed to identities they formed.

1.32 Conclusion

The role of education has demonstrated that the younger generation did view education as a means of obtaining a sense of freedom, and aspired to have futures that involved furthering their educational careers, which is aligned with the existing literature. The generational differences are apparent in relation to the unknown (or perhaps unventured) tension between the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters, who show that the priority for them is to get the daughters good husbands for a secure married life. Although this does support the views of the mothers in Afshar's 1989b study, the difference lay in the fact that daughters were not prepared to accept this just yet, they secretly mapped out their educational and occupational futures in some instances.

There were clear differences in the identification and acceptance of Britishness in the study. For instance, the traditional defensive mothers expressed a sincere lack of belonging and identifying with their idea of 'Britishness', their response was at best lukewarm, and at its worst, derogatory. This was different for their daughters for whom national identity and

religion were not mutually exclusive as they felt that belonged to both Britain and Islam equally. They also identified cultural and lifestyle aspects in their definitions of Britishness, their responses to which were generally positive. When taking into account the history of multiculturalism in Britain, it can be argued that multiculturalism did not succeed in integrating all the mothers into British society and feeling like they belong to that society. In one sense, the freedom offered by multiculturalist policies allowed the mothers to create and sustain a strong community based on culture, religion and the familiarity with their homelands.

For the modernist mothers there is an active desire to venture away from this community, where they not only feel comfortable, but have confidence in traversing through more public arenas allowing them to perform a sense of belonging that is accepted by them. Living in Britain provided them with the resource to create lives they stated offered them a sense of identity based on national significance rather than religious importance. In fact, just as the religious participants (those belonging to the traditional defensive and fractured-traditional types) demonstrated their religious commitments to their steadfast practice of religious duties and adherence to Islamic law (in their view), the modernist participants involved themselves in practices that demonstrated their Britishness (such as enjoying the wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton) as well as adhering to laws of British society. The fractured-traditional daughters, although having mothers that are traditional defensive, demonstrate a greater sense of belonging to Britain than their mothers, offering similar reasons to the modernist daughters of belonging to Britain due to being born here. Thus, the daughters growing up in this contentious multiculturalist context seem to have demonstrated that integration has been more successful in their case than has

been expected from the political as well as societal perception. Panayi (2010: 144) argued that ‘the change from the norms of the homeland to those of Britain, usually taking place through generations, serves as one of the best indicators on integration’ which has been supported by the modernist daughters, and to some degree by the fractured-traditional daughters.

In summary these findings from the study inform us with reference to Parekh (2007: 133) the modernist mothers and their daughters can be seen to be *reluctant British Muslims* as being British overrides a Muslim way of life and so reluctant to attach an Islamic label to their identity. The traditional defensive mothers can be regarded as *reluctant Muslim Britons*, who in a continuum of extremes or moderation accept that they live in Britain but maintain that they are Muslim ‘first’ and foremost. The fractured-traditional daughters are *British Muslims* they accord equality to both identities and essentially, having been born in Britain they have automatically ‘become’ British and thus offers the justification of being placed first, as they have had to learn to be Muslim and thus are still striving to ‘achieve’ this identity. Thus *Reluctant Muslim Britons* would negotiate the acceptable parts of Britishness that suit and compliment their Islamic identity. Similarly, the *Reluctant British Muslims* will incorporate those aspects of Islam that complement their Britishness.

Conclusion of Study

The research premise for this study has been to explore the identity formation of Muslim women living in Britain. Although there has been research interest in Muslim women, this interest has concentrated on the younger generations (Gilliat-ray 1998; Dwyer 2000; Schmidt 2004; Afsar, Aitken and Franks 2005; Ramji 2007) of Muslim women, emerging in a Western context with renewed engagement to religious commitment in an attempt to establish a sense of self in an atmosphere that is recognized as antagonistic to Muslims (see Abbas 2004, Sen 2006 for example). Although my research has been limited, it addressed the issue of the relationships *between* Muslim daughters and their mothers, nonetheless filling a gap in the research (Schvaneveldt et al, 2005: 80).

In an attempt to avoid assuming an understanding of older generations of Muslim women's identities as 'default' in relation to younger generations, this thesis aimed to investigate, in equal measure, the identities of daughters and their mothers. In chapters two to four, I set out the theoretical framework within which this study was to take place, establishing a generational conceptualization that interconnected kinship ties with cohort effects to determine the differences between mothers and daughters in the study. The framework also incorporated theories of identity to argue that identity is not fixed or stable, as modern society introduces risks and contexts of change, eradicating the once important dominance of tradition, thus identity formation is now taking place in spaces of uncertainty and risk. Consideration was also given to feminist understandings of identity that claimed that Muslim women's identity takes place within discourse of Orientalism and is patriarchal in nature. Existing research on Muslim women's identities focuses on how Muslim women are used to demarcate the Muslim community, giving them the

responsibility of defining and upholding the honour of their communities. They are conceptualized as subjects to various mechanisms of patriarchal control, through Shari'ah law and the family. Studies on the younger generations of Muslim women show that these women are reclaiming an Islamic identity through active religious resistance, using the veil as a marker of identity. Yet, these young Muslims are also marking out other areas of belonging, notably those in relation to Britishness, developing identities that incorporate religious and national facets. Chapter four highlighted existing studies' successful employment of the semi-structured interview method, which convinced me to use such a method, as it allowed me to have flexibility to develop responses as well as have an idea of the themes and areas I wanted to discuss. I also advocated the use of vignettes as a unique way of gaining a multi-dimensional understanding of the perspectives and viewpoints of the women in the study. In chapters six to eight, I discussed the findings of the study, offering a picture of the women emerging from the study through the use of a researcher designed typology based on the data rather than one that was pre-designed to have ideal types, I was not looking to impose identities onto the women in my sample, I was interested in what they saw to be their identities. In the rest of this chapter, I will reflect upon these findings, offering inferences and implications these findings have for the study as a whole. The chapter will lastly consider the benefits of the study as well as recommendations for further study.

The underpinning evidence of the study points to the significant role of religion in the identity formation of the women in the study. In terms of the research objective in relation to religion, I hypothesized that religious observance would be determined by the knowledge and understanding of religious beliefs and laws, which I believed would have

been different for the two generations as the older generation would have received them in a traditional manner through religious socialization, whereas the younger generation would have educated themselves further through advanced technology and independent access to scripture and text. Religion firstly was significant for the majority of the sample. Turner (1994) argued that the increasing Islamism is a reaction against post-modernity, and that Muslims are threatened by icons of post-modernity. Post-modernity challenges faith and reorganizes belief through social transformation in everyday life influenced the consumption of commodities in which there is a sense of illegitimacy of culture. Hence, the holding onto religious belief is an attempt at converting a fragmented identity and an escape from the postmodern condition of anxiety (see also Hervieu-Léger 2000). This was expressed by the traditional defensive mothers who despite the fact that they have lived in Britain for twenty years or more, they still did not regard this country as their home; they still did not have any feeling of being part of British society. They rejected this society to hold onto their religious beliefs, as well as their cultural traditions and customs. Religious beliefs, rituals, and practices can be seen to have a considerable effect on the identity of an individual where an individual can define themselves in terms of religious attachment. Therefore, when considering the importance of religion, we can see that it encompasses major aspects of the lives of the majority of participants in the study. It offers traditional defensive mothers and fractured-traditional daughters a sense of purpose and functions as a way of achieving that purpose, as it offers them the means to do so through religious practices and rituals; and it is seen as meaningful because there is a collective sense from the religious community that these practices and rituals are meaningful. Accordingly, one can argue that understanding the nature of religion for the participants can help in

understanding how religion is perceived, practiced and applied to their lives and sense of identity. However, on the other hand, the sample also contained women who lived equally as happy without attaching any significance to religion. These participants (the minority in the sample) did not endorse Islam in their lives at all, and argued they were able to live their lives based on universal values that belonged to society in *general* rather than to just one belief system (i.e. religion). For example, the concept of modesty (which is aligned with the overall idea of honour) was also practiced by the modernist participants. They talk about the idea of modesty as a religious-free value that argued that modest clothing was more to do with respecting oneself as a person. Thus, the female body deserves to be respected despite the religion or culture a person comes from, and the modernist participants emphasized the wearing of ‘loose-fitting clothes’ as a practical way of respecting their bodies.

The findings also showed that religion was especially important in relation to dress. The idea of Islamic dress was a significant one for the participants in the study, as they recognised that dress was a marker that identified them as belonging to Islam. Whilst on the one hand, the hijab (veil) has been considered an item of clothing that makes the female wearer a stranger, ‘an alien’, a form of placing a barrier working to separate the wearer from society (see Meer et al., 2010), the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters who wore the hijab, claimed that wearing the veil allowed them to present themselves as believing Muslims. (Goffman’s dramaturgical approach can be applied here, as the wearing of the hijab is like a performance of being Muslim). The wearing of veil was by no means the only reference to dress made by the participants. The participants made many references to ‘modest clothing’ and ‘loose-fitting clothes’. These

are broadly applied to the concept of modesty which is seen as a key premise in the religion of Islam. The traditional defensive mothers and fractured-traditional daughters viewed dress as a religious duty to be carried out in their everyday lives as prescribed by Shari'ah law. These participants claimed that generally it was important that Shari'ah law be implemented in Britain in a more formal manner to allow the Muslim community to remain more united, and to offer guidance and ensure that younger generations are in effect not given the opportunity to lose their sense of Islamic identity.

However one aspect of the hypothesis that was not fully recognized was that the participants in the study were actually not completely well-informed of Shari'ah law which is a very complex system or law, encompassing many aspects of life; it requires expert knowledge and indeed training. Many participants, both those who saw themselves as religious and those who did not, were able to identify only two aspects of Shari'ah law to be relevant for women: dress and marital duties. Only two mothers were able to add in the requirement of the regularity of prayer. This indicates that the religious participants have not actively been involved in seeking knowledge about their religion. Perhaps for the fractured-traditional daughters, their religious education via their family was 'enough' to make them feel they are cognizant of their religion. I can only conjecture that for the traditional defensive mothers, the sources of religious knowledge could be their family (when young), peers and community (when a young adult) and perhaps her husband once married. Maybe it would be worthwhile to investigate this further. The lack of active religious search by the fractured-traditional daughters was in contrast to previous research (see for example Dwyer 2000, Ramji 2007) which demonstrates the active search for religious knowledge among young Muslims who have more opportunity to gain

information via the internet, but of course media and political debate also. These (particularly the internet) resources may not have been so readily available to their mothers. Therefore, the practice of the religious duties they identify as significant for Muslims in the everyday context does not come with being fully informed about such practices. That is not to say their practice is wrong, it shows that the independence and autonomy the daughters feel they have learnt from education and media is not as extensive as their assimilation and absorption of religious, traditional and cultural practices. Shaw (1994) perceives that most young British Muslims, whilst providing the appearance of being influenced by Western ideals, being fluent English speakers and striving to obtain educational and professional qualifications, are in effect steadfast in their 'cultural distinctiveness' and safeguarding their community's 'moral and religious identity'. I would say we can apply such an idea, to a certain extent, to the fractured-traditional daughters in the study, thus it could be argued that the presentation of a more liberal identity in certain contexts could be more restrictive than they believe themselves to be, as their religious identity maybe more dominant than their liberal one. It could also be argued that they may not have had much 'choice' in being religious either, as they have clearly accepted the religious aspect of their family's upbringing, and despite being in contact with and having access to resources that could help them perhaps learn more religious knowledge independently, or even discourage them from Islam altogether, they still endorse their religious side with little knowledge. For the traditional defensive mothers, the idea of seeking knowledge on their own may not seem appealing, especially as I argue (using Hervieu-Léger 2000 concept of religion as a chain of memory) the fact that the mothers have been displaced from their home, culture and familiar society that they have used the

knowledge gained to forge new chains of memory in Britain to maintain their religious identity against the backdrop of modern society. Therefore, the memories of the past are seen as reliable resources to help recreated an 'imagined' religious heritage; new knowledge would only destabilize what they have created. Hence, their lack of religious knowledge may indicate that they have utilized those memories that offered them the most comfort and security and sense of identity. This can also be related to the nostalgia the traditional defensive mothers displayed towards their family life back home, and the desire to 'recreate' that familial harmony and enjoyment. Therefore, religion has the possibility to validate and legitimate norms and values such as honour and respect, as well as social institutions and the interpretation of the world. This has been illustrated in the study by the acceptance and practice of Shari'ah law (although this came with very little actual knowledge of Shari'ah). The study also showed that through the control and example of parents, the socialization process teaches children norms and values and how to interact with others, while sacred codes preserve the family and the threats to identity that changes in the family structure and society may instigate such as those belonging to Westernization. Therefore, for the participants in the study religion was indeed a legacy that was passed on from mother to daughter. This shows that generational differences could not be found in relation to the religious values (and non-religious) values of the women in the study, in terms of kinship but we can in relation to cohort. The successful socialization processes of both mother types appear to have counteracted any generational conflict in relation to the role of religion.

The second most noteworthy aspect of the study is related to the idea of Britishness and belonging. I hypothesized that that due to their experiences of migration and leaving

their homelands, having no or little formal incorporation to the British structures such as the work place, little or no attachments to non-Muslim friends, the Muslim mothers would have less attachment to Britain and would be more reluctant to consider themselves British. Their daughters, having been born in Britain would have expressed more attachment to Britain and consider being British part of their identity. This to a large extent was also demonstrated, with the difference being noted within the modernist mothers. Just as religious commitment (or lack of) underpinned the lives of the women in sample, Britishness and belonging to Britain highlighted perhaps the *reason* behind the importance (or lack of) religion the women had. On the one hand, as mentioned above, the majority of the sample demonstrated a strong religious commitment to Islam, determining the core of their identities in relation to their commitment to the observance of religious practices and duties. However, on the other hand, the sample also contained women who lived equally as happy without attaching any significance to religion (modernist participants). It was also demonstrated that for the modernist daughters (as well as fractured-traditional daughters to a certain extent) living in multicultural Leicester helped them integrate into British life. In contrast, for some of the traditional defensive mothers, who had arrived into Britain during the implementation of multiculturalist policies, these policies only helped them to further isolate themselves from their host societies by enabling them to develop tight and close-knit communities that practiced their cultural values from their countries of origin, instead of trying to incorporate them into the values of their host society. This finding seems to contradict Rizvi's (2007) study, where the women were able to develop strong ties to Britain as well as preserve their religious and Pakistani identities. The daughters expressed a stronger claim to Britishness based on the fact that they were born in Britain, therefore

their allegiance to Britain was almost a given. The alliance of modernist daughters with their mothers was stronger; it was observed that their viewpoint and opinions matched closely to that of their modernist mothers. In fact, there did not appear to be any tensions between the viewpoints of the modernist mothers and daughters. It was concluded that this alliance was also influenced by the successful socialization of daughters from their mothers to internalize a more secular value system that incorporated acceptance of and a sense of belonging to the host society.

The role of the family demonstrated its significance to the women in different ways. I hypothesized that there would be significant differences in the perception by both generations of the importance of familial relations when seeking and developing a sense of self which will be related to generational differences. Generally, this was indeed the case. Traditional defensive mothers were the most vociferous in relation to the importance of the family to their identities. In connecting their lack of belonging to Britain, the traditional defensive mothers took their allegiance to their home countries further by reflecting discourse of nostalgia for the life they had in there in relation to the family, thus they claimed that endeavoured to perpetuate the familial lifestyles they had in their home countries to the families they had now. Thus for them, the family became the second major aspect of their identities after religion. On the other hand, modernist mothers did not share this view, and looked at only implementing the family practices that they agreed with or viewed as significant in their families rather than superimposing their familial experiences onto their family here in Britain. These involved the religiously ordained roles of women looking after the home, and the males going out to work. The modernist participants, both

mothers and daughters felt that roles in the family should be shared and that if equality was worked towards, then family life would run smoother.

When considering the role of education, I hypothesized that for the younger generation, education would be a vehicle of aspiration that would allow them to live differently from their mothers. Initially, it seemed that in alignment with existing research, mothers were generally supportive of the role of education for the daughters, viewing education as very important (Abbas 2003; Shain 2003; Tyrer and Ahmed 2006; Hussain and Bagguley 2007). However, like Afshar's 1989b study, there were limitations attached for the acceptance of education for the traditional defensive mothers, who expressed similar views to those of the mothers in Afshar's study, of seeing the primary aspiration for their daughters as getting married and raising a family. Generational differences were in play here showing tension as the fractured-traditional daughters, like their modernist counterparts, had aspirations of going to university and perhaps getting more than one degree, with vague ideas of getting married. The point to note here was that this contentious matter had not been addressed as much by the mothers and daughters; therefore, it was not known how the situation was to be resolved. The modernist mothers and daughters on the other hand shared a positive view of education and demonstrated that they were aware of the aspirations of the other. The modernist mothers were supportive of the daughter's educational aspirations, some proudly discussing the future plans of their daughters in relation to education. Therefore, like belonging, there was greater affinity between the modernist mothers and daughters, whereas clear divergence between traditional defensive mothers and fractured-traditional daughters.

Therefore, the findings of the study were mostly met by the majority of the sample, with a few unexpected differences. Nonetheless, the study confirms that there are generational differences between the identity formations of Muslim mothers compared to their daughters for the majority of the sample. I contend that both the features of the conceptualization of generation I identified in chapter two are demonstrated, generation in kinship terms and cohort differences. In relation to kinship differences, there were kinship differences generally between the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters in two main ways. The first finding that demonstrates these differences can be seen from the idea of belonging to Britain and being British. Firstly, in relation to kinship differences, we can see that traditional defensive mothers did not express feelings of belonging to Britain, yet their daughters did. The main reason for this was seen to be related to citizenship. Like the modernist daughters, the fractured-traditional daughters viewed their British identities as ‘given’ since they were born in Britain. This meant that having had access to no other society or country, the familiarity with Britain was their only experience of an overarching society, therefore like previous studies have shown (see Alam and Husband, 2006 for example) these daughters felt no affinity with the countries of origin of the mothers. Therefore, the passion and desire for ‘home’ expressed by their mothers did not resonate with them; their ‘home’ was Britain. On the contrary, the traditional defensive mothers, their experiences of arriving into a new and unfamiliar society that was hostile and unwelcoming (see Akpinar 2003) they hold onto the familiar values of their countries of origin thus, failing to forge a bond or relationship with the host society. Despite the rather long period of time they have lived in Britain, it did not feel like home which is in accordance with the feelings of the first generation in Hussain and

Bagguley's (2005) study. Differences could also be seen in relation to the role of the family, with the fractured-traditional daughters who felt that the traditional dichotomy in relation to roles in the family was not fair and were less likely to accept it. In relation to the fractured-traditional daughters, they also expressed a lack of support for the traditional division of labour, yet were more passive as they felt that it was inevitable therefore unavoidable. This showed one particular aspect of the religious transmission that did not quite succeed, unlike the daughters in Afshar's (1989b) study, the fractured-traditional daughters have not internalized these roles to the extent that they desire them, they accept them but are not happy about their existence. Therefore, kinship differences demonstrate that despite having access to the same resources, mothers and daughters are able to construct identities based on their differential life experiences based what stage of life they are in. The older generation focus on experiences rooted in their past, their lives before coming to Britain, and seek to emulate these aspects into their new lives despite the change of context. The younger generation, experiencing more public sphere freedom due to their access to education, are less likely to hold to idealistic notions of a country they have never been to, which holds no personal memory or emotion and therefore no sense of familiarity. They use their knowledge from education, media and society around them to understand that their family situation is not ideal, yet are resigned to accept the inevitability of familial duty. The traditional defensive mothers have had a long period of time to familiarize themselves with their new society, to understand its values and practices, yet have not allowed them to perforate the romantic notions of 'back home', whose values, culture and traditions are not aligned to those of their new society, therefore not ones they can endorse.

The findings also show generational differences in a cohort sense as there were differences between the mothers in relation to all sources of identity. The modernist mothers having been in a similar situation to the traditional defensive mothers came to Britain with less reverence for their countries of origin. They looked forward to the new society, embracing it with the same vigor that the traditional defensive mother had shown for their home countries. Therefore, despite being in the same cohort, the experience of migrating to Britain had been different for the two mother types because the experiences of being in the same countries of origin had also been different. Both types of mothers essentially came from similar familial backgrounds, being part of extended families and in many cases restricted in terms of their freedoms due to familial and community ‘surveillance’. The modernist mothers did not view these familial practices in the same way as their counterparts. Family and religion were allied in these experiences of the mothers and we also observe divergence in the continuation of an Islamic way of life, with a minority of mothers deciding not to adopt Islam into their lives. Belonging to Britain and the importance of education also show cohort differences. Educational aspirations did not override the traditional expectations of familial duty for their daughters in the eyes the traditional defensive mother. For modernist mothers, there was an active zeal to ensure their daughters achieved their educational aspirations. Therefore, the acceptance of Britain as their home and the adoption of British values of which pursuit of education can be regarded as an example of, further demonstrates the divergence of experiences of individuals similarly located in the same cohort.

This study validates that Muslim women are not homogenous in terms of their identities. Indeed, within the sample, there were three types of Muslim women emerging

from the data: traditional defensive, fractured-traditional and modernist. Accordingly, the study confirmed that in the contemporary period, identity formation is a complex and fractured process that provides individuals the personal freedom to determine who *they* are and the scope for *their own* interpretations of what is important in their lives. Muslim women now have more opportunity to discuss their own identities. Yet the voices of Muslim women are frequently missing from public debates (Bilge, 2010) as still too often there are imposed limitations to their freedoms. Muslim women's identities are emerging in contexts of risk, for example, fear of terrorism, Islamophobia as well as patriarchal control and religious oppression. The dilemma of risk has been regarded as characteristic of late modernity. Beck (1992) argues that risks have always existed, but he intimates that these were visible in the past, whereas the risks of late modernity are more unknown. Yet as studies have shown, within this climate of risk, Muslims are almost twice as likely as Christians to testify that they observe the same religion they were raised in (Scourfield et al 2012: 105-6). For the majority of the sample, belonging to a religion played a significant part in their identity formation, defining their public face as well as their private face. Thus, despite the risky context of an Islamophobic society, the majority of the women in my study were creating observable and distinct Islamic identities.

The study also featured reflections of culture, in relation to religion and everyday life. In starting with the everyday aspects, the women in the sample generally believed that their lives were lived differently from non-Muslims. Discussions in chapter 7 reveal that the main justifications offered for their perceived differences revolved around religion and familial harmony and values. Without going into details, the impetus here is that the traditional defensive mothers and their fractured-traditional daughters project the view that

religion is more than just practice and prayer, that it is a way of life, that everyday actions are affected *religiously* so that within society, they function in a religiously-informed way. In order to break this down further, religious propriety is determined by the contexts within which the participants find themselves in. This unsurprisingly was applied more to the traditional defensive mothers; as previously mentioned, the fractured-traditional daughters are able to perform identities depending on the context they are in. The traditional defensive mothers stated that as non-Muslims are non-Muslims, they are inevitably different from themselves because they don't practice Islam. This shows the intense passion religion evokes for these women, so much so that they seem to almost suggest that non-Muslims are not *complete* as they are not Muslims. In terms of identity, being Muslim (one who believes and practices Islam as claimed by the participants in the study) is almost a legitimate identity category that determines the actions of that individual as being correct or right. The family was partnered with the importance of religion for the traditional defensive and fractured-traditional participants for affecting different lifestyles between them and non-Muslims. The family was regarded as being fundamental in endorsing and stabilizing Islamic teachings and duties. Also, as the family is the first institution children are influenced by, it was regarded as important for the family to be strong, to provide the right conditions for religious identities to develop. Women are considered the elementary member of the family as it is their responsibility to teach, socialize and pass on the correct religious behaviour, roles and duties, as well as philosophies for the everyday context. As a result, 'The maintenance of the family's spiritual status seems to be regarded in terms of the role of women in Muslim society' (Roald, 2001: xi). Therefore, it was not surprising when while referring to non-Muslim families, the respondents were most concerned with

the behaviour of females in such families. Behaviour that they regarded as inappropriate, and of course unIslamic included sex before marriage, teenage pregnancies and unsuitable dress. This viewpoint can show a legitimization of the role division in the family which commentators (see Mernissi 1987) view as being patriarchal in nature, making it appear that women are actively endorsing the structures that act to restrict and control them. In contrast, the modernist mothers and their modernist daughters were not quite so negative. Their lives were also lived differently from non-Muslims; however, their family upbringing was the most important factor rather than religion. This is interesting because these participants claimed that they were British and aimed to live within the context of Britain, yet they believe their lives are different from non-Muslims as well; they consistently identified themselves as 'non-religious' thus demonstrating that concept of hybridity can be found not only in the younger generation, but also in the older generation. The traditional defensive and fractured-traditional participants, who self-claimed to be religious, laid importance to other sources of identity formation such as national belonging, which was treated as secondary to the religion factor (this was mostly true for the traditional defensive mothers) and family which was secondary for the fractured-traditional daughters. Overall, the findings demonstrate that generation is an important factor in explaining the differences of identity formation between mothers and daughters. However, this is not true for the whole sample. This is true equally for the majority of who claimed to be religious, as there were clear indications that the same resources of family, education and religion were experienced differently, despite the close association the mother-daughter pairs in this part of the sample shared in relation to religion. It seems that religion was the only connecting factor for these mother-daughter pairs, more so because it seems

the mothers have indeed created a chain of memory of religious practice, belief and observance that they have passed onto their daughters. The relationship between the modernist mother and her modernist daughter goes beyond their 'generation gap'. It would have been more illuminating if there had been a mismatch, that is, a modernist mother with a religious daughter, or a religious mother with a modernist daughter, as the upbringing of the child would no longer be the important factor in determining the identities of the daughters in particular as they would have developed oppositional identities. There would perhaps be more significance placed on outside factors. Among all the factors considered in the analysis, social class could not be included as all the members of the study sample in essence belonged to the same class. It could reasonably be argued that inter-generational attitudes have not been affected by social class.

1.33 Benefits and Further Recommendations

I feel the study has benefits for future research ventures. The study provides a framework for developing a sociological understanding of the role of generation in the process of identity formation. Generation was an important aspect of the research because it allowed me to make comparisons between different cohorts of women as well as consider their genealogical differences. It further demonstrated the importance and significance of socialization processes as an important source of gaining a sense of who we are and how we relate to society and others around us. As society changes and develops, identities are becoming more complex and fluid, and these are important for our understating of how individuals achieve a sense of self in uncertain and dynamic social conditions, thus the study shows this through the fact that these identities were formed and maintained within the growing interest and attention placed on Muslims in Britain. The

study can also offer policy recommendations and practical information about resource needs and aspirations of Muslim women. This is especially true in terms continuing to address views of the role of education in Muslim women's lives, as Muslim women are seen as being let down by the education system (*Education Guardian* 01/04/08: 1-2). Thus, the study provided, in a small way, a voice for these Muslim women. In terms of further research, the recommendations I can make involve perhaps exploring the relationship between mothers and daughters further. There was definite tension between the aspirations of traditional defensive mothers and their daughters and I think it is worth exploring this further. It would be of benefit to determine how such tensions are managed, what are the consequences in the future when the aspirations of the mother and daughter collide? Is a solution reached before such clashes occur? The other aspect of the research that I feel deserves further study is to do with Britishness and belonging. In the current context, attention has been focused on the practices of Muslim families in Britain in particular, with the rise in the awareness of honour killings and forced marriages. Thus, as cases are coming to light of British girls being either killed or forced abroad to get married, and so perhaps focus can be placed on helping professionals who work within this growing phenomena to understand the reasons behind why families in Britain (they do not necessarily have to be Muslim, however, the Muslim cases attract more media coverage and thus a project could try and offer the opportunity to look at cultures that have such practices with Muslim cultures being the starting foundation). The police, social workers, schools and of course families themselves can benefit from further research and this could help many young women in particular, perhaps saving lives. Taking the idea of marriage further, another aspect of the study I think worthy of further exploration the fact that more

Muslim men are going abroad to get married, bringing their (often young) brides back to settle with them in Britain. This was identified as a major concern for some mothers and daughters in the study because as Muslim women continue within the education system (Ahmed 2001, Dale et al 2002) the opportunities to marry British born eligible Muslim men are perceived by Muslim women to be declining. How did the mothers, especially the traditional defensive mothers, expect to deal with this since they had expectations of their daughters getting married? What about the daughters? Were they worried about how this would impact on their plans to be educated, wives and mothers? Had they thought about potential ways to overcome this? Was this even an issue of concern for them? What would be even more illuminating would be to consider the viewpoints of young Muslim men themselves, thus an opportunity to do a comparative study between genders would indeed be very interesting for expanding our understanding of the issues and concerns of young British Muslims as a whole.

On the whole, if the study were to be improved, the sampling issues would be of the biggest concern and importance, since we cannot plan for global events, the sampling method should allow researchers to put into place contingency strategies to lessen the impact. This is a very important lesson I have learnt for future research. One aspect of the research study that I felt was particularly successful was the use of the vignettes. As a research tool to be used alongside other methods, the vignettes proved to be very constructive, especially the religion vignette. Out of the three, the religion vignette elicited some very passionate responses for all participants and allowed me to further obtain an understanding of the significance (or lack of) of religion for the participants. This thesis has been an important and worthwhile learning process, showing me the importance of

establishing clear research aims and objectives and the significance of rigorous research design and implementation. On the other hand, being a Muslim myself, I found the interview process challenging as the beliefs and values associated with my own practice of Islam are not only different from the women I interviewed, but they also offer contrary understandings in some aspects, of Muslim identity, especially in relation to women. Therefore, the interviewing process was a precarious situation at times as I felt that my identity as a Muslim was being examined and questioned also, especially by the traditional defensive mothers. This showed me the importance of value-freedom in research, as I did not want to consciously affect the results of the study with my own values as a member of the group I was researching (albeit belonging to a different *kind* of religious belief system). On a personal level, I also found the study challenging as I lost my own mother during the course of the study, therefore the value of mother-daughter relationships and the intricacies involved in such relationships were very poignant for me during the interview process, and renewed my belief in the necessity to undertake such research, as this kind of empirical endeavour provides rich and fresh insight into the lives of individuals who are talked about and theorized about, when it is worthwhile listening to what they have to say themselves.

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APPENDIX ONE

Ethnic Origin of Residents: Leicester, 2001

This table shows the number of residents by ethnic origin in the Census for 2001

	2001
White: UK	169,456
Asian or Asian British: Indian	72,033
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	4,276
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	1,926
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	5,516
Black or Black British: Caribbean	4,610
Black or Black British: African	3,432
Black or Black British: Other Black	553
Chinese	1,426
Other Ethnic Groups	904

Source: Leicester City Council

Stated Religion of Residents: Leicester, 2001 - 2011

These tables shows the number of residents in Leicester by their stated religion in the Census for 2001

	Leicester Count 2001
Christian	125,187
Buddhist	638
Hindu	41,248
Jewish	417
Muslim	30,885
Sikh	11,796

	Leicester 2001 (%)
Christian	44.7%
Buddhist	0.2%
Hindu	14.7%
Jewish	0.2%
Muslim	11.0%
Sikh	4.2%
Other religions	0.4%

Source: Leicester City Council

SOURCE: BBC NEWS

APPENDIX TWO

News Front Page
World
UK

England
Northern Ireland
Scotland
Wales

Business

Politics

Health

Education

Science &

Environment

Technology

Entertainment
Also in the news

Video and Audio

Have Your Say

Magazine

In Pictures

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BORN ABROAD

An immigration map of Britain



DESTINATION UK

► In Depth

[Overview](#)

[Around Britain](#)

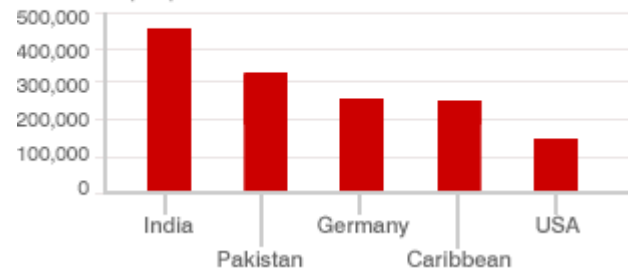
[Countries of birth](#)

[Economics](#)

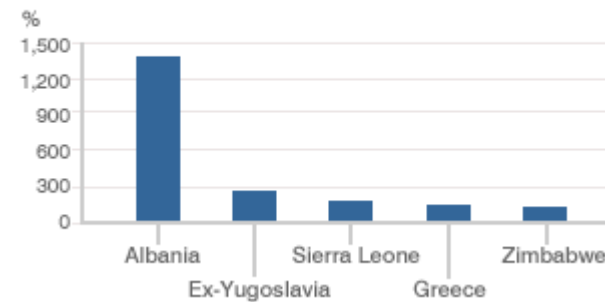
Where people are from

Most common countries of birth outside
British Isles, 2001

Number of people



Countries of birth with biggest increase,
1991-2001



Click column titles to sort table by that column.

British residents born abroad (excluding Republic of Ireland)

Sort by: Name	TOTAL NUMBERS			AS % OF ALL PEOPLE		
	1991	2001	+/- %	1991	2001	+/- %
India	409,130	466,416	14.00	0.75	0.82	0.07
Pakistan	234,164	320,767	36.98	0.43	0.56	0.13
Bangladesh	104,925	154,201	46.96	0.19	0.27	0.08

APPENDIX THREE

Table 1: Ethnic Groups by Class from Class Origins 2001

Figure 1: Percentages from different ethnic groups ending up in particular class destinations at 2001, by their class origins

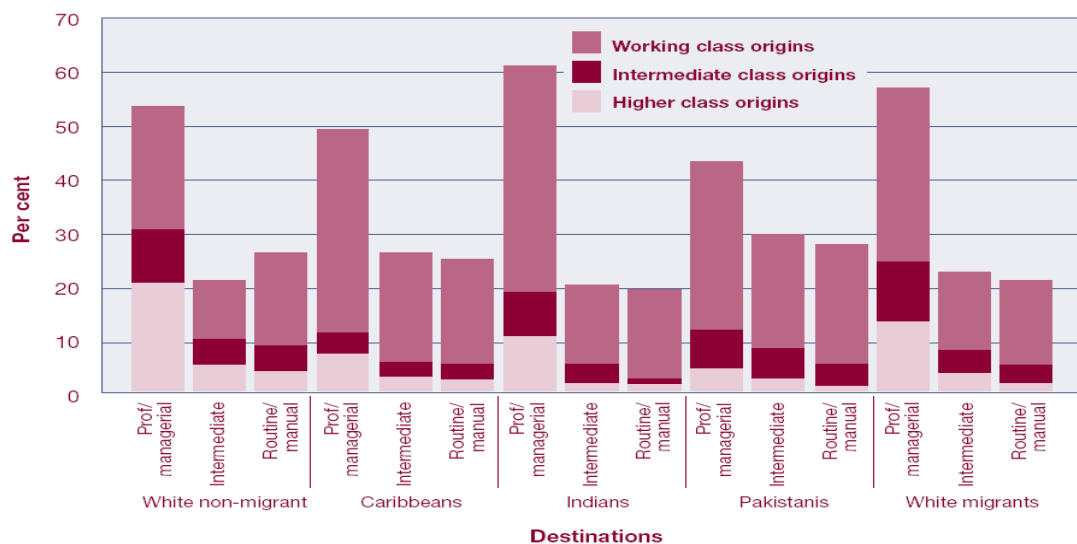
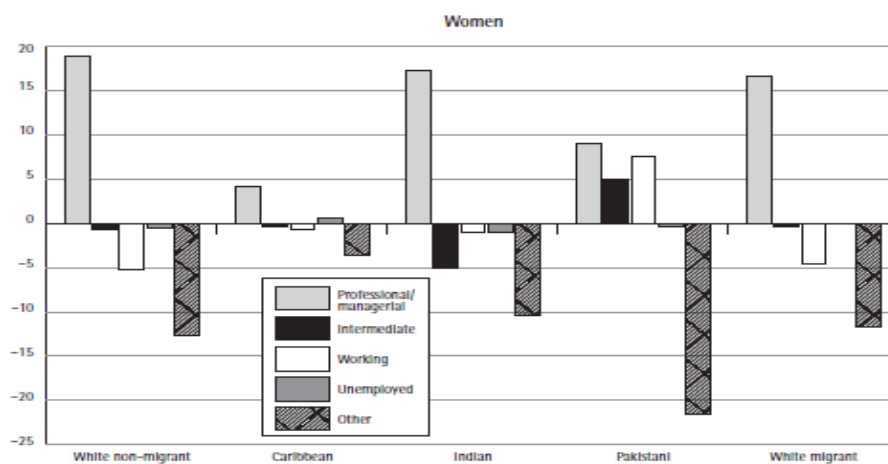


Table 2: Class Gain or Loss within Families 2001: Women

Figure 3.2: Proportionate class gains or losses from individual to family class allocation in 2001 by ethnic group: women



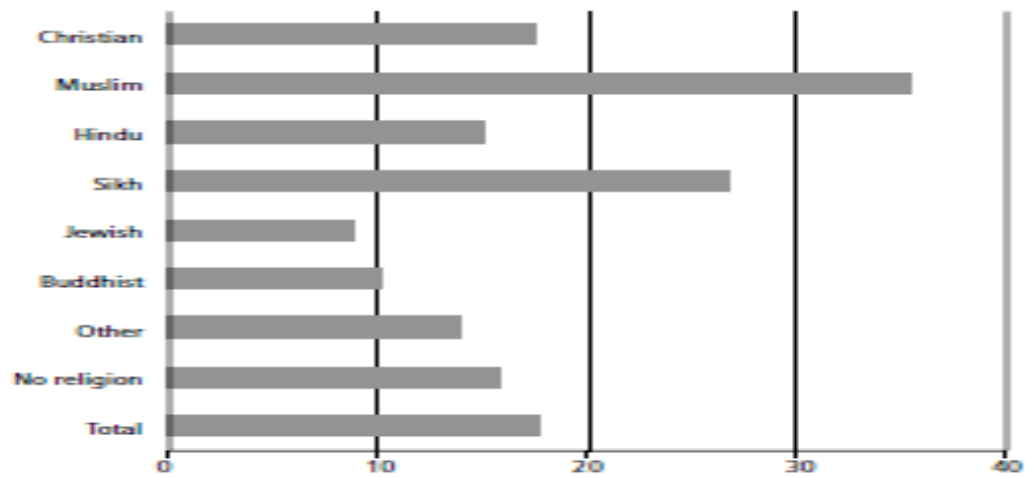
APPENDIX FOUR

Education

One in three Muslims have no qualifications

People of working age with no qualifications: by religion, 2003-2004

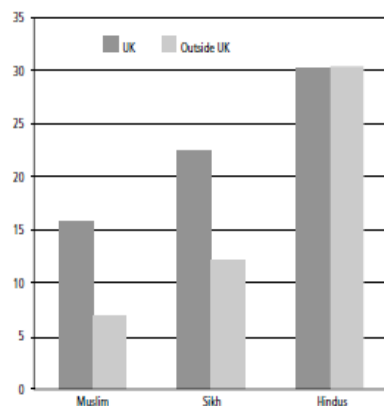
Great Britain
Percentages



In 2003-2004, almost a third (31 per cent) of Muslims of working age in Great Britain had no qualifications – the highest proportion for any religious group. They are also the least likely to have degrees (or equivalent qualifications). After Muslims, Sikhs are the next most likely to have no qualifications, followed by Christians. Across all religions, the pattern for men and women of working age is similar but women are generally more likely than men to have no qualifications.

Percentage of 16 to 30 year olds with a degree: by religion and country of birth, 2003-2004

Great Britain
Percentages



Muslims and Sikhs who were born in the UK are more likely than those born elsewhere to have a degree or equivalent qualification, irrespective of age. Among those under the age of 30, UK-born Sikhs and Muslims were twice as likely to have degrees in 2003-2004 as those born elsewhere. In contrast, there was no difference in the likelihood of having a degree between Hindus born in the UK and those born elsewhere.

Sources:

Qualifications: Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics

Schools: Annual Schools Census, January 2003, Department for Education and Skills

Number of children: Census, April 2001, Office for National Statistics

APPENDIX FIVE

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. The subject of this discussion is the experience of Muslim women. I would like to record the discussion (please see consent form) and it will last approximately one hour. This interview also includes the showing of vignettes which are short scenarios that you will be asked to read followed by questions about them for you to answer.

SECTION ONE: MAIN QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTORY

1. *Tell me, how would you describe yourself to a stranger? Focus on what they say first. Check whether they say British or Muslim first, check for references to age, family, gender, education. (a)Ask them why they chose what they chose and why they left out what they did. (b)Have they thought about how they define themselves (yes/no, why?).*
2. *What would you consider to be the main characteristics of being a woman? Check how they describe a gender identity; ask them (a) why they think their identified aspects are important.*
3. *Do you feel you present yourself differently in different situations? (a)So how do you present yourself in society? (b)In your religious setting? (c)In your family? (d)In terms of your age? Do they make references to friends?*

RELIGION

4. *Do you think the way you live your life is different from non-Muslims? (a)if say yes in what ways are they different, If no, in what ways are they similar).*
5. *What makes you identifiable as a Muslim? Is the veil mentioned, and in what context?*
6. *How important is it for you to be a Muslim?*
7. *Do you think religion is a key factor for your identity? (a)Why? Why not?*
8. *What is Sharia law?*
9. *What aspects of Sharia law do you think are most important for Muslim women?*
10. *Which aspects of Sharia law affect your day-to-day life?*
11. *In your opinion, do you think Shari'ah Law should be practiced in Britain? Please give reasons why.*
12. *In your opinion, how do women who are similar to your age view Islam?*

13. *In your opinion, how do women similar to your age view being a Muslim?*

LIVING IN BRITAIN

14. *What is your experience of living in Britain? Check to see if they give positive or negative comments. (a) Ask why.*

15. *In your opinion, what are the issues faced by Muslim women in Britain today? More specifically young women?*

16. *What does being 'British' mean to you?*

17. *How British do you consider yourself to be? (a) Why?*

EDUCATION

18. *How important is education to you personally? (a) Why is that?*

19. *How do you feel about your daughter's education? (a) Are you happy about it/ not happy? (b) Why?*

20. *Why did you choose to let your daughter attend the college she is at now?*

21. *What aspirations do you have for your daughter's educational future? (a) Why?*

FAMILY

22. *How big was your family of origin back home?*

23. *How many family members live with you now?*

24. *What was it like living in the family back home compared to the family you have now?*

25. *Do you feel that your culture and lifestyle is different from your parents'? (a) If yes, in what ways? (b) If no, how is it similar?*

26. *Were you close to anyone in your immediate family when you were growing up? (a) Who in particular were you close too? (b) Why?*

27. *Who in your family inspired you the most? (a) In what ways?*

28. *In your view, what are the important aspects of family life? Check to see if they mention marriage, children, and divorce and (a) if not why not?*

29. *Do you think there are differences between being a female (a daughter or mother) in the family and a male (a father or son) in the family? (a) What differences and (b)*

why? Look out for what they view the woman's role to be. What do they say about their role and are they happy with it.

SECTION TWO: VIGNETTES

I will now show you three vignettes. After reading each one, briefly answer the questions for each vignette

APPENDIX SIX

I would like to thank you for your participation in my research. Your contributions will provide a very informative and insightful view of Muslim women living in Britain today.

Following your interview I would like to ask you to fill in a questionnaire for background information about yourself which will remain anonymous and confidential.

1. *How old are you?*

34 or below ☐

35-40 ☐

41-45 ☐

46-50 ☐

51+ ☐

2. *How many years of education have you have completed?*

3. *What level of education would you say you have? Tick all those that apply.*

High school/school certificate ☐

Vocational certificate ☐

University undergraduate degree ☐

University Post graduate (including Masters, MBA and Teacher Training) ☐

4. *Do you have a paid job?*

Yes ☐ go to question 4 (a)

No ☐ go to question 5

4 (a) *What is your job?*

I am a part-time -----

I am a full-time -----

5. *What languages do you speak? Tick all those that apply.*

English ☐ Gujarati ☐ Punjabi ☐ Tamil ☐

Arabic ☐ Hindi ☐ Swahili ☐ Marathi ☐

Farsi ☐ Urdu ☐ Bengali ☐ Other ☐ Please state:

6. *Which is your native language?*

7. *Which is the language you use the most in your everyday life?*

YOUR ORIGINS

8. *Where were you born?*

I was born in Leicester ☐

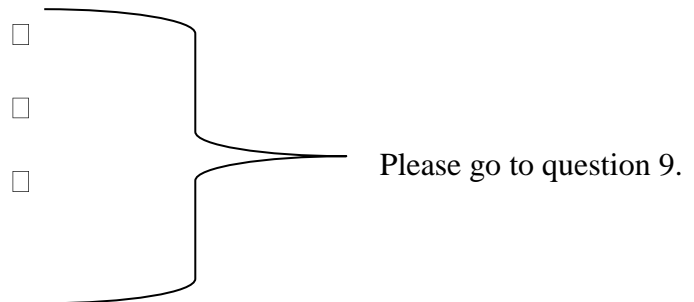
Elsewhere in England ☐

I was born in Scotland ☐

I was born in Wales ☐

I was born in Ireland ☐

I was born outside of UK ☐ please continue with question 8 (a) to (c) below.



a) *Where were you born?*

b) *Do you still have contact with your home country?*

No ☐ go to question c

Yes ☐ see below

If yes,

(i) Who do you have contact with in your home country?

(ii) How often are you in contact?

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| More than once a week | <input type="checkbox"/> | Once every 3 months | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Once a year | <input type="checkbox"/> | More than once a year | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Once a week | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other <input type="checkbox"/> please state: _____ | |
| More than once a month | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Once a month | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| More than once every 3 months | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

c) *How long have you been living in Britain?*

(i) *Years.....*

(ii) *How long have you lived in Leicester?*

Years

HOBBIES/LEISURE

9. *What are your hobbies? Tick all those that apply.*

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| Reading <input type="checkbox"/> | Computers <input type="checkbox"/> | Shopping <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Watching television <input type="checkbox"/> | Clubbing <input type="checkbox"/> | Listening to music <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sports <input type="checkbox"/> | Gym <input type="checkbox"/> | Cooking <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Needlework/sewing <input type="checkbox"/> | Arts and painting <input type="checkbox"/> | Fashion <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Astrology <input type="checkbox"/> | Yoga <input type="checkbox"/> | Travelling <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Aerobics <input type="checkbox"/> | Swimming <input type="checkbox"/> | Song-writing <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Poetry-writing <input type="checkbox"/> | Voluntary work <input type="checkbox"/> | Spending time with friends <input type="checkbox"/> |

Others: ☐ please state:

10. *Do you have membership with any clubs or associations?*

Yes ☐ see below

No ☐ go to question 10

Social clubs ☐

Women's clubs ☐

Religious associations ☐

Non- religious associations ☐

Other ☐ please state: _____

11. *Do you have any non-Muslim friends?*

12. *Here is a list of values, which of these you would say are **most important to you**; you can choose up to six.*

Teamwork <input type="checkbox"/>	Achievement <input type="checkbox"/>	Determination <input type="checkbox"/>	Ambition <input type="checkbox"/>
Independence <input type="checkbox"/>	Devoutness <input type="checkbox"/>	Education <input type="checkbox"/>	Justice <input type="checkbox"/>
Charity <input type="checkbox"/>	Trustworthiness <input type="checkbox"/>	Chastity <input type="checkbox"/>	Kindness <input type="checkbox"/>
Honour <input type="checkbox"/>	Conformity <input type="checkbox"/>	Self-control <input type="checkbox"/>	Modesty <input type="checkbox"/>
Respect <input type="checkbox"/>	Happiness <input type="checkbox"/>	Discipline <input type="checkbox"/>	Honesty <input type="checkbox"/>

13. *Which of these is the **most important** and why?*

14. *Which of your chosen values would you say are based on religion and why?*

15. *Do you think the above values are important to non-Muslims? Please give reasons for your answer.*

I would like to thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire the information given will be only seen by myself and my University supervisors and will be kept confidential. Your information will remain anonymous.

APPENDIX SEVEN

VIGNETTE ONE

Maryam has just finished her exams and wants to celebrate with her friends in the evening. She tells her parents that there is a party at a friend's house. Her mother insists that she goes to the party wearing her new Indian suit and hijab. However, as soon as she reaches her friend's house, she removes her hijab and changes into tight jeans and a black thin-strap top and wears make up. They then go to a nightclub. They have a good time, dancing and laughing. Maryam checks her watch it is almost 1am. They rush to get to her friend's house where her parents are already there, and when they see what she is wearing, they explode. Maryam is taken home, and her parents have a long discussion. The next day, her parents tell Maryam how disappointed they are with her behaviour and that they have decided that she will not be going to the local college, she will instead attend an all Muslim girl college where she will be dropped off and picked up by her elder brother. He too had finished his exams, and was looking to go to university. He had not yet returned home from his night out.

Questions for vignette one

1. When you read this how did you feel?
2. Which of Maryam's actions do you agree/disagree with? Why?
3. Do you agree/disagree with her parents' decision to send her to a Muslim girl college?

Give reasons for your answer.

4. In your opinion, was Maryam treated fairly by her parents?

APPENDIX EIGHT

VIGNETTE TWO

The mystery of the missing Muslim girls

Extracts from the article in The Independent Thursday, 15 February 1996

It is one of the great unspoken mysteries of the British school system. What becomes of the hundreds, possibly thousands, of Muslim girls who disappear without trace each year...

Many of these girls are sent to Pakistan or Bangladesh to sit out the remaining years until they are 16.

But large numbers simply drop out, spending their days at home with parents who believe daily contact with boys and with Western attitudes could place them in moral danger.

...

The reasons for the withdrawal of these girls are complex. In the past, a lack of enthusiasm may have played its part - a daughter's role was often to get married and to become a housekeeper. Nowadays a greater proportion of Muslim parents have been to school in this country themselves and their belief in the value of education has grown. For those who still keep their daughters out of school religion seems to be the major reason, though a tradition of protectiveness towards teenage daughters is also instrumental

Questions for vignette two

1. What did you feel when you read this article?
2. This was written in 1996. It is more than 10 years old, do you think this stills happen in Britain? Why?
3. Do you agree/disagree with the reasons identified for taking girls out of school? Why?

APPENDIX NINE

VIGNETTE THREE

Poem from Voice of Islam Magazine

The Hood is All Good

What do you see when you look at me,
Do you see someone limited, or someone free,
All some people can do is just look and stare,
Simply because they can't see my hair,
Others think I am controlled and uneducated,
They are so thankful that they are not me,
Because they would like to remain 'free',
Well free isn't exactly the word I would've used,
Describing women who are cheated on and abused,
They think that I do not have opinions or voice,
They think that being hooded isn't my choice,
They think that the hood makes me look caged,
That my husband or dad is totally outraged,
All they can do is look at me in fear,
And in my eye there is a tear,
Not because I have been stared at or made fun of,
But because people are ignoring the One up above,
On the Day of Judgment they will be the fools,
Because they were too ashamed to play by their own rules

Maybe the guys won't think I am a cutie,
But at least I am filled with more inner beauty,
See I have declined from being a guy's toy,
Because I won't let myself be controlled by a boy,
Real men are able to appreciate my mind,
And aren't busy looking at my behind,
Hooded girls are the ones really helping the Muslim cause,
The role that we play definitely deserves applause,
I will be recognized because I am smart and bright,
And because some people are inspired by my sight,
The smart ones are attracted by my tranquillity,
In the back of their mind they wish they were me,
We have the strength to do what we think is right,
Even if it means putting up a lifelong fight,
You see we are not controlled by a mini skirt and tight shirt,
We are given only respect, and never treated like dirt,
So you see, we are the ones that are free and liberated,
We are not the ones that are sexually terrorized and violated,
We are the ones that are free and pure,
We're free of STD's that have no cure,
So when people ask you how you feel about the hood,
Just sum it up by saying 'baby it's all good'.

Questions for vignette three

1. What do you think of this poem?
2. Do you agree/disagree with overall message of the poem? Why?
3. Which part of the poem do you agree/disagree with the most and why?

APPENDIX TEN

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

The aim of the proposed study is to contribute to the development of our understanding of how two generations of Muslim women in Leicester construct their identities, and engage with personal and public issues. I want to consider how Muslim women living in Britain create a sense of identity, and I have chosen Leicester as the city for my study.

Your role

As participants, you will be interviewed and asked to discuss what being a Muslim woman in Britain means to you. You will be given an opportunity to talk about how different aspects of life impact how you view yourself and how important these different aspects of life are for you, one such example will be education. You will also be asked to read and respond to some scenarios that address these different life experiences, to consider what they show and what you, yourself, feel about them.

Privacy and confidentiality

The interviews will be recorded and transcribed and all information will given during these interviews will stay with me. Anything personal said during the interview will also remain with me. No names will be used when writing up the interviews and in the discussion of the data.

Contact details

My contact details are:

Name: Salima Murji

Email: swm8@le.ac.uk

Mobile number: *****.

THANKING YOU IN ADVANCE

APPENDIX ELEVEN

CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form you accept the following terms:

1. That you agree to undertake an interview with the researcher at a set time and place mutually decided.
2. That you agree to the interview being recorded.
3. That you agree to the interview being transcribed by the researcher for the purpose of their research.
4. That you accept the purpose of the study and that you are giving full consent to answer the researcher's questions by signing below.
5. That you fully accept that the researcher owns the copyright to the recording of the interview.

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of parent/guardian

Date

As a researcher, I undertake to fulfil the following terms in relation to you as my participant:

1. To keep in regular contact with you and to ensure that you are fully aware of the aims of the research and the role that you are to play within that research.
2. To keep your personal details, including name, confidential and to ensure that the personal data you give me will remain anonymous.
3. That I have fully informed you of my intention to record and transcribe the interview that you are to undertake.
4. That I will treat you with respect and courtesy throughout the interview process.

Signature of researcher

304

Date

APPENDIX TWELVE

Questions for religion	Interview/questionnaire
<i>Do you think the way you live your life is different from non-Muslims? (a) if say yes in what ways are they different, If no, in what ways are they similar).</i>	Interview question 4
<i>What makes you identifiable as a Muslim?</i>	Interview question 5
<i>How important is it for you to be a Muslim?</i>	Interview question 6
<i>Do you think religion is a key factor for your identity? (a)Why? Why not?</i>	Interview question 7

Questions for Britishness	Interview/questionnaire
<i>What is your experience of living in Britain? <u>Check to see if they give positive or negative comments.</u> (a) Ask why.</i>	Interview question 14
<i>What does being 'British' mean to you?</i>	Interview question 16
<i>How British do you consider yourself to be? (a)Why?</i>	Interview question 17

Questions for education: mothers	Interview/questionnaire
<i>How important is education to you personally? (a)Why is that?</i>	Interview question 18
<i>How do you feel about your daughter's education? (a)Are you happy about it/ not happy? (b)Why?</i>	Interview question 19
<i>Why did you choose to let your daughter attend the college she is at now?</i>	Interview question 20
<i>What aspirations do you have for your daughter's educational future? (a)Why?</i>	Interview question 21

Questions for education: daughters	Interview/questionnaire
<i>How important is education to you personally? (a)Why is that?</i>	Interview question 18
<i>What has your experience of college been like? (a)Have you enjoyed your experience so far? (b)Why? Why not?</i>	Interview question 19
<i>Do you think your experience at college has been different to that of Hindu, Sikh or Christian students? (a) if yes, Why? In what ways</i>	Interview question 20

<i>What aspirations do you have for the future?</i>	Interview question 21
---	-----------------------

Questions for family	Interview/questionnaire
<i>What was it like living in the family back home compared to the family you have now?</i>	Interview question 24
<i>How important is the family to you personally?</i>	Interview question 22 (daughters)
<i>Do you feel that your culture and lifestyle is different from your parents'? (a)If yes, in what ways? (b)If no, how is it similar?</i>	Interview question 25
<i>Do you think there are differences between being a female (a daughter or mother) in the family and a male (a father or son) in the family? (a)What differences and (b) why? <u>Look out for what they view the woman's role to be. What do they say about their role and are they happy with it.</u></i>	Interview question 29

APPENDIX THIRTEEN

Table 3: Key Features of the Sample

Participant	Age	Origin	Employment	Years in Leicester	Hijab?
Mother 1	45	Pakistan	Teaching assistant	20	No
Daughter 1	17	Pakistan	No	17	No
Mother 2	46	Pakistan	Housewife	22	Yes
Daughter 2	17	Pakistan	No	17	Yes
Mother 3	46	Pakistan	Housewife	25	Yes
Daughter 3	17	Pakistan	No	17	Yes
Mother 4	49	Bangladesh	Housewife	25	No
Daughter 4	17	Bangladesh	No	17	No
Mother 5	42	Pakistan	Part-time receptionist	25	No
Daughter 5	16	Pakistan	No	16	No
Mother 6	45	Bangladesh	Housewife	19	Yes
Daughter 6	16	Bangladesh	No	16	Yes
Mother 7	42	Pakistan	Housewife	20	Yes
Daughter 7	16	Pakistan	No	16	Yes
Mother 8	49	Pakistan	Housewife	25	Yes
Daughter 8	18	Pakistan	No	18	Yes
Mother 9	46	Pakistan	Housewife	25	Yes
Daughter 9	17	Pakistan	No	17	Yes
Mother 10	46	Pakistan	Housewife	20	Yes
Daughter 10	16	Pakistan	No	16	Yes
Mother 11	45	Pakistan	Housewife	20	No
Daughter 11	17	Pakistan	No	17	No
Mother 12	47	Pakistan	Housewife	24	No
Daughter 12	16	Pakistan	No	16	No
Mother 13	46	Pakistan	Housewife	20	Yes
Daughter 13	18	Pakistan	No	18	Yes
Mother 14	48	Pakistan	Housewife	25	Yes
Daughter 14	18	Pakistan	No	18	Yes
Mother 15	46	Bangladesh	Housewife	22	Yes
Daughter 15	17	Bangladesh	No	17	Yes
Mother 16	45	Bangladesh	Housewife	20	No
Daughter 16	16	Bangladesh	No	16	No
Mother 17	46	Pakistan	Housewife	20	Yes
Daughter 17	17	Pakistan	No	17	Yes
Mother 18	48	Pakistan	Housewife	25	Yes
Daughter 18	17	Pakistan	No	17	Yes
Mother 19	45	Pakistan	Housewife	20	Yes
Daughter 19	16	Pakistan	No	16	Yes
Mother 20	47	Bangladesh	Housewife	22	No
Daughter 20	17	Bangladesh	No	17	No

APPENDIX FOURTEEN: VALUES CHOSEN BY MOTHER

Values	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14	M15	M16	M17	M18	M19	M20	TOTAL
Teamwork											√										1
Independence	√																				1
Charity															√	√				√	3
Honour		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		18
Respect	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Achievement	√										√	√				√				√	5
Devoutness		√			√		√		√								√	√			6
Trustworthy						√				√		√									3
Conformity		√	√	√			√	√					√	√	√		√	√	√		11
Happiness												√									1
Determination																					0
Education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Chastity	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Self-control		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√		15
Discipline		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√		√	√	√		15
Ambition	√																				1
Justice																					0

Kindness																			✓	1
Modesty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	20
Honesty			✓										✓		✓				✓	4
TOTAL	6	9	9	8	8	8	9	8	8	8	7	8	8	9	9	8	9	9	8	164

APPENDIX FIFTEEN: VALUES CHOSEN BY DAUGHTERS

Values	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10	D11	D12	D13	D14	D15	D16	D17	D18	D19	D20	TOTAL
Teamwork	√																				1
Independence	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Charity											√										1
Honour		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√		√	√	√		15
Respect	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Achievement	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Devoutness				√			√										√				3
Trustworthy																					0
Conformity									√					√		√					3
Happiness												√								√	2
Determination	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	18
Education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	20
Chastity		√				√		√		√		√				√			√		7

Self-control													✓					✓			2
Discipline			✓												✓						2
Ambition	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	20
Justice																					0
Kindness																					0
Modesty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		16
Honesty																					0
TOTAL	7	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	6	8	9	9	9	8	9	9	8	7	169