Young People of Pakistani Origin and their Families: implications for providing support to young people and their families

Final Report

Sangeeta Chattoo, Karl Atkin and Di McNeish

Centre for Research in Primary Care, University of Leeds
in collaboration with Barnardo's

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PREFACE

Don't show us frontiers, show us horizons

Many of us students are pioneers – the first generation in our families to have been born in England. Many of our parents are not fluent in English and are overwhelmed by the confidence we have in dealing with our lives. This can lead to feelings of inadequacy, alienation and distrust. Many parents hold on regardless to a life and customs of their old country which they are no longer part of. Many may feel intimidated or would feel stupid by the lack of formal state education.

We are the link between parents and life in Bradford. But to do this we need parents' help, we need them to make us feel special – to give us belief in ourselves. They might not be able to tell us about simultaneous equations or mitochondria, but they celebrate our successes in life. They can praise us when we learn from our mistakes and get back in there and try again. They can show us how much they believe in us when our world seems to cloud over. What they give us will last long after we have forgotten things we have learned in school.

We are faced with choices in life, just as they were.
We have to learn from experiences just as they had to.
We have to pick up the pieces and start again, just as they did.

The settings may be different, the choices may be different, but the essential equipment human beings need to make these choices has never changed and will never change. Therefore, show us how. Don't show us frontiers, show us horizons. Don't tell us what we're doing wrong without giving us a chance to do it right.

(Kamal Hussain, community event, Bradford)

My experience at Leeds University

Hello, I'm Shaleya and I'm going to tell you about my experience at Leeds University.

Last week was brilliant for me, it was the first time I was away from home and I enjoyed myself so much at Leeds University. To be honest, I didn't even think I'd be going at first because no-one in our family had been away and the fact that I, as a girl had been allowed to go was kind of shocking because usually the boys get all the attention and have the chance to go on these kind of things.

Do you know, it was so wonderful seeing my mum so proud. She was practically calling the whole neighbourhood down, telling them that, ' My daughter is going to Leeds University!' She gave me confidence and a determination to make a mark and show them that girls are no different to boys. I learnt how to become more independent and gained the confidence to do things in my own way. These are important life skills for me to learn. And I am grateful to my parents for allowing me to go.

Thank you

(Shaleya Khatun, community event, Bradford)

Many students don't find school a stimulating enough environment!

Good morning ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for giving up some of your time to be with us today. I am going to be talking about how the young people in BD3 can be encouraged to spend their time on more productive activities than the ones which they currently engage in i.e. hanging around street corners, grafittiing, vandalising, etc.

I have come up with a few suggestions for the group to reflect on.

- Many students have problems with grammar. They are not very articulate speakers of the English language and have problems spelling. Students should be encouraged always to speak in complete and correct sentences in the classroom. They should be corrected if they make mistakes, so they learn from mistakes and improve.

- There should be more class discussions where formal language is used and students get a chance to voice their opinions.

- More sporting events should be organised. It's the best place to integrate and be useful. It could be a musical activity/event also.

- Compete against other schools, which is a good experience and gives an opportunity to mingle with students from different backgrounds and with different interests.

- The school should try to organise a debate club and have some positive publicity for it. This would be challenging for students. It would make them more confident in communicating with other students. In time they could hold debates with other schools. It's an opportunity to mix with other students who have different interests to theirs.

- The youths in BD3 should have a voice. A youth club or clubs where they can take part in different creative and fun activities. Being a member of the youth club would have certain benefits like trips and community events organised by the club. The youths should have a lot of input in how it is run and what it does. The most important part would be to have a good publicity campaign which would appeal to young people in the BD3 community. The club could have a newspaper as well to enrol more members and make the

community aware of the club's progress. The club should be open all through the day until late so young people can go there instead of causing trouble on the community.

- Students should be helped more and talked to more about their future. Most of them are just concerned with the here and now. They don't think how what they do now will affect them in the future. Consultations involving students, parent, tutor/careers advisers should be held to give the teens something to aim for, something realistic to help their minds. Visitors of different professions should visit to talk and discuss their jobs to help students make up their minds. They need to know what they want to be, how they're going to get there and now is the time, especially in Year 10 when they should be buckling down to study. The younger one's minds should be focused perhaps not on their profession but on getting good grades. The value of good qualifications should be emphasised.

- School reports should be more personal, preferably hand written or word processed by the subject teacher for every student.

(Anita Idisi, community event, Bradford)

The Bradford 3 environment

The Bradford 3 environment - what is it? Why is it important? But most important thing of all is, how we the Bradford 3 community can improve this environment?

There are many good points about Bradford 4, 7 etc. But what are the good points of BD3? There are very few that I can think of. There are many causes for this lack of good points but the main cause is the youngsters on the streets smoking, taking drugs, dropping litter, stealing cars so on and so forth. This can be stopped by you. When I take a look around here today I don't see any clowns or freaks or any, I see hard working people who want to look after their family and want a successful life. When tourists visit Bradford to drive through Bradford 3 they don't see the hard working public that live an honest life, they see the people who steal, smoke and drop the litter.

The matter of litter should be first priority on everybody's mind because litter is not just wrappers and boxes on the street, it is the burnt cars, the drug dealers and the kids getting into drugs. A little effort from you, the intelligent, civilised humans of this community, could resolve more than half the causes of graffiti, fires and dumping of unwanted belongings.

I hear you say how can we help resolve this matter? From my point of view it is simple because the example you the adults set can influence certain individuals into putting litter into bins, letting an adult know if someone has done something bad and most important of all is for you to help individuals to avoid the certain bad things that others consider to be cool.

(Fazal Wazir, community event, Bradford)

CONTENTS   **Page**

Acknowledgements

Preface

INTRODUCTION

This report will present the findings and discuss the policy and practice relevance of a three-year qualitative project, looking into the family values and practices that are central to the life and identity of young people of Pakistan origin and their families. The project was funded by the Community Fund and carried out as a collaborative effort between Centre for Research in Primary Care, University of Leeds, and Barnardo's. Before turning to the findings, it is important to provide the wider context and theoretical underpinnings to explain the complexity and relevance of an apparently abstract, theoretical piece of research for policy and practice.

An important starting feature of our work is located in specific demographic features of Pakistani population living in the UK and it is helpful to provide an overview of this population; one of the most deprived among ethnic minority populations. Pakistani households reveal higher rates of dependent family members, due to a greater proportion of families with young children, as well as a greater number of households looking after elderly relatives than the general population (Modood *et al.,* 1997). Pakistanis and Bangladeshis as a group tend to have a more complex household structure: with 61 per cent of Pakistani people over the age of 60 living with an adult child compared to 13 per cent among the white group (Modood *et al.,* 1997). Pakistani households also have a lower proportion of single person households and a greater proportion of households containing two families or more compared to the white group. Yet the proportion of households containing a married couple and dependent children is 79 percent as compared with 44 percent for White couples (PSI, 1998). Alongside higher rates of unemployment and underemployment - the mean income of Pakistani households is approximately half that for the white group in the same social class category (see Table 1) and data from the census suggesting 60 per cent of Pakistani people are on low incomes (Census 2001) – demographic data signifies higher levels of relative poverty and depravation.

Table 1: Indicators

Indicator	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Indian	African Caribbean	White
Male Unemployment (men under retirement age)	38%	42%	19%	31%	15%
Female unemployment	39%	40%	Indian+ African Asian 12%	Caribbean 18%	9%
Households with no earner	44%	48%	24%	Caribbean 36%	38%
Households with income below half the national average	82%	84%	45%	Caribbean 41%	28%
Households with income one and a half times the national average	1%	2%	12%	Caribbean 12%	23%

Source: Modood et al, 1997

These demographic features represent an important influence in shaping the lives of children and young people of Pakistani origin, their sense of identity in relation to significant others, the kind of support families are able to provide to each other and the help they might need from statutory and voluntary agencies. Family based support is a vital aspect of welfare provision among families (Finch, 1989; Twigg and Atkin, 1994), and family - irrespective of its changing forms and relationships (alongside neighbourhood and friendship ties) - remains the loci of health and social care provision within the community. As far as migrant communities are concerned, limited access to social, economic and political resources necessitates a greater reliance on family and kin based support (see Werbner, 1990; and Ahmad 1996 for a review). This, however, cannot be guarantee. Such support may not always be possible and some migrant families who live transcontinently (cf. Kelly, 1990) or lack effective kin support are likely to feel more vulnerable and isolated than others (see Cameron *et al.,* 1989; Chamba *et al.,* 1999).

Responding to diversity is a core issue for provision of appropriate services within a welfare state (Atkin, 2004). Professionals providing health and social care in general often feel overwhelmed by current debates around ethnicity and the prospect of dealing with people from increasingly diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds (see, for example, Qureshi *et al.,* 2000). Professional assumptions and popular stereotypes about the culture and family life of ethnic minority communities often result in lack of adequate referrals to community and specialist support services, as has been shown in the case of coronary artery disease and diabetes (Nazroo, 1997), chronic conditions (Anionwu and Atkin, 2001) as well as palliative care (Karim *et al.,* 2000; Chattoo *et al.,* 2002; Firth, 2003). Stereotypes reduce people who are active agents to monolithic, homogenous communities defined by their ethnicity or culture as given, immutable attributes without any reflection on differences within and similarities across communities. A focus on culture deflects attention away from structural issues of inequality in access to services and forms of institutional cultures and racisms that sustain these inequalities (see Ahmad, 1996; Gunaratnam, 1997).

To take an example, we are familiar with the much enduring myth of the 'Asian family' as the large, extended family who 'take care of their own' shared by professionals across the board, and partly reinforced by South Asian professionals and members of the communities themselves. This myth glosses over the variation in family forms as well as processes of social change as part of the family life communities that are internally differentiated by religious, linguistic as well as regional and national differences. This myth often results in the invisibility of the health and social care needs of people from these communities (Atkin and Rollings, 1996; Smaje and Field, 1997). This myth also ignores conflict, socio-economic pressures and other legitimate excuses for not fulfilling family responsibilities for support as shown in the case of the White community (Finch and Mason, 1993). Further, the wider family and community might be involved in unhelpful moral policing of caring roles (or parenting) rather than providing support (see Katbamna *et al.,* 2000).

It is our contention that challenging myths and stereotypes about family life of young people from ethnic minority backgrounds is an important step towards introducing reflexivity in practice and policy in order to provide appropriate support. This, in turn, can empower professionals to address issues and needs of ethnic minority families by

raising the right, meaningful questions and seeking the answers by focusing on how young people perceive themselves and are perceived by significant others within and outside the family. As suggested above, abstract notions of family life, culture and ethnicity (as well as gender and class) intervene in how professionals perceive clients from minority communities and how their needs are addressed (see Atkin and Ahmad, 2000). Hence conceptualisations of young people and their relationship with their parents and significant others, intergenerational notions of rights, responsibilities and filial duty; how ethnicity and culture are negotiated as lived experiences; and the role of gender, class and socio-economic position of the family in how family values and practices are negotiated are central to this process of understanding and reflexivity (see Brannen *et al.,* 1994).

Conceptualising young people, family life and ethnicity

There is little sociological literature on young people within the context of their family life and more on structural features of class and youth as a category. Young people are often perceived as subjects of observation and surveillance, focussing on problems and potential conflict (Brannen *et al.*, 1994). Descriptions of estrangement between generations are, for example, a common feature of the literature (see Jenkins, 1996).

We know little about the interface between cultural and legal notions of childhood; youth and transition to adult status at achieving the age of majority at 18 years; and the related implications for supporting children, young people and their families. For some, adulthood is marked by the legal right to vote, drink, going to clubs and watching certain kinds of movies. For others, 'growing up' and adult status might be related to notions of family responsibilities or particular experiences associated with change of status in the family: such as, loss of a parent, having a disabled sibling or parent, having a baby and so on (see Brannen *et al.,* 1994: 29 for a comparative perspective). Hence, different children within the same family can have very different experiences of childhood. We think that the recent theoretical developments in the field of new childhood provide an important parallel here (see Punch, 2003 for a recent review). There are no simplistic contrasts to be drawn between the lives and family practices of young people from majority and minority ethnic communities.

Developmental psychology treats youth as a natural stage in the life cycle (chronological age), a developmental phase that Erickson (1968) defined as being important for identity formation. 'Adolescence' and youth are often perceived as a stage of rebellion against rules and parental authority, as part of the quest for autonomy and individuality. Accordingly, ideal parenthood assumes a duty to encourage the development and independence of children (Langford *et al.,* 2001). It has been argued that this model of youth is premised on a (macho) male model of development since young women often hold on to values of attachment and nurturing relationships (see Gilligan, 1982).

Further, normative processes surrounding the relationship between young people and parents are defined not only by gender and socio-economic background but also cultural values underlying intergenerational obligations, rights, responsibilities and filial duty (Brannen *et al.,* 1994). Hence, given that the concepts of independence vary between cultures and within communities, this might reflect an ethnocentric perception – treating other parenting styles as deviant or deficient. For example, according to a recent survey (Katz, 2002), young people of Pakistani origin living in England seem to lead 'overprotected' family lives and perceived to be least supported for developing 'skills to face the world independently'. 'Overprotection', within the context, needs to be understood within the larger normative framework of intergenerational relationships, parental responsibilities and notions of growing up within this community, rather than treating their parenting style as deficient (see Atkin and Ahmad, 2000).

There is little research on the experience and perspectives of children (and young people) from ethnic minority communities (Morrow, 1998). The gap is especially significant since social policies and services treat all children and young people from different ethnic backgrounds as being same, often reflecting ethnocentric and discriminatory values. The UN convention on children's rights assumes a notion of 'individual', who has a right to have a say in decisions related to care. Further, the Children's Act 1989 recognises the need to consider the race, culture, language and religion in taking decisions related to 'children in need'. It is important, within the context, to understand the relationship between ideas of family of which children and young people are a part, community and state as parts of intersecting sets of value systems, in order to draw implications for policy and practice.

As suggested earlier, health and social care practices often reflect Western, ethnocentric views that ignore alternate notions of childhood, growing up and parenting (for a review on ethnicity and parenting, see Allgar *et al.,* 2003). For example, it is common for babies and young children to share a bed with their parents in families of South Asian origin: a practice that can easily be perceived as deviant or attributed to 'poor parenting skills' (see Qureshi *et al.,* 2000). Allgar *et al.,* (2003) have argued that institutional racism is one way of explaining the pathologisation of other forms of childhood and parenting that do not correspond to the white, middle class default values underlying policy and practice discourse. Consequently, health and social care problems of ethnic minority families are often blamed on their deviant cultural practices and lifestyles. This is reflected, once again, in family support services where Asian families, in general, are under represented (Barn *et al.,* 1997), reflecting stereotypes of 'Asian family' resulting in marginalisation of their needs, and social workers who are neither trained nor supported in addressing the needs of South Asian families (Qureshi *et al.,* 2000).

Within the larger body of literature on family, family obligations and social change (see for example, Lewis and Meridith, 1988; Finch, 1989; Qureshi and Walker, 1989; Finch and Mason, 1993), literature on families of ethnic minority groups is marginal and often focusing on issues of migration, settlement patterns, economic survival and broadly ethnic relations. In the absence of sound, comparative research, policy makers and practitioners are faced with opposing stereotypes about 'South Asian' families. On one hand, there are assumptions about uniquely virtuous, supportive extended Asian family caring for their own (Walker and Ahmad, 1994; Atkin and Rollings, 1996). At the same time, social policy and lay discourses often assume social change to be a consequence of the process of acculturation or adoption of the values of the 'host society' by the younger generation. This is perceived to result in inevitable conflict of values between the older and younger generation or, at worse, a generation of young people trapped between cultures (see Ahmad 1996 for a review).

Both the above mentioned views reflect a synchronic perspective (taken at a point of time), assuming a particular set of norms were followed by everyone in the past, and a notion of homogeneous generation, at the cost of denying differences of gender, class and educational background in negotiation of social values and relationships. This synchronic view of culture and social change is premised on essentialist notions of

family, culture and ethnicity. More significantly, this view is an historical, denying the role of colonial past in the diasporic movements and the making and unmaking of boundaries reflected in the process and production of ethnic identities (see Hall, 1990).

Following this, it is important to recognise that ethnicity is a difficult concept that has been defined differently by different writers as embodying culture, race or class depending on theoretical orientation (for a review see, for example, Anthias, 1992). Nevertheless, it involves a shared sense of identity related to a common heritage, culture, religion, language, area of origin and/or history of a particular social group set apart from others. Ethnicity as a marker of identity and form of social stratification involves negotiation of differences through a simultaneous process of inclusion of and identification with others who are considered similar, and exclusion, and rejection of those considered different within a particular context. It is '… as much the product of internal arguments of identity and contestation as of external objectification' (Werbner, 1997:18). That is why ethnic identities lack fixity and remain contingent, being responsive to a particular political context within which struggle for power and resources takes place. These claims to identity can shift over time, so that a particular ethnic group might redefine itself as a national, religious or a racial group. As observed by Anthias, 'The transformation of the claims is linked to political projects and may be the outcome of state and other discourses in interplay with the economic, and cultural resources or aims of the groups themselves or others' (Anthias, 1992: 25).

Baumann (1997) draws our attention to how dominant esoteric discourse (arising from within a community) essentialises culture and difference, equating culture with community. This meaning of culture is mobilised for political purposes (showing unity and solidarity of interests) and is often removed from its intellectual content associated with culture as an analytical concept. Hence, culture is reified as a thing with fixed attributes of a 'community', often reflecting a subversive practice or moment (Baumann, 1997: 239). However, demotic discourse contests and discredits the notion of a homogenous community and culture, reflecting reality where there exist communities within community and cultures within community that are contextually negotiated and defined. In practice, far from being a unity, community is dialogic in nature, marked by constant moral debate and conflict over right and wrong within and between generations, undergoing change over time.

The research project

Before discussing the findings within the context of the above debates, we provide a brief account of the project aims and objectives and discuss our methodological and analytical approach.

Families of Pakistani origin often experience difficulties in gaining access to appropriate services and support (Atkin, 2004). As we have seen, various simplistic assumptions and generalisations about their family relationships, culture and religion fail to recognise the complexity of family life and identity of young people within these families, often denying families the support they need, or offering inappropriate support undermining the relationships within the family (Qureshi 2000). The main objective of our project has been to challenge some of the existing stereotypes about Pakistani families that inform professional practice within statutory and voluntary sectors of care, and draw implications for supporting young people and their families form ethnic minority communities in general. In order to do so, we wanted to present the dynamic and complex interplay of ethnicity, gender and socioeconomic background in the family life of young people of Pakistani origin. Given this, the main aims of the project are to:

- explore how young people of Pakistani origin negotiate family values and practices, and notions of intergenerational obligations, that serve as important markers of personal and ethnic identity; and the role of gender and socio-economic background of the family in these negotiations;

- understand the interface between continuity and change in family values, practices and the salience of Pakistani origin over a period of time;

- examine how the relationship between family, community and state is articulated, in order to draw out implications for supporting young people and their families; and

- develop policy and practice guidance to enhance appropriate service provision and active dissemination of findings to families, practitioners and policy makers.

Methodological approach and field-work strategy

This study was carried out in five phases over a period of three years across Bradford and Dewsbury in West Yorkshire. During the first phase, a review of literature was carried out on intergenerational relations and family support among families of Pakistani origin. An advisory group representing academics and various statutory and voluntary sector

agencies was set up to discuss the issues to be explored, networks to be established and the actual research process. This met ten times during the lifetime of the project.

During the exploratory phase of the study, 25 interviews were conducted with various professionals from different statutory and voluntary services in close contact with local Pakistani communities. These professionals represented the NHS, Primary Care, Local Authority, Education, Social Services, and various voluntary and community organisations (see Table 2 for breakdown).

Table 2: Breakdown of professional interviews

Sector of care	Number
Barnardo's	3
Local Authority	5
Education	2
Voluntary Community sector	5
CHC	1
Social Work	2
Race Equality Council	1
Probation service	1
NHS Trust	1
Health Promotion	2
Primary Care	2
Total	**25**

These interviews enabled us to provide an initial understanding of the perspectives of professionals on families of Pakistan origin and the issues facing young people within these families. This understanding could then be used to inform the development of the project. An overview of these interviews highlighted a number of common themes:

- *Intergenerational relationships*: breakdown of the extended family system; communication problems between parents and children; issues related to parental expectation and arranged marriages; lack of 'parenting skills'; cultural conflict between generations, greater individualism, and consumerism perceived to result in erosion of Islamic values.

- *Youth problems*: perceptions of young Asian men as a 'problem', smoking, alcohol and drug abuse perceived to signify pressures on young people to conform to Western values; educational underachievement and lack of role models, especially for boys, lack of parental support where parents are not educated or not familiar with the system; and lack of facilities for young people, especially women.

- *Structural issues*: unemployment, poverty, disadvantage, depravation, overcrowding, social exclusion, discrimination and racism perceived as factors contributing to drugs and deviance of Pakistani young men; higher levels of chronic illness and disability; lack of knowledge about services; lack of representation in services, especially in positions of power; lack of confidence among (White) professionals in terms of intervening in the family life of Pakistani families.

These themes outlined above reveal some common stereotypes operating within and about the community, such as a widespread assumption of cultural conflict and breakdown of family values. The idea of 'lack of parenting skills' is rooted in culture as well as a class bias in how notions of childhood, youth and parenting are constructed, as discussed earlier. Some of the concerns of the professionals were clearly related to the socio-economic background of the communities they served and the last one voiced concerns related to structural issues and racism. It is important to mention that the interviews were not analysed according to ethnic background of the professionals, and represent a cross-section of professionals. It is not possible, therefore, to comment on how the ethnic background of the professionals might be related to how these issues are perceived and defined.

During the second phase, 15 focus groups were organised with the help of local community organisations, to gain a general cross-section of perspectives on specific issues related to the life of young people within the context of family and community. Focus group discussions with young people aged between 11-18 years; adults who were parents (both mothers and fathers); and grand parents were conducted. In all, 95 people took part in the 15 focus groups representing three generations of people of Pakistani origin living in Bradford and Dewsbury. These focus groups were organised with the help of the local voluntary and statutory organisations, and the schools played a major role in the process. The groups varied in size between 3-10 individuals. Seven of these groups were conducted in Urdu or Punjabi and later translated and transcribed into

English. All the groups with young people were conducted in English. Only a small minority of parents and grandparents had recently moved to England. The groups varied in size between 3-10 individuals. Seven of these groups were conducted in Urdu or Punjabi and later translated and transcribed into English. All the groups with young people were conducted in English. Only a small minority of parents and grandparents had recently moved to England.

The data from focus groups provided a range of perspectives on various issues but it was not possible to provide the context within which similarities and differences of perceptions within or across generations could be explained. Participants often talked of ideal norms and idealised family life in Pakistan without reference to specific examples or their own family. The focus group material, however, stimulated a useful re-think of the project development.

In light of the data collected during the first two phases, the team reviewed the original aims and objectives and plan of investigation for the third phase of in-depth interviews. By the end of the second phase, the team realised that there was a theoretical tension in balancing a focus on intergenerational obligations, largely involving relationships of support and exchange between parents, grandparents and close kin, with the developmental focus on supporting the needs of young people and their families. We, therefore, decided to use the third phase more innovatively so that the broad themes identified through literature and the first two phases were explored with a specific focus on how young people within a smaller sample of families negotiated family values and practices that were perceived to be important to their identity; the salience of Pakistan origin and how the relationship between family, community and state is negotiated.

During the third phase, a sample of 20 young men and women between 11-20 years living in Bradford and Dewsbury was selected for in-depth interviews (for sample details, see Table 3 and Appendix B). A majority of young people were recruited through our networks with two local schools and various professionals in these areas. We did not approach any potential participant unless the concerned teacher or professional liaising with the team had sought consent from the parents. A leaflet in English and Urdu was sent to each family explaining the research project, its rationale and details of how the interviews would be conducted (see Appendix C).

Table 3: Sample breakdown of interviews

Young women	12
Young men	9
Siblings (3 brothers & 3 sisters: one married)	6
Fathers	6
Mothers	10
Fathers and mothers together	4
Grandparents	5
TOTAL	**52**

We followed a theoretical sampling strategy to represent families of Pakistani origin from different socio-economic and linguistic backgrounds, and varying lengths of stay in England, with a distribution of gender, age and family forms. The pragmatic decision to recruit families from the two schools known to us, involved the possibility of teachers selecting particular kinds of students, and the danger of overrepresentation from a particular area of origin, socio-economic class or linguistic group. We tried to address these concerns by constantly reviewing the sampling process and recruiting some of the families through our network of professionals not related to these schools, and personal contacts, in order to ensure the required diversity within the sample (see Appendix B).

The sampling strategy as well as the topic guide used in conducting in-depth interviews was informed by some of the theoretical assumptions, which we followed up during analysis (to be explained later).   In order to understand how family values and practices are perceived and negotiated between generations, for each young person recruited to the study, we interviewed one parent or both in some cases, and grandparent/s where possible. We also included an uncle or an aunt where these happened to be significant others who had a say in the family matters. We included a purposive sample of siblings to get a picture of different perspectives within the same generation in a family and how these intersected with others. A topic guide (see Appendix D) exploring the designated themes was used during the interviews and similar themes and questions were raised with the young people, parents, siblings and grandparents in order to draw out similarities and differences across the dataset.

All the participants had a choice of being interviewed in a language they preferred, or to be interviewed by a person of the same gender if they so desired (requested once in case of a young women). Not surprisingly, all the young people and their siblings opted to be interviewed in English whilst a majority of their parents and all the grandparents preferred Urdu or Punjabi. All the interviews were transcribed, or translated and transcribed where appropriate, except in two instances where two women (a mother and a grandmother) did not give permission for recording their voice, and for whom hand written notes were taken.

One of the families had moved to England as recently as six months ago and another had been living here for the past 18 months, coming from different socio-economic backgrounds. Both these families provided valuable insights into contemporary rural and urban family life in Pakistan, how the young people within the family were experiencing their move to England, and the extent to which their parents' educational background made the transition easier or more difficult. One of the families happened to be of Indian-Muslim rather than Pakistani origin, having moved in the past from India to Kenya before settling in England. We included the data from this family since it makes an interesting reading of ethnicity as a fluid term, especially within the context of shifting boundaries between nation-states over a relatively short period of time.

The major issues during fieldwork related to negotiating access to particular family members, family and school calendar, overseas trips and unforeseen circumstances such as illness or death in the family. For example, in one family a young woman could not be interviewed though both her parents had been interviewed and given their permission for her to be interviewed. She was away on a trip to Pakistan, following a sudden, serious illness suffered by her father. The family circumstances had obviously changed and her father did not want us to follow her up. In another case, it was not possible to interview a father due to his prolonged absence overseas related to family business. In another instance, we waited for more than two months to interview a young man, and finally negotiated access to his sister on the proviso that she would be interviewed by a woman. That was the only time a gender match was requested by a parent, although we followed a gender sensitive policy throughout fieldwork.

One of the challenges of this project, shared with other researchers working with children and young people, has been explaining the purpose of the research and translating abstract ideas about family, rules and values into something tangible with which they could identify and engage with. This was particularly difficult when a parent wished to sit in on an interview and moderated the responses of a young person, assuming that they would not know what to say, or provide 'the wrong answer'. However, only in one instance did this situation lead to a complete co-opting where the young woman was not able to express her point of view due to intervention by her mother and aunt, reflecting the existing dynamic of interpersonal relationships within the family, and a single mother's anxieties about protecting her adolescent daughter. It was important to respect the boundaries set for an interview by the different participants within a family, and to exercise care in maintaining confidentiality between different participants in a family, and between family members and professionals.

Some of the participants, perhaps reflecting a middle class bias, enjoyed the interview, and found it easy to engage with the purposes of the research that provided them an opportunity to voice their opinion. In contrast, establishing our credentials was hard work with some of the parents from a working class background who seemed suspicious of the 'real' purpose of our research, perceiving research to be a covert form of surveillance by the State. In an extreme case, during the course of an interview, one of the fathers appeared increasingly suspicious of the legitimacy of our work, and expressed concerns about a 'government conspiracy', a secret state agenda behind all research, as well as the probability of breach of confidentiality by the team. The researcher (SC), though uncomfortable with such a high degree of mistrust, tried to address the concerns by explaining the protocol and purpose of the research. However, she was still denied access to any of the young people in the family who were defined as 'vulnerable'. It is important to mention that this particular family had suffered a bad experience of, what was defined as, breach of confidential information between different Social Service Department; contributing to the perception of 'research' as an intrusive tool of state surveillance in family life. The father's extreme suspicion in this case also arose from the fact that the interview situation revealed more information about the family structure than the participant had intended to share with the researcher.

Analytical framework

Following an inter-subjective notion of self and identity, we wanted to focus on how these young people constituted their identity and were constituted through significant relationships with others within the family and community rather than as a social group or individuals in themselves. We felt that a biographical approach (Chamberlayne and King, 2000) to self and identity allowed us access to movements in the life-course of a family, locating the young person within her/his family over a period of time. By listening to the perspectives of two or three generations within a family, and charting the recent history of fission and fusion as part of the life-course of a family, we were able to gain a diachronic perspective on family values and practices, and locate the larger socio-economic and political context within which the young people are defined and define themselves (also see Morgan, 1996). This, we feel, is a methodological contribution in addressing the difficulties of understanding the interface between continuity and social change in diasporic communities, where often the context and meaning of this change is left undefined in space and time, or subject to broad generalisations about the 'community' rather than lived experience of individuals within families.

This report is part of the wider dissemination strategy that has involved innovative means of sharing the findings and opening a dialogue across sectors of care through collaboration with community representatives and local organisations in the communities that took part in the research. As part of the developmental phase of the study, findings were disseminated at various community events well attended by representatives of school services, education, health, social services, police, and voluntary organisations, as well as young people and their family members (see Appendix A for recent and forthcoming dissemination activities or visit Barnardo's website: www.barnardos.org.uk).

We hope that our work will enable professionals to address the rhetoric and realities of service provision for ethnic minority families in a multi-ethnic society with a changing demographic profile (Census, 2001), with a diversity of family forms, kinship norms, and cultural and religious heritages shared across and within ethnic groups. It is our contention that in order to move positively towards services that are culturally appropriate and acceptable, we need to distinguish between the external, demographic profile of a minority community in relation to others, and the internal complexity of family values and practices, and relationships through which young people define

themselves and are defined by significant others within and outside the family (Basit, 1997). A sophisticated understanding of how families negotiate values and practices underlying relationships, notions of filial duty and support, notions of acceptable or legitimate help from the state, as well as potential areas of disagreement will enable professionals to address the support needs of different members of the family within a particular context, without undermining their values or sense of identity. The findings will be relevant to health and social care agencies, family support and other welfare agencies such as social security, education, youth services and the police.

We shall now present the findings, relying on the narrative accounts of the participants and discussing our interpretation of these accounts within the context of the larger body of literature. All the names appearing hereafter are anonymous, except those of the young people who contributed at one of the community events and gave their permission to include their contribution in this report. Since our sample included young people between 11-20 years of age, the two ends of the spectrum representing very different notions of biographical time and experience, we tend to alternate between speaking of the participants as children and young people. The first section will set the scene for how families operate as a symbolic space within which cultural and religious values are constituted and negotiated. This will be followed by two sections on the notion of risk and threat to culture from the other, and the place of memory and belonging in relation to the salience of Pakistani origin in the narratives of young people and their parents. The fourth section will show how state, through health, education and social care agencies, might be perceived to represent competing and contested cultural and moral values that potentially undermine the values of the family and community. The conclusion will outline the theoretical and methodological contribution of this research, and draw out implications for policy and practice.

THE FINDINGS

Family and home as a symbolic space embodying culture

Our interest in family as a potential normative unit lies in the symbolic values implied in family rules and practices and how these are negotiated and deployed in constructing particular cultural identities within a family. We assume that cultural identity is not something that is fixed or predefined and then passed on from generation to generation: but rather is produced and negotiated in relation to significant others within a particular

time and context (see Hall, 1990). We shall see how ethnicity is represented and played out through embodied practices related to religion, language, dress, food, social life and choice of friends, educational career and choice of a potential marriage partner in the life of young people of Pakistani heritage. We want to see how gender, socio-economic background and family history impact on this process of negotiation of rules and values, and notions of growing up.

Rex (1991) has observed that migrant communities attempt to safeguard their cultural heritage by re-establishing institutions that allow cherished values and traditions to be maintained. This, however, is true of all communities since family, seen from the perspective of intergenerational relationships between parents and their children, has been defined as a site of cultural reconstitution of norms and values (see Parsons, 1956). Accordingly, family can be perceived as a normative unit that passes on values to children and younger people through the process of socialisation. This view represents an adult perspective and a notion of childhood and youth as only a stage, with a particular *telos* or purpose for cultural reconstitution, where children are perceived as passive recipients of rules and values. The recent developments in the study of childhood, in contrast, define children as social actors in themselves, highlighting the need to understand children's perspectives, experiences and relationships (see Christensen and James, 2000; Punch, 2003). This shifts our focus on how young people in our study negotiate values and family practices, and how they reinterpret these to define themselves in relation to the larger social wholes of which the family is a part.

In the following sections, we shall be looking at the symbolic meanings attached to family norms and practices by looking at visibility of norms, source of legitimacy of norms, mutual recognition and obligation to follow the norms. To speak of negotiation does not imply that everybody's voice is heard within the family or has equal weight or say. For example, popular images of parenthood construct fathers as rule makers and controllers and mothers as caring and protecting. However, research has shown that it is mothers who are largely involved in negotiation of rules related to the social life of young people (see Brannen *et al.,* 1994: 37). It is important to see who takes the emotional responsibility for negotiating rules within a particular context and to what extent the role of parenting and moral policing is shared with significant others such as grandparents, aunts, uncles or religious teachers. Finally, what then is the context within

which state intervention through various professionals and organisations is considered legitimate or deemed as 'disenchantment of the home' (cf. Reiger, 1985, as in Morgan, 1996: 132), a theme to which we shall return. Different experiences of growing up within Pakistani families, as in any family, are marked by gender, sibling order, socio-economic background of the family as well as particular family circumstances, such as illness of a parent or disability of a sibling, separation of parents, death of a parent, or the process of migration itself.

It was not surprising to find that participants within and across generations had different ideas about where the boundaries of family in an extended sense lay, and that kin relationships were negotiated on the basis of past cycles of moral and material inheritance. This was borne out in the focus group discussions and is well established in literature (see Finch and Mason, 1993; Morrow, 1998). What is interesting, however, was a focus on the context within which meaning is attributed to a set of relationships and practices, and how this meaning might shift over time. This focus locates the family within concentric circles of relationships, having porous links with other households premised on kin, neighbourhood and friendship ties, close and distant kin networks often spanning different continents, and the shifting boundaries of community and *biraderi* ties (to be discussed later on).

We shall now turn to unpicking some of the complexity underlying this context in relation to particular aspects of social identity by building a collage of perceptions rather than a typology of responses. The following excerpt from the interview with a 16-year-old young man, Safi, who lived with his parents, siblings and paternal grandmother in a middle class neighbourhood, summaries the difference between family, friends and community:

> SC: Is there any difference between friends and family?
>
> Safi : (Pause - seems to disagree)
>
> SC: Or they could be like family but is there any difference?
>
> Safi: They could be like family, but ...
>
> SC: What's the difference?
>
> Safi: (pause)
>
> SC: So, when you say family, who do you include in your family?

Safi: Family could mean close friends as well, so it depends how close the friends are. If the friends are close enough, you know, I've known them for years and years, I count them as family as well. So family includes everyone that's close to me.

SC: And who's that?

Safi: Brothers, sisters, friends, cousins, relatives…. You treat them (friends) like family but you're not, obviously they're not *actual* family. But in your mind, you know, they are family, they're just like another brother to you, or another sister. But when it comes… end of the day they're not your family.

SC: But are there times when you think that, you know, …

Safi: (interrupting) But at end of the day … it relates to your religion as well, because, you know, as a Muslim, you know, in Islam it says that all Muslims are brothers and sisters. So that could be the reason that I'm, you know, thinking that everyone together is a family.

This is an interesting example in which Safi defines family as encompassing close friends by virtue of 'closeness', whilst at the same time recognising the difference between family and friends. He then draws on the religious notion of community of Islam whereby the whole community across the world, irrespective of national or cultural boundaries, is bound by a notion of kinship or brotherhood of the faithful (*ummah*). Similarly, the boundaries between kin, neighbours and community are fluid rather than fixed and depend on the context of sustainable network of kin and community of co-existence. This was brought to sharp relief in the case of a family with three children, who had moved less than six months prior to contact and had nobody to rely upon except their neighbour. The father was not able to seek work (since they were awaiting a decision on their asylum application) and, in the absence of a car, their daughter had to travel 2-3 miles to school. Their Pakistani neighbour helped with the school run since his daughter was also at the same school. They also provided emotional support when the mother lost her brother and was unable to go back to Pakistan for the funeral, followed by a period of depression and headaches.

At one level, *biraderi* refers to a potentially endogamous group ranked in relation to other groups by *zat* (defined in literature as caste/occupational class, at times, denoting area of origin, such as Kashmiri *zat* (see Werbner, 1990). It is important to mention here that *zat*

in its traditional context in Pakistan and India, denotes hierarchical ranking system reflecting a 'cluster' of statuses according to Barth (1960), associated with kinship, hereditary occupation, ownership of land and political alliance. *Zat* apparently contravenes the egalitarian principle underlying Islam, and is no longer an attribute of land ownership or occupational class within the British context. It nevertheless continues to operate as a significant marker of internal ranking structuring new kinship and marriage ties, as explained later (Werbner, 1990: 81).

Hence, *biraderi* includes kin or blood relatives from both father's and mother's side, and those with whom affinal (marital) links have been established, though often there is an overlap between kin and affinal ties in these communities. Members of a *biraderi* share reciprocal moral, social and financial obligations towards each other (Anwar, 1979; Wakil, 1970; for a review, see Ahmad, 1996). *Biraderi* relationships are governed by norms of incremental gift exchange (*len-den* or *vartan*) at life cycle events of birth, marriage and death, and special religious and social occasions (see Werbner, 1990 for detailed ethnography on exchange). At another level, people of other *zat* but belonging to the same village/town or area of origin are also included within one's *biraderi*, as are all (non-kin) Muslim neighbours and fellow Pakistanis.

At its broadest level, *biraderi* was described by one of the middle aged participants as including other non-Muslim Asians and white members of the community with whom you share neighbourhood and community of co-existence, reflecting shared space, interests and political domain. It goes without saying that this meaning of *biraderi*, by definition, excludes the context of marriage and alliance for which the stricter meaning is deployed, and the connotations of rules of incremental gift exchange do not have the same implications for moral identity of a person. Friends and neighbours, however, are often bound by relations of exchange of food and gifts on special occasions.

Both numerical strength of a kin-network and its geographical concentration/dispersion, neighbourhood profile makes a difference to the actual sustainable kin network and community of co-existence. For some, in the inner city areas, kin and neighbourhood ties are cross-cutting and reinforced within the context of everyday life. For others, the kin network might be so limited or dispersed over continents that *biraderi* is not a sustainable term in the every day context. Yet for others, the presence of a kin network

might not ensure fulfilment of kin obligations, resulting in a challenge to the notion of *biraderi* as having a moral obligation for sustaining relationships. For example, one of the working class families of Mirpuri origin, who had two disabled daughters, lost their house and entire belongings in a fire. They had to move into a council flat and faced a difficult time since none of their relatives offered any help. So far as they were concerned, their kin and *biraderi* failed the test of relationships and obligations (*duniyadari*). The people who helped them in time of adversity were their new Pathan and Gujarati-Hindu neighbours.

It is important to mention that a majority of younger participants seemed unfamiliar with the term *biraderi*, or had vague ideas about it being co-terminous with 'caste' (term used), while a few had an elaborate understanding of how the *biraderi* and kin-network operated in practice. What is also interesting is that some of the better off, middle class participants equated the idea of strong *biraderi* with a rural, uneducated, unenlightened - *jahil* and *unpad* - background. Distancing themselves from the idea of *biraderi* operated as a marker of distinction - denoting their urban, upper class background. Thus, having strong, close-knit *biraderi* defines the 'other' within the larger Pakistani community. For example, from the perspective of an upper class Kashmiri or Pathan family only Mirpuris marry their daughters in their teens and take them to Pakistan for fixing their marriage without seeking their prior consent. It matters little how these rules operate within their own community or their own family, since rules for self are defined within a different context.

It is important to remember that some people might reject the idea of *biraderi* as a site of contesting values related to religion, gender, marriage, disability and social life. Thus, one of the mothers in her early 30s, Sabiha, who was from a Pushto speaking family background, was married at the young age of 19 to a doctor from Pakistan. She was diagnosed to have multiple sclerosis when she was in her early 20s. Her progressive illness resulted in a separation from her husband at a time when she had two children, who abandoned her and went back to his family in Pakistan. She moved in with her parents and came to terms with her illness despite the silence and disablist attitudes related to her condition within the community, and the stigma of a single parent (see Atkin, *et al.,* 2001 and Hussain *et al.,* 2002 for a broader discussion of these issues). She believed that the notion of *biraderi* was a myth since it assumes a monolithic,

homogenous community not sustained by her own experience of her illness and a single mother of two teen-aged children, who did not have an elaborate kin network.

As suggested earlier and following on from Baumann (1997) a dominant discourse from within (and outside) project images of 'Asian – Pakistani' family as cohesive, self caring and part of a supportive, extended kin network 'who take care of their own'. This idealised vision projects a stable and static picture, ignoring conflict of ideas and interests within and between generations, as well as the process of fission and fusion within families. To a large extent, this idealised notion leans on a construction of an idealised past and continuity with the homeland, reconstituting the self as morally superior, a theme to which we shall return. The dimensions of power, gender, generation and class are muted within this construction. Indeed the idealised self-image of an 'extended' family who take care of their elderly and other relatives was often used as a marker of identity distinguishing the Pakistani (and Asian) family from the White 'other'.

Consequently a majority of the young people, their parents and grandparents shared the stereotype of a White family as one where the elderly parents are dumped in an institution: signifying a lack of reciprocal obligations betweens parents and their children (see also Ballard, 1979; Basit, 1997). It is hardly surprising that these participants did not provide any examples to support this stereotype, having little or no first hand insight into family life and kin relationships within White communities. This is reflected in the following excerpt form the interview with a 20 year old young man, Salman, who was doing a degree in Engineering. In response to a question regarding the difference between his own and a White family, he said:

> Yeah. The ties that we keep amongst ourselves, you know, for example. *I've noticed* with a lot of white families at the age of say eighteen to twenty they totally discard their children. You know, they can do… go out, they've got their freedom at this age now…. They're basically free to do what they do. They're thrown on to their own feet at that age. And with our family, even to the age of fifty, sixty, our parents are still sitting at home worrying about us, still like that, and their family, they're, you know, the white families, ... well, I won't say the white families, I'll say the western families, at the age of fifty and sixty maybe the mother and

father have even forgotten that they've got a kid that's twenty or thirty years old, you know. That's what I find it is, it's a lot of difference.

The interview continued:

SC: Something about the care of the elderly that is different as well?

Salman: Yeah. We care more.

SC : If they've forgotten their children, do you think that their children also ...

Salman: Probably forgotten about them. I think that, *from what I've heard*, from a couple of lads that I know, they do come on New Year and Christmas …that's what they like about it, 'that we meet up with our family that we haven't met for a long time', you know. Even though they might be living one mile from each other, they'll hardly go and visit each other, and then on Christmas they all come together and stuff.

In Salman's account, a sense of freedom and independence for children is a bad sign equated with lack of reciprocal obligations related to caring within a family. The White family, in his account, comes together only on Christmas and special occasions. What is important is that this is what he has heard from a couple of lads, rather than being based on any personal insight. Further, in his reconstruction and that of his parents, his own family was portrayed as an ideal, helpful and caring family with close contact with grandparents who lived on their own, a street away. However, his paternal grandmother voiced her resentment, suggesting that her grandchildren had not been taught their responsibilities and the notion of *swab* (religious merit) in caring for their grandparents. This was in contrast with the image of a perfect, caring extended family across households projected by the parents themselves.

The example of Salman's family points to not only different perceptions of family practices but also a gap between the ideal norms in terms of which the family defines itself and values in practice. The interface between structure and agency is not only located as an interface between generations, as is often projected, but also within each generation where parents and grandparents have to constantly redefine cultural values and family practices that are essential for their identity. Contrary to popular perceptions of 'traditional' patriarchal Muslim family, there was no particular script predefining how these norms and practices would be negotiated within and between generations.

We shall now define this complex interface by focusing on negotiation of norms related to religion, culture (language, dress, food), education, social life and choice of marriage partner. Clearly, these norms and practices underlining the experience of growing up serve as important markers of self and identity for the young person in relation to significant others.

The significance of religion

The significance of religion in the life of an overwhelming majority of the young people and their families who participated in the research was marked beyond debate (see also Morrow, 1998:37; Ahmad *et al.,* 2002). This was irrespective of different levels of negotiation of values and practices discussed below covering various aspects of every day, social life, for which legitimacy was sought from Islam. Indeed, passing on religious values to their children was defined as an important aspect of filial duty, a prerequisite for good parenting, by parents, grandparents as well as the young people themselves. Accordingly, young people recognised the legitimacy of parental authority, and even punitive action, intergenerational obligations to care for one's parents in their old age, as well as respect for the older generation as sanctioned by Islam. This legitimacy reinforces the dominant discourse of self as being morally superior to others, though the normative assumptions underlying inter and intra-generational relationships are shared across major South Asian (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh) religious groups.

Religious training operates at different levels, in different forms and varies more between families as children grow older. As far as adults were concerned, Islam was defined in terms of its ideal principles of *kalimah*, belief in only one god and Mohammad as His prophet, *roza* (annual fasting for a month), *namaz* (ritual prayer to be offered five times a day, distinguished from *dua* as personal invocation), *Hajj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca) and *zakat* (sharing a portion of earnings with the needy) as being central to their religion. As far as *Hajj* is concerned, the timing of the pilgrimage is believed to be intrinsically tied to the fulfilment of one's family obligations in life - duties towards children, parents and other significant kin, and financial resources. However, religious practice, especially related to *namaz,* varied considerably within the older and younger generations. Some of the young men and women followed the norm of praying four or five times strictly, whilst their parents were more flexible in the matter and *vice versa.*

On the whole, religion was perceived as a way of life rather than a sphere of one's life. As explained by Salman, 'There's a lot more to it, it's basically a way of life for me. My religion is a way of life, for everyone …every Muslim… there's a way that we have to sleep, there's a way that we have to eat, there's, you know, stuff like that'. Consequently, religion provided legitimacy for norms and practices in all areas of family practice except the use of language that was defined as a cultural and regional marker of identity.

In all families except one, the boys and girls were taught how to read the *Qur'an,* either by a *maulvi* (religious teacher) at the local mosque, a *hafiz* or a *hafiza* (people trained in the art of recitation of the holy text by heart) within the neighbourhood, or a parent/ grandparent at home. However, a majority were taught only to recite the verses rather than to understand the meaning of the text or the structure of the Arabic language. Whilst some of the young men, in particular, were keen to learn Arabic in order to understand the Qur'an better, a majority stopped this textual training at some point by the time they were thirteen-fourteen. The girls tended to drop out earlier since it is not considered appropriate for them to be in a mixed gender group any more and it is not easy to find a suitable tutor. A majority had completed a full recitation of the text at least once, an important occasion *(amin)* marked by a feast for family and close friends. The pressure of school work and forthcoming exams for 15-17 year olds seems to alter the priorities of every day routine, with more focus on schoolwork. Majority of young men continued to attend the mass prayer at the local mosque on Fridays with other male members of the family. One 18-year-old young man regretted that he had lost the ability to read the *Qur'an* since he did not keep in touch and would not yield to parental pressure to continue to read. His brother, who was 11 at the time kept up with his reading at home and was able to read fluently.

Religious instruction also includes religious stories based on the *hadith* (the tradition based on Prophet's sayings) popular religious books translated into English, alongside the more formal teachings of the religious teacher. These teachings and stories often provide a legitimate framework for religious practice, as well as moral values related to relationships and social actions. It is interesting that, a majority of children and young people emphasised the moral aspects of religion more than the formal aspects emphasised by their parents and grandparents. According to Sabha, an 18 year old young woman, the important aspects of her religion were, prayer, reciting the *Qur'an*, and small

things, such as, making an effort at speaking the truth, not treating people badly, helping people if you are in a position to do so, respecting your elders, and so on.

Thus, children as young as 12 as well as young people approaching their 20s believed that the sanctity of parental authority, and their obligation to respect, obey and support parents in their old age derived legitimacy from Islam. At the same time, religious instruction and legitimacy for beliefs and practices is closely tied with reflection and making sense of what one sees and learns from others. Hence, Adil, an 18 year old young man, in response to how he knew what his responsibilities towards his parents were, said:

> … like look at what people do, you know. For example, the prophet, look
> at what kind of stuff he did, and you know, take him as a role model. Or
> anyone else that you've got respect for, and look at how they led their way
> through life, and just use examples through that. And *if you think it's right*
> then you do it yourself. (our emphasis).

There was only one middle class family where rules related to religious values and practice were not clearly defined, and neither the parents nor the children observed the fast during the month of *Ramazan*. The rest of the families observed rules related to fasting strictly. What was striking was that Children had started fasting as young as seven-eight, though a majority of parents believed they ought to start when they are older than ten. Some of the children wanted to fast since their parents, siblings and cousins fasted, others were given monetary rewards for endurance in the form of a favourite game or computer. As emphasised by Sabiha (introduced earlier):

> There are many benefits of fasting. One of these is that you learn to control
> desires. Even though we are hungry we don't eat. In life there are many
> people who want different things but don't have them, they have patience.
> Similarly when you are in a state of fasting you can't swear, tell lies. It's a
> type of training to learn restraint and control desires for one month. You
> learn to place restriction upon yourself and you learn to bear the hunger.

Similarly, all the families in our sample followed the prescription of *halal* (meat consecrated in a particular way; strict proscription on pork or any food product containing traces of pork). Children as young as six or seven learn to read food labels to make sure there is no gelatine in food or sweets they are eating. What is important here is that eating *halal* (or playing safe by classifying oneself as vegetarian within certain contexts) and keeping the fast, attending the mosque for young men, reconstitute the family as a Muslim family in relation to their own ethnic community. At the same time, it also helps the young person constitute her/his identity as distinct from non-Muslim - especially White - others. We shall see later how norms related to other areas of social life derive legitimacy from religious principles, highlighting the crosscutting boundaries between religion and culture that are subject to constant redefinition within families.

The significance of food

Being Muslim and eating *halal* participates in a larger complex of symbolic values defining social boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within the context of sharing food, especially at religious and social occasions (see Douglas, 1984; Werbner, 1990, on ritual offerings and sharing of food; Brannen *et al.,* 1994). What constitutes food and how meals are shared also reflect gender and generational divisions within a family (see Brannen *et al.,* 1994). Importantly, for our discussion, food is more easily defined as a marker of ethnic identity, designating the area of origin within the broader conglomerate of Asian or Pakistani origin. Salman, for example commented:

> Yeah. Cos like my mum and stuff, they're gonna make food and stuff that they would eat in Pakistan, basically…. Cos, I've noticed, like I've been to my friend's house, they might be from the Peshawar area of Pakistan and their type of cooking of food is slightly different than ours, not a lot different, yeah, but they'll still be slightly different. You can tell where they are (from) from the food (they eat). And I've got friends that are from the Gujarat part of India and I'll go there, go to their house to eat and I'll notice that their type of food and cooking etc is a lot different, well, not a lot but it's still slightly different than what, how we eat.

Salman went on to say that whilst he ate burgers, pizza and stuff, 'But there's nothing as filling as our own food and *roti* and stuff like that....' Hence, some of the parents insist that children must eat their own *desi* (local, regional) food cooked in a particular way since it is more nutritious and sumptuous. Whilst none of the families objected to young people eating other types of food within the limits of *halal*, such as fish and chips, pizza, pasta or Chinese, they were discouraged from eating fast food due to high fat and salt content. However, an emphasis on the goodness of home cooked *desi* food belonged to the complex of values where 'you are what you eat'. This was explained very well by one of the mothers, on a rather humours note, who suggested that unless the family continued to eat their 'own type' of food, the children ran the risk of being transformed into *gore* (White) people. What you eat, how you eat and who you share food with are important markers of inclusion and exclusion underlining one's social identity.

The significance of dress

Once again, a particular mode of dress defines the position of people with those they want to belong, whilst distinguishing them from others, serving as an important marker of identity. We shall see how gender and socio-economic position and religious ideas influence the norms and contexts within which negotiations over freedom and control, regarding what young people wear is made.

As compared with young women, young men have fewer choices to make in relation to what they wear, and wearing 'Western' clothes is not associated with similar moral connotations, though for some dress is used as a salient marker of religious and cultural identity. A majority of young men in our sample wore trousers or jeans and shirts most of the time and *salwar kameez* (male trousers and long shirt worn in most parts of Pakistan/India) when they want to the mosque, and on religious and social occasions such as *Idd*, weddings and funerals where everybody else would be dressed in 'traditional clothes'.

The symbolism of wearing Asian clothes varied with the context and involved complex understandings of one's ethnic and religious identity. This was brought to sharp relief in Salman's narrative for whom a search for his roots and Islamic identity was a core aspect of the process of growing up. This involved redefining his Islamic beliefs and practices. As he started praying five times a day, for him, being in a state of *wuzu* (ablution)

included wearing 'Islamic' clothes. According to his mother, since it was inconvenient changing clothes, he decided to wear *salwar kameez* - all the time, at home, to the University as well as to work. What is interesting here is that, dress takes on a religious rather than cultural significance and, in the process, Asian dress worn by people across religious and linguistic groups is redefined as being 'Islamic'. Thus:

> … I would not wear it in the sense that… from a Pakistani sense. No, I wear it for Islamic purposes, because it's how our prophet Mohammed dressed … and (we) need to follow his example, *so we dress the same as him.* And in (for) that purpose, you know, he used to wear a white cap ….

For Salman, the symbolic significance of dress was self defined rather than imposed by his parents or peer pressure within the community. Clearly, more parental control was involved in what young women were allowed to wear than in the case of their male siblings. The notion of a modest, Asian dress for girls and women is part of the larger set of values defining sexuality, gender relationships and marriage within Islamic cultures. Within this complex, girls as an embodiment of family honour (*izzat*) are treated as being more 'vulnerable', needing to be guarded like a precious possession (see Basit, 1997). Since wearing 'Western' clothes is associated with the White, permissive culture believed to encourage promiscuity (see Shaw, 1994: 191-192), parents exercise stricter rules regarding what girls ought to wear (Atkin *et al.,* 2002).

A majority of girls and young women in our sample were expected to follow stricter codes of modest, Asian dress appropriate for Muslim girls. This included different versions of *salwar kameez* (long shirt and trousers worn by women in Pakistan/India) and *duppata* (a long scarf worn in different ways to cover the chest and head) and the latest, modified fashion of a trouser suit that fits more with the idea of trousers and a knee long shirt with or without a scarf. Some of them would wear school trousers to school and school related activities but were expected to wear 'decent' Asian clothes at home and outside. Whilst there were obvious pressures in terms of what they could not wear - short skirts, blouses, skimpy and tight-fitting or revealing clothes, the idea of appropriate clothes varied between families of different backgrounds, yielding different levels of negotiation between young women and their mothers, and significant members of the family.

What was striking in our findings was that whilst religious values were closely involved in notions of appropriate dress as a marker of ethnic identity, what was considered religiously appropriate varied a great deal between families of different social backgrounds, as well as members of the same generation within a family. For example, in one family, 16 year old Juhi persuaded her mother that she needed to be dressed 'smartly' (cf. trousers, shirts and jackets) in order to find a summer job and be a career woman. The emphasis on education and career legitimised her need to dress smartly, so far as her dress sense did not violate her mother's ideas of 'decent behaviour appropriate for her Muslim daughter'. Even the one family where no strict religious rules and practices were observed by the parents or children, the young woman, Aml, who had just turned 16 and wore jeans and tops, was not allowed to wear sleeveless blouses or skimpy skirts. This would be seen as undermining her modesty. The young woman in this family believed that she should have the freedom to wear whatever she wanted and that the moral surveillance of others within the community should not matter. However, though a point of disagreement between mother and daughter, as in other areas of social life, there were some restrictions on how she dressed, defined by her mother's ideas of appropriate behaviour for Asian girls of her age.

Negotiations regarding how much freedom young women were able to exercise regarding their dress often involved older sisters, close aunts, grandmothers, apart from the father figure(s) yielding authority, suggesting a particular nexus of power and negotiation between significant women across generations in the family, as well as notions of shared parenting. Let's take the example of Sabiha's family. As mentioned earlier, Sabiha (a single mother) and her two children lived with her parents. Given the absence of the father, the maternal grandmother (rather than the grandfather in this family) had a definite say in how the children were raised. At the same time, Sabiha's sister (married and living close by) was also closely involved in negotiations regarding dress and behaviour deemed appropriate for 14 year old Rubi, reflecting a widely observed 'matrilateral bias' in such negotiations (see Werbner, 1990, on the role of affective solidarity among female kin):

SC: So are there ever any times when there is a disagreement about what you can wear and what you can't wear? Tell us honestly now, they won't interrupt. (Laughter) They won't interrupt, I'll make sure they won't.

Rubi: No.

SC: Is it sometimes like they're going for, say, a school party or a friend's party and ...

Rubi: No. Cos if I go to like my friends' parties, cos they're mostly like, they're Pakistanis anyway, so if you wear shalwar kamiz, it's okay. And other parties like that, you don't go anyway.

Sabiha: Trips and things..(hesitates).

Rubi: Oh, trips…

Sabiha: we have problems there sometimes. (...).

SC: (to mother and aunt, jokingly) I won't let you (interrupt), I'll let her have her say now.

Rubi: Erm .. like when you go on trips you just wanna wear trousers and stuff like that, cos you know like when you go to these theme parks or stuff, it's like a bit more comfy. It's when you wear it (Salwar Kameez) you have to wear your scarf with it and some shoes don't match … cos they're uncomfortable or summat, so you wanna wear trainers. Trainers don't look nice with thingy (Asian dresses) so it's stuff ...

Aunt : (interrupting) God! (laughs) think , we never used to think like that, we just wore what we were given.

Rubi: (a bit more assertive) But then trainers don't look nice with shalwar kamiz cos they look a bit ugly.

SC: All right. So when there are days like that when you think that this thing doesn't really go with that, and this is what I would have wanted to wear, so can you ...

Rubi: Sometimes, then my mum gets me, like you know, cos like when we went, where was it? Pleasure Island last year, then my mum got me, we went and we got some of them (trousers), didn't we, and stuff like that.

Aunt: I mean, there's nothing wrong in wearing them, as long as it's respectable. That's our main thing, that you're not wearing tops up to here and uncovered.

Rubi: (seeking redress) But I don't, I don't choose them stuff!

Aunt: But I mean, I don't think she's ever made unreasonable demands, 'I wanna wear something (unacceptable)'.   I can't remember a time when she's been, and you've always chosen, *she's always chosen her own*. I think from a young age you've chosen them, haven't you.

> Sabiha: Like … when she was young … I remember we'd go shopping and sometimes we'd go into Tammy's, you know, we'd go into shops and things, and she'd look for skirts, but she always *seemed to know herself* to get long skirts, not, you know, I mean, she knew that …
>
> Rubi: (interrupting) Of course I wouldn't go to the shop and get a miniskirt for myself.

In the above extract, both mother and aunt emphasise that the values related to dress were not imposed on Rubi since she 'seemed to know herself' what she should were. The point here is not to what extent the dress corresponds to an ideal notion of an *Islamic* dress code that covers and defines the feminine body in a particular way. What is interesting is how a particular mode of dressing up is redefined to fit a notion of 'Islamic' dress code and how it varies between sub-communities originating from different regions with different histories of settlement in the UK. Hence, for some women migration might be associated with less domination of older women and relaxation of the strict rules of seclusion and *purdah* (rules related to gender segregation symbolised through notions of covering up) in public space, facilitated thorough work and work related networks, as observed by Werbner (1990) and Ahmad (1996). For others, a dislocation form a kin based village and settlement in an unknown urban environment might result in stricter rules of seclusion and *purdah* than those observed in Pakistan*,* as observed by Saifullah Khan (1977) for the Mirpuri women settled in Bradford.

Apart from the history of the community and the socio-economic background of the family, notions of Islamic dress and *purdah* also varied between generations within a family marking a movement in the life course of a woman as she grows older, and her status and position within the family and community are established, making her less vulnerable. One of the striking differences between women of older and younger generations within our sample related to ideas about 'covering up' and the symbolism of the head scarf and rules of *purdah*. A majority of mothers and grandmothers only covered their heads with a *duppata* outside home. As observed by Rubi's grandmother, *purdah* referred to 'purity of mind and heart', involving notions of respect, modesty and honour, rather than covering the body *per se.* In contrast, many young women in our sample had started wearing head scarves (often called *hijab*) when they were only 7-10

years old (different from a full *hijab* covering the whole body and head so that only the eyes and hands are exposed).

The head scarf, as the *duppata*, marks a gendered boundary between home and outside on one hand, and different categories of people in terms of proximity, deference and distance on the other. The idea of covering up in different ways is a marker of femininity and feminine sexuality that needs to be guarded, respected as well as controlled (see Mernissi, 1975; Shaw, 1988: 171). According to 16 year old Anisa, it was important to cover her head in order to prevent 'bad' thoughts from entering her head. These bad thoughts referred to ideas about sexual desire and attraction towards young men. Having a boy friend or a premarital affair was the worst on the list of bad things from the perspective of young people themselves and their parents. What is further significant is that the symbolism of the scarf for young women is also located within the political shifts in the wider Islamic identity in the contemporary West, as we shall see. Hence covering the head takes on different meanings for women depending on the context.

It is important to mention that these subtle nuances and notions of covering up varied not only between generations, but also among young women within a family, or those who belonged to the same generation but came from different socio-economic backgrounds. These differences highlight different engagements with religious notions of modesty at an individual level. Let us take the example of 18- year-old Razia, who had recently moved to Yorkshire with her mother and siblings to join her father (who had been working here for a long time). She belonged to a family of (upper *zat*) landlords and though she previously lived in a village with her mother and other members of the extended family, she went to a private, boarding school in the neighbouring city of Islamabad. She reminds us about the class and caste based nuances of the notion of covering up within the contemporary Pakistani context, and how these intersect with the rural urban distinction, from a vantage point that is important for our forthcoming discussion on ideas of social change. The English-Asian way of dressing up of Muslim girls in England was rather incomprehensible to her, as reflected in her following remarks:

> SC: When you go out, do you wear these clothes (salwar kameez)? Do you wear the *dupata* over your head?

Razia: No I don't wear the *dupata* on my head. I do wear it, but not on my head.

SC: In Pakistan, do girls normally wear the *dupata* to cover their head? What do your friends do?

Razia: When I visit the village, I wear the *dupata* upon my head, but not when I am in the city. I did sometimes - but it's not important. But in the village, it's very important to wear the dupata (covering your head).

SC: What is the difference between the village and the city?

Razia: There is a lot of difference

SC: What is the difference?

Razia: In the city no body knows you.

SC: Oh right!

Razia: You can go where ever you like, you don't meet anyone you know since Islamabad is very big. But in the village, my dad was a landowner, so if we went out anywhere then people would say, 'Look they don't wear a *dupatta* on their heads'. That's why I had to wear it in the village because people talk.

SC: So what is the significance of wearing the *dupata* over your head?

Razia : I can't tell you that much, but the elders say that women who wear the *dupata* on their head are treated with more respect.

SC: you may have noticed that girls in this country cover their heads by wearing a tight scarf? Is that the custom in Pakistan?

Razia: No it's not that popular there. Some do wear it but largely girls just wear a *dupata*. In my opinion there is no point in just wearing a scarf without a *dupata*.

SC: in this country they just wear a scarf.

Razia: There is no point in just wearing the scarf

SC: Why is there no point?

Razia : You should cover your body by wearing the *dupatta* across your chest and then the scarf to cover your head. It does not make sense to wear a shirt and then have a scarf on your head without covering your chest. If you really want to follow Islam then you should do it properly.

Though religious instruction at the mosque, peer pressure and parental pressure might contribute to how young girls are persuaded and/or motivated to cover their heads form an early age, an important element here is self definition of the young women as they grow up and the larger social context within which these redefinitions of self and identity

take place. For some wearing the *hijab* was a mode of asserting a distinct, Muslim identity whilst symbolising a struggle against racism, relying on a reinterpretation of the dress code within Islam (also see Afshar, 1994). This political redefinition of self within the larger society makes other boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within the non-domestic sphere sharply visible. Here dress is used as a symbolic strategy, through an embodied practice, to seek distinction in a fight against racism within school and wider society (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990), marking self and Non-Muslim/White other apart.

For example, for 15 year old Yasmin, being a Muslim was part of a larger framework of ethnic identity within which a search for her roots highlighted the salience of her Pakistani origin despite having been born here and being a British citizen. In her voice we hear an echo of other young voices suggesting that no matter how much you try and be like 'them' you can never belong with 'them'. What appears as a resistance to ethnocentric biases of White school mates who picked on girls wearing *hijab* as symbolising lack of choice and freedom at home, leads on to a more serious critique of racism operating at a wider level, as is clear from her following comments:

Yasmin: 'It's our decision really if you want to wear it *(hijab)* or not'…. Yeah, I think it's important for us because that's like the, our, you know, we're known as Pakistanis, and that's like, you know…

SC: Where you came from?

Yasmin: Yeah, that's it.

SC: But whereas I know some people, you know, sometime people are treated and that, even though, you know, you say you're British, *you are British*, but then again, you know, in some people's eyes, you know, you're Asian British, not like *British British* (her emphasis).

Yasmin: But do you feel that that's where you came from although you were born here?

SC: But then again, if you go back on the parents, you know, if the parents were not here obviously you would be a Pakistani. Then again, you know, it's the way you feel. So I sometime do say, 'Yeah, I am British', but then again, you know, it's, you know, sometimes they can discriminate, you know, then you feel as if, 'Fine, okay, I'm not a British, but at least I'm a Pakistani!'

In the above excerpt, Yasmin recognises her Pakistani origin and culture as being essential, unalienable features of her identity. In her voice, difference (symbolised in the *hijab)* is celebrated as a mode of resisting wider racist constructions of her community. It seems to us that for a majority of young people, the relation between ethnicity and religion remained complex and central to how they perceived themselves and were perceived by others. Their attempts at reinterpretation of religion related more to the context of negotiation of self and identity rather than religion becoming a more important source of their identity as argued by Jacobson (1997).

The significance of language

Language was an important marker of local, ethnic origin for parents and grandparents, embodying a particular idiom of culture, a specific vocabulary of values and behaviour, a common bond that enabled people across generations to share certain values and experiences. Even parents and grandparents who were bilingual and able to communicate in English felt strongly about passing on their language to their children and grandchildren, in order to ensure continuity of their culture and traditions. Some parents and young people perceived language to be a medium for passing on and retaining local religious customs and identity. Thus, 16 year old Hamid, for example, recognised that learning and speaking a local language was not really a religious issue. At the same time, he also felt that:

> Well, one thing I have noticed is like if you speak your own language to like one another, you say *salam* and that…. But, you know, if you speak in English and shake their hand, and say, 'Hi!...' this that and the other or 'Are you all right?', you won't be saying s*alam* or anything. So, it, like, makes you actually drift away a bit from your religion as well.

However, the emphasis on learning the family's first language or 'mother tongue' had different practical and symbolic implications for different families and, at times, each parent within a family. For some where either or both parents did not speak English, the regional language was learnt 'naturally' as the first language, used at home and in interaction with relatives who did not speak English. In some of the families parents insisted that young people speak to grandparents and elderly relatives in their own language as a mark of respect and a sign of continuing family traditions. Learning the

regional language was considered especially important for children and young people who had close relatives in Pakistan with whom close links were maintained over phone and through periodical visits overseas.

Most parents, especially middle class parents for whom English was not a problem, had to make a special effort at teaching their children to speak their regional language. In one of the families, for example, the mother, who was born and brought up in Pakistan, insisted that the children speak to her in Urdu though they always spoke to their father, who was brought up in England, in English. Even when children had learnt the language, their communication with parents, grandparents and other relatives was often bilingual and context dependent. Hence, whilst a majority of young people were able to understand Punjabi, Urdu, Mirpuri or Pushto, the extent to which they actually spoke the language depended on the context of interaction and insistence of parents that they communicate in their first language. Conversely, a minority of families where children had not picked up the regional language, spoken by their parents and grandparents, felt at a loss in communicating with others, especially elders, who did not speak English. For example, Rubi understood some Pushto but was stuck in a situation where she was expected to converse back in Pushto:

> … but you throw the phone to someone because you don't know what to say to them. But otherwise, like if you're speaking to these lot (mother, aunt and others) cos they speak English so it's okay. But like if someone phones and they don't speak English then it's hard cos you don't know what to say to them.

Being bilingual within the diasporic context is not always as easy as it was for the parents and their grandparents for whom it wasn't a matter of choice. Young people confront different kinds of pressures to learn the regional language their parents speak. The pragmatic need to learn and use the language varies with context at a point of time as suggested above, but also over a span of time in one's life. Knowing the language, less significant earlier on, might become a key factor in establishing the identity of a young person in the family of in-laws, or for communicating with one's own spouse, a sister/brother –in-law who has married into the family who does not speak English. This tension is brought to life in the following exchange with Rubi's aunt and mother:

SC (to aunt) Do you speak Pushtu?

Aunt: Yeah, I mean, my in-laws, I have to speak with them in Pushtu, so for me I suppose it has been a bit of an issue. But that's been good, I'm glad, because it's improved my Pushtu which was really rubbish before. And it's good because I mean, it's an extra skill… before we used to see it as like a problem ....

Sabiha: A burden.

Aunt: Yeah.

SC: Why was it a burden?

Sabiha : Well, not a burden but more of a, you know, you had to put more of an effort.

Aunt: You have to really think about what you said, you know, whereas in English it just flows off your tongue. Whereas in Pushtu you have to go 'Am I saying it right? Is it with the right accent?' Now-a-days it's like, 'God, this is an extra thing for me'. It's a benefit, there's a lot more people you can talk to…. When we got married we went to Pakistan after about two years, and I used to say to my husband, 'Just speak to me in Pushtu so I improve it. So they don't laugh at me when I go there.' And it really helped, you know. The thing is you can mix your English in with it so it sounds quite impressive, so it sounds like a posher version of Pushtu, don't it? Any words you can't find the Pushtu for you put English in. (Laughs)

Further, the notion of first language or 'mother tongue' operates within a hierarchy of vernaculars accessible to a family. Thus, middle class Punjabi speaking parents often chose Urdu rather than Punjabi as the language that they passed on to their children since it is considered to be a more evolved, more sophisticated language with a written script of its own and is the official language of Pakistan shared by a large majority of people across different linguistic regions. The following excerpt from the interview with 17 year old young man, Jubi, brings to life the cosmopolitan characteristics of Urdu:

It's, yeah, or both. In Pakistan they speak Punjabi there as well, they speak Urdu amongst themselves as well, like I said (laughs) (we're a big?) family speak Punjabi and Urdu and everything, you know, so you might have a conversation, half might be in Punjabi and then by the time someone's spoken some Urdu and then the whole conversation's changed into Urdu,

and now everyone's speaking Urdu and then someone speaks, it's like that, but I think in our elder generation they all spoke Punjabi but they also knew Urdu, as in like what they'd been educated through schools in Pakistan and stuff, and, yeah, they taught us Urdu because they thought it was a better language, I asked them myself, they say it's a more cleaner (sophisticated) language.

(In response to why it was considered 'cleaner')

Yeah. It's more, it's a lot cleaner language. It's like a lot more people speak it, you can, it's like more of a universal language in India, Pakistan, isn't it. And even, even (...) here, if I was to meet a person speaking like (Pushtu?) for example and someone speaking Gujarati even, if I spoke to both of them, either one in Punjabi they wouldn't understand me, but if I speak to someone in Urdu, both of them in my case I've come across have both spoken Urdu and I've been able to communicate with both of them.

As a point of clarification, Punjabi, and its dialects, spoken by Muslims within the subcontinent is written in an Urdu script and has a rich tradition of literature, poetry and folk songs, it is not treated at par with Urdu. (This is in contrast with Punjabi spoken by Sikhs that is written in the Gurmukhi script).

Whilst most siblings communicated in English to each other, their cousins and friends, the use of 'first' language within this context was used as a strategy to 'block off' communication with white school mates who they wanted to exclude, or as a subversive tool against teachers who had no clue to the abuses being hurled at them in Punjabi or Urdu.

One of the fathers from Pushto speaking family emphasised that whilst it was his mother tongue children did not speak the language. However, being a liberal Muslim, he did not think it was essential for their identity since, according to him, faith, Prophet and God are not tied to a particular language. He recognised the importance of speaking the language of the place where you live in. A majority, however, treated a shared language as being essential for sustaining an ethnic network across continents. This was reflected,

once again, in their ideas about who should marry whom and choice of a life partner for their own children and grandchildren within a hierarchy of values ordering their social and interpersonal life.

Thus, some of the parents and grandparents felt that that it was important for those marrying into the family (daughter-in -law or son-in-law) to be able to speak the same language. For example (Rubi's maternal grandmother) Sakina Bi's first language was Pushto. She spoke good Urdu, Punjabi and English, but placed first priority on marrying within the extended family (*khandan*) that ensured strengthening and sustaining ties across the Pushto speaking community. Whilst both her daughters had married within the community, her eldest son married an Urdu speaking girl of Pakistani origin, someone he had met at work. Initially, Mrs and Mr Asghar weren't happy about the match since alliances across linguistic or ethnic groups are not felt to be conducive to creating new or sustaining old links within a Pathan network. However, their son argued that it was his life and future and it did not matter to him whether or not his wife spoke Pushto since they could communicate in English. Eventually Sakina Bi reconciled to the fact that the girl was from Pakistan and a 'nice girl from an educated family' but the fact that she spoke Urdu and not Pushto created a kind of distance since '*khul ke baat nahi ho sakti*' (you can't communicate openly in a second language).

The fact that Sakina Bi's grandchildren could speak little or no Pushto signified that language is not only a medium of communication but also serves as a metaphor for embodiment of cultural values and practices particular to a linguistic community.   We have suggested that language operates within a larger hierarchy of values through which relationship between self and significant others are structured, and rules of inclusion and exclusion are negotiated, and that the significance of language, like other markers of identity, varies with the context. We shall now turn to the implications of choice of a life partner for one's identity and the negotiations revolving this choice.

You are who you marry
Negotiation of marriage is often presented as a particular distinct feature of Pakistani family life (see, Ahmad, 1996).   Leaving aside the assumptions underlying such assumptions, negotiation of marriage does provide a helpful insight into how values and norms are embodied within family life. We followed how grandparents and parents

within the sample had been married, how the marriages of older siblings had been arranged and what the participants thought about rules and choices involved in the matter. This provided a picture of marriage alliances within a family over a period of time, and how things may or may not have changed. This also provided insight into sustainable kin networks and links with Pakistan, the implications of which we shall discuss later on.

The grandparents and parents in our sample presented a picture of the absolute power of the elders, especially men of father's generation, in exercising control over who married whom according to the norms and interests of the *biraderi*. Children were often promised in marriage to a particular family at a very young age, or at the time of their birth. Honouring the family pledge was obligatory, with women having less of a say in the matter, and men exercising greater control over the subsequent future of the marriage.

As far as the parents' generation is concerned, barring a few exceptions, the marriages were arranged by the family and the decision accepted without negotiations though some of the fathers remarked that they had been provided a choice between two- three prospective partners out of whom they had to choose one, resulting in a co-opted acceptance. Educational and family background seemed to play a marginal role in how marriages were negotiated, with a majority of the sample having accepted the parental choice. It is interesting that the only middle class family where parents had married on the basis of mutual consent, outside *biraderi*, was the same where grandparents had set a precedent. Thus, in Aml's family, for example, the maternal grandfather from a rural background had married a woman of urban background outside his *biraderi*, of his choice, resulting in souring of relationships between the two sides of the family. Aml's parents also married outside the *biraderi*, as we shall see later.

Whilst a majority of marriages within the parents' generation were organised across continents within kin groups, a few followed typical arrangements reflecting particular family circumstances. In one such case, the mother at a young age of 15, as part of her obligation to marry her father's brother's son, left her natal home to take care of her uncle and his children from the second wife, following the unexpected death of her aunt who was to be her mother-in-law. The young bride to be fulfilled her intergenerational obligations towards her uncle and his family before she was married to her cousin. This

shows the wider network of support and kinship obligations that operate between families and how arranged marriages form a part of this wider set of obligations that sustain the notion of *biraderi*. With chain migrations and establishment of kin networks here, some of these pressures of sustaining family obligations over a period of time have eased. For some of the families with close kin ties in Pakistan (apart from Europe and the US), the tensions of sustaining obligations across space remain a major problem resulting in extended overseas visits and absence of children from school (also see Katz, 2002).

As far as the young people are concerned, marriage remains, to a large extent, an alliance between families rather than a contract between two individuals. Hence, the institution of arranged marriage remains central to the maintenance of *biraderi*, and for enhancing status within a kin group. For a young person, the decision to marry - and potential choice of a marriage partner - was seldom defined as only a matter of individual choice, romantic love and compatibility of ideas and interests. Marriage was assumed to be a life event that all young people would/must undergo in order to live together and raise a family. Hence, at a collective level, other options of having a partner, living together, or not marrying at all would not be considered legitimate from a religious and cultural perspective. This was an area where there was consensus among parents and grandparents about parental obligation to look for a suitable match for their children, looking at the family background and values and the 'best interests' of the young person in question. In fact this was perceived as one of the important duties of a parent enshrined within religion along side duties of giving them a good education, a good training in life and teaching them their religion and so on. As one of the mothers remarked, 'It is good fortune for parents to see their children married and settled in their life time'. Here we have a sense of a notion of life fulfilled in terms of inter-generational obligations towards children. Accordingly, children are expected to consider it their duty to assist parents in fulfilling their obligations and respect their decisions, as observed earlier.

Parents often want to marry their daughters as early as possible since their marriage has a priority over other responsibilities. Though there is no religious underpinning for a gender difference in parental responsibilities, daughters are perceived as *'amanat'* (property/ precious possession for safe-keeping), someone who *belongs* to another family.

Hence finding an appropriate match for daughters from a 'good family' involves specific moral implications different from those involved in finding a suitable match for sons. There is a certain amount of anxiety associated with marrying daughters and preventing the possibility of anything going wrong. Hence, an early marriage is believed to take care of all the 'bad influences' lurking outside home associated with having boyfriends, going out, having friendships or any kind of sexual relationship. Young women who are believed to be deviating from this ideal path are often subjected to a hastily arranged marriage. Educational aspirations and career prospects of young women, as well as parental aspirations and socio-economic background of the family, influence when matches and marriages are arranged. Marrying within close kin network, in some families within our sample, allowed the young women to fulfil their obligation to marry and, at the same time, continue with their education.

Whilst parents, grandparents and the older generation perceive these bad influences to be located within the wider White culture (Anwar, 1979; Modood *et al.,* 1994; Shaw, 1988; Afshar, 1994), breach of norms related to gender segregation and sexual relationships is part of every day life in Pakistan as here, and has different bearing for the moral identity of women. Beyond the threat of what are perceived as morally corrupting Western values lies conflict of perceptions and interests between generations within a culture, and different standards for judging the behaviour of men and women reflected in the notion of public dishonour (for a detailed discussion see Shaw, 1988). In practice, a range of strategies were used for negotiating the actual choice, accommodating the wishes of the young person in question, and honouring family expectations by the young people themselves. Choice of marriage partner appeared as the more conflicting domains of intergenerational family relationships where the young people sought legitimacy from religion, rather than Western, liberal values, to support their view that both men and women have a right to exercise their choice. Parents, for their part, were willing to concede that they had to be careful in accommodating the wishes of their children, and that transcontinental marriages often involved some degree of conflict of values, aspirations and material interests. To this extent marriage options could be negotiated.

These strategies of negotiation occur within a set of values defining boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, rank and status, markers of identity deemed necessary within the context. Both gender and socio-economic position seem to make a difference to how

these boundaries are drawn and what these signify in relation to social identity. As observed by Werbner (1990:81), new ties of marriage and kinship are often formed on the basis of caste and class attributes. Thus, class attributes of wealth, occupation and education intersect with features of Muslim *zat* (based on descent) to provide a basis for a ranked hierarchy for a group. The notion of ranking by *zat* is often disowned or denied by Muslims who believe that it contradicts the egalitarian principles of Islam that treats everybody equal in matters of worship, law and religious conduct. It is true that friendship, work, business and neighbourhood ties cut across lines of *zat,* and the traditional features of ownership of land and specialised caste occupation underpinning the caste status do not hold any meaning within the British context. However, as reiterated by Werbner (1990), *zat* continues to serve as a metaphor for socio-economic power and ranking, a term that essentialises attributes of particular groups. Marriage, through the norm of caste endogamy remains the most important symbolic ranking strategy for seeking and retaining status or distinction (cf., Bourdieu, 1990). Hence, within this context, you are who you marry and your *biraderi*, in effect, is an 'intermarrying localised caste-group' (cf., Werbner, 1990:44).

We shall now look at some of the implications of values related to how the young people thought they would choose their life partner, and what their parents and grandparents felt about the issue. First, we turn to the broad overview of the issues and rules involved in choosing a life partner and the interface between the ideal and observed norms in recent marriages of older siblings within a family, and who had a say in these matters. At the broadest level, Islamic rules related to marriage allow marriage with a wide range of close range of people related through blood (consanguine) or marriage (affinal) ties. There is a prescriptive preference for patrilateral parallel cousin marriage (with father's brother's son). First and second parallel and cross cousin marriages, sister exchange and other forms of affinal marriages are common in practice (see Werbner, 1990; Shaw, 1988).

Given the age range of our sample, none of the young people were undergoing an active 'match-fixing' phase of their life, and were said to be concentrating on their studies instead. However, subtle negotiations and suggestions about suitable matches within the extended family formed part of a long, ongoing process within which choice and eventual engagement to marry takes place. This process seemed to start sooner (around

15-16 years) within families where there had been a tradition of marrying within the *biraderi.* These marriages often follow on from previous cycles of exchange of women within and between families. Apart from the previous cycles of exchange and commitments, the pool of prospective matches and proximity between particular relatives also determines who can be considered as a prospective match for a particular young person. Hence, for a particular family not to make the first expected move casts doubts on the intentions to fulfil the expectations. Relationships between siblings and cousins, for example, are often soured in case an expected match is not pursued or, worse, refused.

These matches seal the bonds between families already known to each other. The initiation of the young bride into her in-law's home is facilitated by an existing kin bond on mother's or father's side, where mutual family interests ensure that she is treated fairly by her husband and his family, and where the elders act as guarantors in case of a potential marital discord. With crosscutting kin and affinal ties, the relationships between families as in-laws is more relaxed rather than formal and distant, and the girl is expected to have freer access to her natal home.

Following the same logic, a breach of a marital relationship or a family dispute can have a 'ripple effect' on other relationships within the circle of families with crosscutting kin and affinal ties (see Werbner, 1990: 89). For example, as mentioned earlier, Sabiha's husband (a doctor by profession) left her with two children following the onset of her multiple sclerosis, and went back to Pakistan. Nobody form his side of the family lived here to intervene. The two families were not related but were from the same area and Sabiha's younger sister was engaged to be married to her brother-in-law's brother. The engagement was broken off resulting in further bitterness and distance between the two families, pre-empting the possibility of any future reconciliation. Hence, fulfilling expectations and maintaining marital relationships has a far reaching effect on the moral identity of particular individuals as well as their families within such a network. Sabiha's sister was eventually married to someone within the Pathan community, something that was important for her mother, while her brother married a woman he knew at work who was Pakistani but from a different regional and linguistic community. Here we see a shift of norms within the same generation as well as between the genders.

Some of the parents in our sample were proud that nobody in their family had married from outside the *biraderi*. In one such family, two of the daughters were married to two brothers, their mother's nephews through her cousin, whilst the son was married to mother's sister's daughter who had been born and brought up in Pakistan. Mrs Hussain (the mother) also mentioned that things were changing since marriages were no longer fixed when children are born. She said that, 'You have to follow their choice since it is their choice, *but they listen to us'*. Hence, her son was sent to Pakistan and chose the particular cousin he knew his mother liked and eventually married. It is difficult to comment on how much covert or overt pressure of expectations to marry this particular cousin might have influenced his decision. The expectation that children will 'listen to parents' as part of their religious duty, and internalising the belief that 'parents have their best interests at heart', provides the crux of the tension surrounding the issue of arranged marriages and how these are negotiated. The notion of respecting parents and elders, and the significance they attach to *biraderi*, might clash with an individual's desire to marry someone not approved by parents. To what extent such relationships are acceptable and accepted by the parents depends on the context within which boundaries between insiders and outsiders are set out. What is of special interest for our discussion is how the boundaries between acceptable, less acceptable and unacceptable choices are drawn and what they symbolise.

Those young people who felt they had a right to choose their own partner, according to Islamic teachings, also recognised the need to consider parental expectations and how their future partner would fit into the family. A majority of young people found it difficult to visualise themselves getting married to someone (chosen by their parents) who they were not familiar with. However, whilst some felt that marrying someone within the kin network was a good option since that provided the security of marrying someone known, others felt that marrying a cousin was something they would not consider as their first option since it didn't deem right, whilst some argued vociferously that the cultural tradition of marrying within kin or *biraderi* was not sanctioned by Islam. Sammi who was 13 years of age, and came from a middle class background, felt strongly against the tradition and said, 'I just think it is stupid marrying your cousins'. He felt that it would be wrong to marry one of his cousins since he had always related to them as sisters.

Sammi believed that choice of his life partner should be his decision and his parents could not make such a decision on his behalf. His mother would have concurred (as revealed in her interview) that for a marriage to be legal within Islam, it needs the full consent of both the partners and that parents were not right in making the decision on their own. However, the notion of consent is structured by intergenerational expectations, and a careful assessment of the costs and consequences of potentially losing the support of family and kin in case of serious breach of expectations (see Shaw, 1988; Drury, 1991). Hence, the boundaries between willing and unwilling conformity (cf., Drury, 1991) to parental authority can be difficult to judge, as we shall see, while what constitutes a serious breach of parental expectations and the implications for the moral identity of the young person and the family is, to a large extent, defined by gender and socio-economic background of the family.

It seems that young men might have more room for negotiation and a right to exercise their choice, whilst the norms of modesty and obedience towards parents work somewhat differently for young women (see also Atkin *et al.,* 2002). Thus, many young women recollected their friends being married at 16-17 years without any say in the matter. However, 19 year old Sakina had followed the traditional path of accompanying her parents to Pakistan after she finished school to find her a suitable match. She realised that she could not live with a man she did not know at all, who did not speak English and came from a different background (Pakistan). She convinced her parents that a match arranged overseas would not work for her, and that she wanted to return home and study for a degree instead of getting married. They agreed and Sakina was able to join University on her return home. Young women like Sakina and her sister (interviewed separately) were affronted by the fact that relatives took matchmaking - *rishte* - for granted as part of the wider kinship obligations between families, without respect for the rights of the young people themselves or the requirements of Islamic laws. Sakina's ability to change the course of events by convincing her parents, and the overall variation in how marriages were negotiated, challenge the notion of Pakistani family as a moral unity representing an overarching system of values and norms of a community perpetuating an oppressive, oriental, patriarchal system (see Brah, 1992).

For others, the question of choice did not arise since they believed their parents had the authority and right to choose their partner at the appropriate time. Mariam who was 13

years of age and quite articulate about her religious norms and beliefs, believed that her mother had the right to chose her partner at the 'right time', by which she meant when she had finished school. For her, this was not an issue about her own choice or desires. She would follow her mother's decision since she wanted her to be happy. Like many other young people, especially young women, she felt that her mother had the authority sanctioned in Islam and accepting her decision was implied in her obligation as a child to listen to her parents and 'keep them happy', as reflected in the following excerpt from her interview:

> SC: Like … do you think you should choose your partner yourself, or should mum and dad choose? Who should choose?
>
> Mariam : I think it should be my mum's choice, because how, I just I always want my mum to be happy really, you know.
>
> SC: But what if you chose somebody who she would be happy with? Then she wouldn't be unhappy with that, so that would keep both of you happy. Or do you think it's her responsibility to choose a person for you?
>
> Mariam : I'd like her to choose.
>
> SC: Do you know if it would be in the family or not? Would it be somebody related to you?
>
> Mariam : Yeah.
>
> SC: How do you know that?
>
> Mariam: Cos my sister's husband is related, that's why.

It seems that Mariam was clear about her mother's responsibility and the process and timing regarding her own eventual marriage. There was a clear family precedent that she expected herself to follow - her mother's choice - different from other families where the father's voice had more say in such important matters. It is interesting that Hassan, Mariam's brother who was 16, believed that his brother and sisters who had married first or second cousins selected by parents had, in fact, exercised their choice by accepting the match, implying that they had a right to refuse: a principle underpinning choice.

Hassan believed that he had the right to choose his own partner since it was his life, and that he would like to try different things before he committed himself to a married life. Despite his mother's strict ideals about marrying within the *biraderi*, he suggested that he

would be able to choose anyone nice irrespective of her ethnic or religious background. However, when pressed further on the implications of marrying a non-Muslim woman, and whether she would have to convert to Islam in order for her to be accepted within the family, Hassan was not clear about the details and sounded rather confused. It is important to mention that the gendered difference in Hassan and his sister's response to the question did not relate to any difference in religiosity, both believed in the religious sanctity of parental authority and the notion of obedience within Islam. Perhaps Hassan stretched the principle of choice too far and crossed a boundary in his imagination that not even the most liberal parents in our sample would ever let him transcend.

There is some evidence to suggest that the ideal norms of choice and individuality are related to a middle class ethos, whilst lower social class and higher religiosity are associated with more traditional forms of family practices (see Dhruvarajan, 1993). However, these middle class values can still be balanced against traditional and religious values of obeying parents and seeking parental approval in choosing a life partner. For example, 17 year old Summayah, whose father owned a business, felt that young women in educated families knew how to fight for their rights and were less likely to be forced into an arranged marriage regardless of their wishes. She herself believed that she had a right to education, having a social life defined by some family rues about going out and a right to choose her partner regardless of whom he was and where he came from. This fitted with her wider ethos of non-discrimination against people of other races or religions. She said that:

> You shouldn't discriminate because of anything. At the end of the day, I
> just think we're people, we're humans, no matter what religion you are. If
> someone just puts like a little tag on you, you're just people at the end of
> the day, I think. There shouldn't be anything about race or colour.

However, despite her ideals and references within the extended family to parents' cousins marrying non-Muslim Europeans, Summayah knew that the boundaries of her choice were restricted. Her parents would not object to someone who was of a different ethnic origin - Middle Eastern, Turkish or Palestinian – though her mother would prefer someone from their own background who spoke the same language, so far as he was a Muslim. Once again, though she herself believed that mixed race marriages provided a

privileged hybrid of cultures and races, she was well aware of the predicament of producing 'half caste' children. According to her parents, such children were brought up confused and without any identity, not knowing who they were and where they belonged.

The theoretical possibility of marrying a non-Muslim who converts is unable to resolve the tensions outlined above and, though sanctioned in law, remains socially unacceptable. In two families within our sample where sons, in breach of parental expectations and norms, had married a non-Muslim woman, the claims to conversion of the spouse were contested and the relationship with the extended family seriously strained. The parents in one of these families admitted, however, that had it been one of their daughters, they would have to completely sever ties with her and she would never be accepted back within the family. As suggested earlier, the idiom of family honour operates differently through daughters, and breach of norms or expectations has more serious consequences for the moral identity of daughters than of sons.

The religious legitimacy of the rule that excludes the possibility of marrying a non-Muslim helped to define the outer limits of the otherwise fluid and shifting boundaries of ethnic groups. This challenged the liberal ideology of middle class parents for whom religion does not provide the worldview underpinning the upbringing of their children. The complex layers of interface between family tradition (structure) and change (agency), the ideal norm and the norm in practice, and the subtle difference between norms for others and norms for self problematise the notion of class and the relationship between ideal norms and values in practice related to self and significant others. This is brought to sharp relief in the following summary of a middle class mother's perceptions on the subject.

Rehana, Aml's mother, a 42 year old college lecturer, came from a Punjabi speaking family from Sialkot that traced its origin from Kashmir. She was brought to England around the age of ten and was educated here. She spoke fluent English, Punjabi and Urdu, and eventually married an Urdu speaking academic whose side of the family were based in Karachi but traced their origins to Delhi (India). Their daughter (Aml, introduced earlier) was sixteen and a son who was ten. In Rehana's reconstitution of her own past and family life, one hears a clear distinction being made between her paternal and maternal sides of the family. Thus, she draws a contrast between the rural-Rajput

(*zat*) uneducated, unenlightened paternal side who were custom bound to marry within Rajputs and her Urban educated, enlightened maternal side who educated not only her mother but also her grandmother before her. Her own father had broken away from his rural background, was educated in the city and married a woman from a Kashmiri background. Though the Kashmiris also follow a long tradition of marrying within the community (equated with *zat* rather than area of origin), he was accepted within the liberal and literary atmosphere of the family, whist his own kin and *biraderi* treated him, his wife and children as outcasts.

Here, socio-economic background, especially education, is perceived as a source of change and resistance to tradition, a catalyst that expands the boundaries of social inclusion. However, Rehana recognised the contradictions in her own thinking, between the values of independence and her responsibilities towards her mother-in-law. In this case, she professed to follow and the traditional values that she had inherited, according to which son and daughter-in-law have an obligation to care of elderly parents. This was highlighted in her evaluation of the institution of arranged marriages and what goes wrong when a young person born and brought up with different values and expectations in Pakistan is married to someone brought up here. Here, Rehana draws our attention to contrasting values related to marriage and relationships premised on a distinction between different cultures associated with family life 'here' and 'back home' on one hand, and between professional or working women and women who do not work outside home on the other. Rehana emphasised:

> I think partnership in a marriage is very, very important, which is what young people are now beginning to understand *here* or beginning to expect. And whereas marriages from back home, whether it's a man or a woman, they are about dependency. One partner depends on the other and I think that dependency doesn't really always work. And a lot of the families they bring partners from Pakistan for one reason or the other. They think it's going to provide security in the marriage, which I think is a false expectation. And they also, sometimes parents think that if they marry their sons (to someone) from Pakistan… I think, they have this particular expectation that, you know, a woman from Pakistan is going to look after them in their old age. Even though that's not always true…. And they

think, you know, the professional women from here are not going to, you

know, look after their (parents), look after them towards the end.

At the same time, Rehana admitted that she herself had been trying to persuade her brother to get married to one of their cousins from Pakistan so that she would come and take care of their mother. Her mother, at the time, lived with her unmarried sister and brother across the same street as Rehana. The family dynamics between her mother and three sisters-in-law made it unlikely that she would move in with either of her sons already married:

> I don't think she'd (mother) ever be able to live on her own. And in fact I was talking to, I mean this is really, really interesting cos my youngest brother now, I was talking to him. I was saying to my mother that he should marry my cousin and this is really interesting, you know a person like me, *you know actually had the same mentality*, which you know is quite ironic. And I was telling her that, you know she's a nice girl, she's educated and you know she is one of your own and…

This sense of security derived from marrying within ones own kin or kind is at odds with the real life dynamics of family relationships where struggle over power arises not only within the conjugal relationship, or between generations, but also between women of same and proximate generations. More importantly, Rehana draws our attention to an obvious contradiction between her own professional, middle class values of marriage based on partnership and changing gendered roles and family commitments on one hand, and the traditional values and obligations protecting the interests of the elderly parents on the other.

It is interesting to see how Rehana's daughter, Aml, represented the least religious, most liberal end of the continuum of family values within our sample, perceived and negotiated these contradictions. Aml felt that her mother, despite her liberal, feminist ideas she still - like her mother - held on to some of the traditional values and resisted ideas and practices that she perceived as being specific to the White culture. This comes out in her response to how she would negotiate choice of her life partner:

SC: So … you mentioned about rules about choosing different, or making different decisions about your own life. In terms of choice of marriage partner, who do you think has the right to decide?

Aml: Me. My parents... have nothing to do with that at all, unless there comes a point where, you know, this person starts to disrespect them in some way. Then, yeah, then it becomes their business. But it's, I think, it's completely up to me who I marry and it's up to me to find them as well. I don't agree with any of this arranged marriage or any of this, 'Oh, we'll introduce you to this family', type of thing. I just don't like it at all.

SC: How do marriages take place in your circle, like in the family, extended family?

Aml: Well with my auntie, because she's sort of a generation above me … (describes how arranged marriages operate). And then if they like each other then it goes through. But if not then it doesn't. But then I think, well, you have to have actually met them on your own terms. You've got to know them yourself as a friend … you can't sort of rush into a lifetime marriage by just meeting them, you know, a couple of times…. Yeah, so that, so my mum thinks that's a very sort of *English attitude* to have, but I think it's just sensible myself.

SC: What does your dad think?

Aml: My dad thinks that's that, my dad thinks that's…, to be honest, my dad thinks that's the way to go.

SC: But how d'you think things will really go in terms of (...) intervention from mum …?

Aml: I'm sure my mum'll try to introduce me to people, but, and I'll try, and I'll sit here and fulfil the formalities. But I won't agree to any of them.

From the above excerpt, it is appears that there is a generational difference in values on the subject. Yet this difference is not shared by the father who seems to be closer in ideas to Aml than to her mother and did not believe in seeking *rishta* and 'arranging' marriages (his side of the family lived in Pakistan and nobody on his side seemed significantly involved in their affairs). Aml relied on the knowledge that mum could not arrange a *rishta* for her without his permission. Moreover, she would soon be leaving home to go to university - a strategy for seeking independence from constant moral policing and a culture of values and practices with which she was unable to identify. As

far as her mother was concerned, it was her parental responsibility to prevent her daughter form drifting too far into the White culture. This was essential for her to maintain her own moral identity as well as that of her daughter.

We might need to emphasise that Aml's responses were atypical and need to be placed within the context of her upbringing, lifestyle and how she perceived herself in relation to significant others within and outside her family. The boundaries of inclusion and exclusion for choosing friends and social life outside home and school operated differently for Aml. Unlike a majority of other young women who had least contact through friendship and socialising with white peers, especially young men, she felt closer to her white friends than she felt to other Asian, Muslim or Pakistani young people or her own cousins all of whom wore Asian clothes, ate Asian food and talked only about Asian Music and movies. All her friends at school, except one, were White and she did not think she was any different from them, or less British. However:

> Yeah, definitely. I could tell sometimes I'm Asian… by the way, the way I act when I go out. I mean like my English friends, they're gonna act, they act differently to the way I do. I'm a lot more restrained and I don't drink and things, whereas they do. I dress differently obviously, I can't wear a lot, you know, some things that they can wear (mini skirts, skimpy tops, and sleeveless blouses). So you know, I do stand out sometimes. But personality-wise, hopefully, I don't and that's why they're friends with me cos I'm more-or-less the same as them.

Here we have a notion of personality as a marker of achieving inclusiveness within a circle of White friends in a public school culture. This way of defining self and seeking friends and 'being like everyone else' (White counterparts) was done at the cost of minimising the significance of her ethnic origin and a 'bit of culture' that she had inherited from her mother and grandmother. In contrast to her mother, culture had a residual effect for Aml, as is clear from the following:

> Aml: Yeah, I was born here. My parents are here, live here. But then I look at my grandparents and think well they've come from Pakistan, so I think it's, I'm kind of lucky that, you know, I've got that little bit of culture in my life. (coughs) And

it would be very boring without it, you know, if you don't have the occasional wedding to go to and things like that. It's nice, but it's also, also nice to that, it's not, you know, too much culture where it's actually blocking you from having a good social life. It's just like…

SC: When you say culture, what exactly do you mean?

Aml: By culture? Language, a bit of language that you have to communicate in a different language, you have to go to places and wear a different kind of clothes, and occasionally, you know, eat different kinds of foods. Go shopping for different kinds of things, that's, to me that's just an ideal amount of culture. I think sometimes culture can be taken a bit too far, you know, like as I say, where religion comes into it too strongly. Where children can't go out and do what they want to do. I think that's too much, and I think I've just got just the right amount from my grandma.

SC: Mmm-hmm.

Aml: And a little bit from my mum. Then I've got my own friends who influence me with the sort of English lifestyle, so I've got a good mix, I think.

SC: What's the difference between the English lifestyle and what you would, you might define as an Asian lifestyle?

Aml: I think with an Asian lifestyle you have to be very careful that you don't upset any of your family members with your going out and a lot of things you can't really tell them. A lot of my uncles don't really know that, well my older uncles that don't really know that I go out and things like that. You have to sometimes dress up… in a certain way in front of older people. You have to, you know, behave respectfully towards them obviously. (coughs) And that's it, I think that's it really.

SC: Does religion play any part in all of this, or is that at a very different level?

Aml: I think it's related to culture, especially with the clothes thing. But then I think well if my family aren't religious, why are they fulfilling this cultural part. I've realised it's because, you know, they do get grief from people, people who are religious, then they do start to talk, which is understandable, I suppose. But then I think well, everybody should be allowed to do what they want to do, and if people want to go out with, you know, with *hijab*s on, then they should be able to do so. But then they shouldn't comment on people who don't want to.

The minimalisation of culture in Aml's construction of her self and identity was facilitated by two features that marked her sense of self and growing up differently from the experience of all other young women and men in our sample. The first was the absence of the role of religion in legitimising family practices and authority of parents, and a weaker link with the Pakistani community and kin network in moral policing over social life outside home. The second was a combination of predominantly white, private school culture, and the professional, middle class ethos at home, legitimising alternate notions of parenting and youth.

The combination of class and absence of a religious world view encompassing every sphere of social and personal life (see Dhruvarajan, 1993) was accompanied by an understanding of the world outside as less threatening to the culture at home, a point to which we shall return in the next section. This observation is supported by Aml's reference to the other Pakistani girl in their group at school who came from a 'traditional' Muslim background and was being marginalised within their group since she was not allowed to go out with friends and do the 'normal' things that everybody else did and talked about. It is important to reiterate that whilst negotiations related to social life are structured by a combination of religious world view and socio-economic background of the family, religiosity in itself does not pre-empt any particular combination of rules. This is best illustrated by Anisa who wore a *hijab* (head scarf), led a restricted life outside home and school by Aml's standards, and yet was the only girl in the school football team.

Aml's experience of growing up was radically different form others, especially young women, in the sample. For a majority of young men and women of her age, friendship ties often crosscut with kinship (and neighbourhood) ties, making it easier for young people to negotiate rules related to going out with friends for sports, movies, parties, trips and other forms of entertainment. Whilst young men obviously had more flexibility in going out with friends and staying out late than young women of same age and even older sisters, all young people were expected to strictly adhere to the rules related to drinking alcohol, smoking, goings to clubs and dating.

Aml, in contrast with others, was the only young woman in the sample who was allowed late nights at 15 with friends other than family friends until 1 am. However, both her

parents insisted on knowing where she was going, with whom, and when she would return home. She was not allowed to take taxis at night and her mother picked her up after a late night. Again, rules about drinking, smoking and sexual activity at parties were made very clear by her mother. Most of these were common concerns shared by parents of most of her White friends involving common strategies for ensuring safety of young women going out at night with friends (Brannen *et al.,* 1994). The concerns of her mother, however, went beyond the notion of safety and reflected covert moral policing exercised by the kin network and community - an issue of disagreement between the two.

It is important to mention that for Aml, her rights and responsibilities were clearly defined by law. Whilst she recognised parental authority in defining the boundaries of her social life, she also felt that it was parental responsibility to understand the needs and aspirations of their children. For her, the process of growing up into a young adult was marked by discovering the world outside home and school with friends and peers, sharing common interests and learning to lead an independent life. She believed that all young people wanted to have similar experiences across ethnic groups, and that the norms of traditional 'Asian' values imposed by parents only resulted in double standards (cf. generation and gender) and different modes of subversion of parental authority. However, as is clear from the previous sections, her assumptions regarding universal aspirations and rejection of traditional values were not shared by other young people within our sample, or supported by literature on intergenerational relationships within South Asian communities (see Drury, 1991; Afshar, 1994; Ahmad, 1996).

Culture, religion and risk: the threat from the radical other
In the preceding sections we saw how family is an important source of identity for the young people, and how this sense of identity is constituted through mutual negotiation of significant family practices. Parents assume the responsibility for passing on religious and cultural values related to gender roles, family obligations and responsibility towards kin and members of an ethnic community, as well as notions of shame and honour to their children (see Anthias, 1992). Whilst fathers are often perceived to be the rule makers, mothers have to take on the emotional responsibility for negotiating rules underlying family practices (see Brannen, 1994). We explained how young people engage with the symbolic values underlying family practices form a particular vantage point, depending on the source of legitimacy governing these values within a particular context.

A focus on these negotiations and engagement with the shifting context problematises the notion of a homogenous gender or generation, and the notion of family as a moral unity representing an overarching system of values and norms perpetuating an oppressive, oriental, patriarchal community (also see Brah, 1992).

Parents, grandparents and young people emphasised a wider understanding that children learn from what they see around themselves as family values in practice, rather than what they are told. The wider, White culture by being constituted as the radical other, poses a risk to the ideal family values and practices that are perceived to be essential to a Pakistani identity (Anwar, 1979; Shaw, 1988; Afshar, 1994; Modood *et al.,* 1994). The sense of the other, therefore, becomes bound up with ethnic identity. What is interesting, however, is that this notion of culture at risk and threat, closely implied in ideas of good parenthood, is constituted differently by families of different socio-economic backgrounds, engaging with the idea of social change from different vantage points.

We suggested that the self image of a caring 'extended family' operates in an idealised notion of a perfect past, deployed to distinguish the self from the Western other by denying any similarity in family practices between the two. In fact a majority of young people within our sample did not live with their grandparents and neither did their friends. We know that the contribution of grandparents within White families in the life of grandchildren is similar and as significant as within South Asian families (see Morrow, 1998; Allgar *et al.*, 2003). This dominant discourse, however, operates alongside a demotic discourse that perceives the Pakistani family values as breaking down under the influence of 'Western' culture. It seems to us that the wider worldview of the family as the world being a safe and stable place as opposed to an unsafe and unstable place relates, to an extent, to how secure they feel within the wider society. The socio-economic background of the family crosscutting generations, the neighbourhood and personal networks based on kinship and friendship are significant influences over this worldview.

This is reflected, for example, in how families explained their moves out of crowded inner city neighbourhoods (where most of their kin and community network might have been located) into more middle class neighbourhoods as reflecting concerns about

children picking up bad language, being exposed to smoking and drugs and other nefarious activities of youth. Such moves often highlighted internal ranking by social class within an 'ethnic' community. Thus Majid, in his late 30s, who worked for a local taxi service and had, himself, experienced a tough childhood, decided to move out of the old inner city neighbourhood where he was brought up in order to provide a better future for his children at a significant financial price. He had suffered due to lack of a proper education and qualifications impeding any prospect of upward mobility (his father had been a taxi driver in the past). Hence, he was determined to take personal interest in his children's education and believed that education was the key to addressing inequalities, disadvantage and racism within society. He worked shifts so that he was home when the children returned from school in order to keep an eye on their homework and routine:

> Majid: The other thing is I live in a good area. There isn't many bad people around here. *Everybody is educated* around this area. First we have to think which area is best for our kids to live in.
>
> SC: Is that how you selected this house?
>
> Majid: Oh yes!
>
> SC: Where did you live earlier? Where was your father's house?
>
> Majid: It's not far. But it wasn't a good area, especially if you have a council estate near by, and pubs too. I don't think it's a good area. In this area, there is a hospital nearby, infant school…. Kids spend less time going to school and coming back from school. You have to think about these things.

Conversely, there is resentment about 'white flight' from certain middle class neighbourhoods, where a growing number of Asian/Pakistani families have recently bought property. These families are sometimes perceived to have less education more money, no civic sense, and their young men are believed to be rowdy, ill tempered and aggressive.

As mentioned earlier, each family operates with a certain worldview of world outside home as dangerous or stable, necessitating different forms of surveillance and control over the activities and social life of young people (see Reiss, 1981). The mode of surveillance seems to be closely related to how confident the parents feel about outside

world; their own educational and occupational background; religious ideas, networks within/across ethnic and class barriers and so on. We saw how, in Aml's family, the professional background, middle class neighbourhood and exclusive private school education defined boundaries of social life in a radical contrast with other families. The following extract from Salman's mother, Tasleem's interview provides an interesting contrast where the mother from a lower middle class background, who was born and brought up in Pakistan and educated up to (the equivalent of) 'A' levels there, exercised extreme levels of surveillance on her sons' activities during and after school. The family lived in a predominantly working class background where the quality of schools and level of educational achievement of young people form ethnic minority communities has been a cause of serious concern.

The crux of Tasleem's argument was that children have to be socialised into a 'desirable' culture and environment where they learn the values they are surrounded by at home, since school and extra domestic space projected values contrary to these. In Tasleem's view, her notion of ideal motherhood as the preserver and instructor of cultural values was at odds with women who wished or needed to be at work while their children 'fended for themselves'. Since her husband worked for an electronics company and they had only one car, it was her major responsibility to take care of the children's education and keep a strict eye on their activities during and after school:

> ….look at my children *mashallah* (with Allah's blessings), its not that I'm praising them, but you have to explain family values to them. Whether they turn good (internalise these values) or bad (or not), whatever happens eventually, you might think that is their *kismet* (destiny). You should have full control over your children - not control them like force them into doing things - no! Children, like my children went to school, (I gave them) full attention. I took full responsibility for them, taking them to school and bringing them home. Even when they had a free lesson or free time, I brought them home and took them back to school.

She continued:

> The eldest *mashallah* (with Allah's grace) goes to university, the second one will go to college…. I told them…sometimes…if you go out at 7 o'clock

now then [look at] how dark it is, I do not like my children to go out wandering with boys and go break into cars on the road. I do not like these things. It is right that our boys are doing these terrible things out in the streets. If you are going to live, wherever you live, be it Pakistan or here, live in a proper, decent way, so that people think well of you.

This strict regime, resented initially by the boys but appreciated and internalised eventually, ensured that her sons did very well at school and learnt the values prescribed in their religion regarding gender relationships, respect for parents and grandparents, respect for teachers and other members of their community. This notion of parenthood is at odds with the Western, middle class ideas of parenting skills and psychoanalytical notions of growing up as seeking independence (for a review, see Allgar *et al*, 2003). Indeed research has shown that young people from predominantly working class, Pakistani background learn fewer life skills at school leaving age than their White peers (Katz, 2002: 31-33). However, what constitutes life skills and autonomy might itself reflect a class and ethnocentric bias and be constituted differently between and within ethnic communities. What is important for our discussion is how young people themselves relate to and negotiate parental authority and cultural values within a particular family *milieu*.

Thus, some of the young people in our sample believed that their culture was at threat of being corrupted by their contemporaries (young people) who were adopting a Western (or White) life styles and values. Others, felt that parents who themselves had adopted White values were the corrupting force since they were not able to pass on their cultural and religious heritage to their children, and exercise control over them. Hence, looking at the wide variation in family values and practices, any notion of social change needs to be understood diachronically over time but also synchronically within and between generations. As rightly observed by Shaw (1988), we need to differentiate between social change (a collective form of change in values and practices) and conflict of values between generations that might be part of any community, and conflicting gender values within and between generations.

Let us take one example that personifies risk and cultural displacement, and explain how this threat was formulated. We mentioned earlier the severe opprobrium attached to the

idea of any form of sexual desire or liaison between young men and women, and the ideal notions of gender segregation. Whilst more and more young Muslim women of Pakistani origin are at high school, college and university, and at work outside home, any sign of having a relationship with a young man can have serious reverberations for the moral identity of a young woman and her family. As one of the parents put it, boys can make mistakes (have girl friends or sexual relationships), that is bad enough but if a girl digresses on to the 'wrong path', she brings disgrace to the whole family and ruins her future and chances of a suitable match (see also Shaw, 1988; Atkin *et al.*, 2002). This ties in with our earlier discussion of the notion of girls being treated as '*amant*' or property of another family that they eventually marry into, and why they need to be protected.

The idea of 'having boy friends and girl friends', a sign of young people as sexually active beings, does not fit with the Islamic way of growing up since their sexuality is recognised only within marriage. This concern, however, seems common to South Asian cultures in general (and is perhaps not unknown among the White population), and explains the strict moral policing of young people's social life within these communities (see, for example, Brah, 1992; Ahmad, 1996 for a review). As mentioned earlier, it is the possibility of breach of this norm, apart from parental obligations and expectations that prompts some parents to organise *rishte* (marriage alliance between two families) of their daughters when they are still 16-18 years old and finishing school. What is important for our discussion is that sexuality of young men and women is legitimised only through the institution of marriage. Whilst premarital and extra-marital affairs are a part of every day life in Pakistan as here, as noted by Shaw (1988), a breach of norms is constituted in terms of the corrupting influence of the wider White culture. Thus young people, especially, young women, need to be protected form the evil influences of the 'club culture' that encourages sexual and moral laxity and ideas of 'independence and other rude things' (see Anwar, 1979). Marrying daughters sooner than later is a risk minimising strategy within a morally uncertain environment.

This notion of risk and the West as the radical other constituted as morally distant was central to the initial process of settlement of single men arriving from the subcontinent. The grandmothers and mothers in the sample narrated stories of being left behind in Pakistan with young children to care for, while their husbands worked here (see Ballard on the myth of return, 1994; Anwar, 1979). When it was time to finally join their

husbands, some of the mothers were advised to leave their daughters behind (in Pakistan) in order to ensure that they had the right upbringing and were married appropriately. For example, Summayah's paternal grandmother, Shakeela Bequm, brought her children here to join her husband after many years of separation. Life here, however, was radically different and she was so unhappy that she left her sons with her husband and took her daughter back to Pakistan. She finally settled down here only after her daughter had been educated and married in Pakistan. As she put it:

> I didn't like it because there was too much shamelessness and nakedness. We don't *have this in our religion* no matter what happens. People do things inside, but they don't do it in front of you, no matter what. So I thought that I would take my daughter back home. I mean, I was very upset.

What the above excerpt illustrates is how the shamelessness and nakedness within White culture was perceived as a threat to her family's religious identity, and a threat to the upbringing of her daughter. Different families seemed to have adopted different strategies for dealing with this threat. Also, these movements within families and fulfilment of moral obligations towards children would not be possible outside the notion of a shared parenthood and the support of extended family back in Pakistan, and a network of kin in UK. Rather than being a thing of the past, these arrangements continue to exist, making it essential for us to understand the complexity of family forms and intergenerational as well as intra generational obligations operating across continents (also see Katz, 2002). Whilst financial remittances overseas may or may not be a regular feature of these obligations, depending both on the nature of kin ties and financial situation of the families involved, life course events of birth, marriage, serious illness and death necessitate continuity in patterns of emotional, practical and financial support over a period of time.

Salience of Pakistani origin: drawing strength from two traditions
We saw how the notion of culture, tradition and religion provide legitimacy for family practices and how these are implicated in how young people are defined and define themselves in relation to significant others. However, 'being of Pakistani origin' and 'having roots in Pakistan' carried different meaning for the young people, their parents and grandparents. Different family histories make it difficult to generalise for a

generation as a whole. Apart from the symbolic referral to Pakistan as *mulk* or *vatan* (country of origin, motherland), and the land inhabited by memories of childhood and youth, existing kin ties and proximity of those ties, ties to land, immovable property and burial sites, pilgrimage centres and sacred sites, contributed in different measures to the salience of Pakistani origin for parents and grandparents. Shakeela Begum, who was in her late 70s, for example, felt no special ties with Pakistan now that all her brothers and sisters had died, she had no property there, and her own children, grand children and relatives lived in England. This was her home now. In contrast, her daughter-in-law Farida, who was 45 years of age, had lived in Pakistan until she was married. Her emotional links with Pakistan were still strong since all her close kin form the natal side still lived there. As we can see from the following excerpt, she defined her roots in terms of kinship that lends a sense of continuity to a narrative on self otherwise disrupted by the process of migration:

SC: And when you think about yourself, do you see yourself as being Pakistani?

Farida: Now it seems to me that I am neither from here nor from there [laughs] I am left in between…. I still feel inside, you know, that I have been here for so long that you have to adopt new things here to live in this environment, *you have to*. But still, inside, I still feel I am a part of there (Pakistan), because my roots (English term used) are there…. But when you think that this is your home - your husband, your children - then half of you is attached to here. But *your heart….* [deep down , you belong to Pakistan].

SC: And when you said *your roots* where there what did you mean by that?

Farida: My parents were there (who died a few years ago), my parents and sisters and brothers… these are my roots aren't they?

SC: Have you ties of affection with the land, the familiar sights, smells and the air?

Farida: Absolutely I hate winter here, I just hate it. But I don't have a choice. My children and home are here - I have to bear it….

SC: You were talking about roots and you said that your roots where there…

Farida: My roots being there meaning, in one sense, that I still have the attraction for Pakistan, to go there still, to meet my sisters, brothers, relatives … but not to live there.

Farida admitted that for her children Pakistan was important only as a place to visit relatives, for holidays but not to live, or a place where they belonged. She was tied to places through kinship, her roots and memories of the past. As suggested by Mannheim (1982: 264), there is a qualitative difference between personally acquired memory and appropriated memory not related to personal experience. This is the crucial difference, it seems to us, in the shifting symbolic and emotional salience of Pakistan origin for those who spent their childhood and youth, or a greater part of their old age in Pakistan and feel a sense of 'uprootment' and displacement.

As far as the young people are concerned, having close kin (grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins) and contact through visits, letters, telephone, exchange of letters, emails photographs and gifts makes a significant difference to how close they feel to their Pakistani heritage. In a way, close kin ties, family and financial obligations reinforce ties to a cultural heritage through overseas visits to and fro, especially at life events such as serious illness, weddings and funerals. Some young people defined the notion of roots as tracing their blood or kin ties; others emphasised that having roots in Pakistan symbolised where their parents and grandparents, religion, customs and values came from. Others with least contact through kin or other ties suggested that Pakistani origin meant little to them since they had never been there or lived there. Yasmin, a 19 year old young woman of Pathan origin, and her sister who was at the university, did not think being a Pathan or Pakistani had any significance for them, though they would like to hold on to their 'mother tongue' that they spoke only haltingly. As far as roots were concerned, Yasmin said:

> I think where you are born, that is where your roots are - that is what I
> believe. It's like my mum's been here all her life but she was born in Sri
> Lanka. So I think… wherever you are born…cos even my sister-in-law is
> here. She has been here a year and a half and, you know, whether she is
> happy or not, I think her roots will always be back home.

It is important to mention that Yasmin's reference to her roots being here, and her sense of loyalty to Britain, did not preclude a sense of identification with Pakistan, since she was brought up within a Pakistani culture and community. She had a clear sense of her

social boundaries and identity as reflected in her criticism of her paternal uncle who behaved like an Englishman and whose children were following his footsteps.

Yasmin's criticism of her Uncle's way of life points to the complex, subtle and multiple contexts within which young people need to engage with notions of ethnicity and identity. Hence, young people were often critical of others perceived to be emulating the 'White' or 'English' way of life. As 16 year old Mehar pointed out:

> Like they talk like as f they're from, they're like English. But what they
> don't realise is, right, it dun't matter even if you're gonna act like them lot,
> you're still gonna be known as being coloured.

As far as Mehar was concerned, his sense of belonging to Pakistan was derived from this ascribed status by the White peers since, at the end of the day, no matter what he did and how he behaved he would still be known as a Pakistani. He himself wasn't interested in Pakistan, nor did he have any sense of affinity for Pakistan. As he said, 'No, I wouldn't really like to visit. I can't be arsed to visit the place, you know, it is kind of, what you call it, innit now, different'. He wasn't interested in all this talk about Pakistan, and when his parents talked about the place, he felt bored, not knowing what they were talking about. Accordingly, he was clear in his mind that he would not marry anyone from Pakistan since she would belong to another culture altogether and they would have little to share with each other. Hence, at one level, Pakistani origin and ethnicity did not make sense to Mehar. Yet, he knew that no matter how he behaved, and what he believed, he would still have to reckon with being perceived as 'coloured' and defined as Pakistani.

It has been suggested that religion is becoming a more important source of identity than ethnicity for the young 'British Pakistani' people (see Jacobson, 1997). Some of our other work suggests that ethnicity and Pakistani identity may not be that important for some young people, who have disabilities, and perceive themselves as British Muslim (see, Atkin *et al.*, 2002). There is evidence to suggest that apart from discrimination within the wider society, disability within South Asian communities can result in lack of access to cultural resources and marginalisation in the broader processes of negotiation of family practices. Whilst one agrees that there is a distinction between the particularism of ethnic identity and universalism of religious identity, the issue here is not

that young people are discarding their ethnic origin in favour of religion but that they engage with notions of ethnicity, religion and culture within a particular context. Having said that, it is clear that the salience of Pakistani origin and that place 'back home' has shifted. For the young people, the links with Pakistan are forged through appropriated memory of where 'they (their parents and grandparents) came from' and racist constructions of being a 'Paki'.

We saw how the notion of home as a symbolic space that embodies culture, tradition, history and order is reconstituted through a dialogue with the world outside home or through the idea that the West represents moral disorder and chaos (see, Papastergiadis 1982). Further, within the patchwork of new home, the self narratives of people who migrated are also informed by different notions and memories of a nation. It seems that a lack of confidence in the state, education and employment structure as well as wider experiences of racism and feelings of 'partial citizenship' accentuate the sense of homelessness and the threat of being dislocated that some immigrant parents felt. Tasleem's husband, Arshad, for example, had spent his childhood in Kenya and suffered a dislocation and loss of home during the exodus in the 1970s, before settling in the UK. He felt that even though his children were born here and were British citizens, their future was far from secure, and that they would have to strive harder than their white peers to progress in life:

> For example, I worked in the industry (as an engineer) and these days our Asians are in industries too, but they are finding it hard to progress in their career….   Asians do not get as many opportunities within industries to rise to a management position (and he felt that ethnic monitoring was used as a tool to discriminate against those who were not White) …. I think that our government, that this British government, should give Asians more opportunities to progress so that we can prove that we are hard working and that with hard work we can progress.

It is interesting that one of the fathers, who was a parent governor at the local school, felt that the poor performance of inner city schools in Bradford served the State's interests in keeping the marginalised Asian communities subjugated by denying them the opportunities available to most White young people through education and employment.

However, his mistrust for any form of 'ideological state apparatus' potentially including our research, represented an extreme end of the spectrum. There were others whose extreme views involved a more serious structural critique of the relationship between the Muslim community and the state, largely informed by the international relations between West and the Muslim world than by their own personal experience. Majid, for example, had strong ties with Pakistan through land and a wide kin network and had spent most of his childhood shuttling between the two countries. He felt that it was important for his children to go back to Pakistan to maintain those ties. At the same time, his comments reflect serious concern about his own and his children's citizenship rights within this country, premised on both structural and cultural explanations:

SC: How important is it going to be for them? Because you came from there [Pakistan] you were born there, as you say you have roots there?

Majid: I have roots there. That is our country. Even though we are British, this is not our *country we can't accept it.*

SC: Why not?

Majid: Because we know it's not our country. It's all right I have nationality (citizenship), but at the end of the day…

SC: Do you have a British passport?

Majid: Yes. My kids hold it. My kids…a couple of kids were born here. We know we're British, but the reality is we are not British. They can kick us out from here whenever they want

SC: Right! So is it that you don't feel you don't really belong here, although you live here you work here….

Majid: Basically, I don't believe. When I get retired I'm not living in this country. When I'm old, when I'm going… (dying) I'm going to Pakistan. That's my country, that's my roots and I love my country.

Later on in the interview he was asked to further elaborate on the issue:

SC: … And you feel that this country could never ever be yours?

Majid: No, I can't. I won't accept it!

SC: You won't accept it or is it that the people here [UK] won't accept you?

Majid: It's both… It's both reasons

SC: But you … let's talk about one thing at a time. Why can't you accept that this is your country? If you are a British citizen and you hold a British passport….

Majid: I will tell you why I won't accept it…. For example, there is a husband and his wife… within these (White) people there is always an issue between the husband and the wife. If the wife doesn't want to live with her husband, and the husband tends to ignore her decision… it ends in a divorce. Ok, then there is another reason, that these people [British] called us when they were helpless and had no other choice. The War had ended, there was a shortage of men (who could work). We have helped them build their country, but in the end they still say, 'These are Pakis ok?' However, we adapt and live in their communities, we marry their daughters but in the end they will still say, 'They are bloody Pakis'. They won't accept us into their community.

Majid goes on to explain that the differences are irresolvable since these are premised on religious, ideological differences, as manifest in different ways of thinking, referring to different values (divorce, intergenerational relationships) and persecution of Muslims by the West. This is a complicated argument where a notion of Western imperialism is explained and experienced through a particular religious ideology that denies Majid a sense of belonging to the larger society. Hence feelings of partial citizenship are articulated through different metaphors located within a particular ideological rhetoric, seeking legitimacy from different sources. For a majority of our research participants, feelings of partial citizenship arose from the attitude of professionals, who represent the state through schools, social services, health and social care agencies. We shall now turn to this relationship between family, community and the State.

The interaction between family, community and state

In our introduction, we suggest that family relationships are central to our understanding of the larger social context within which health and social care provision needs to be located. Given this, it seems to us that we need to look at the relationship between family, community and state within ideological terms since state intervention and policies represent, and are perceived as an incursion of, a set of values on family and social life.

Various reports have reinforced concerns about the quality of social support services provided to black and ethnic minority communities (see Butt and Mirza, 1996; for a review of family support services, see Qureshi *et al.*, 2000). Lack of awareness and understanding about ethnic minority cultures and pathologisation of families from ethnic minority backgrounds, and the impact this has on the quality of health and social care received is well documented (see Atkin and Rollings, 1993; Walker and Ahmad, 1994; Atkin and Ahmad, 2000). Literature also suggests that families of South Asian origin are poorly informed about social services in general, and that South Asian men, in particular, seem to believe that social workers interfere with family life and are responsible for breaking up families and encouraging young women to leave home (see Qureshi *et al.*, 2000).

As part of the larger strategy for improving services and exploring the appropriate ways of supporting young people and their families, it is important to understand how young people and their parents perceive their relationship with professionals providing health, social care and services. This section will focus on situations where State intervention in family life is deemed to be legitimate and look at examples of good practice. It will also look at situations where professional intervention representing state is considered an infringement of filial responsibility and family values.

We asked all participants to reflect on a real or imaginary situation of conflict between parents and a young person. The common scenario discussed within this context was where a) a young man and woman are having a relationship disapproved by the parents and b) a case where social services intervene in the interest of the young person. Whilst young people as well as parents agreed that the issue is best resolved through mutual negotiation rather than violent or severe punishment, parent-child relationship was not considered an area for state surveillance, intervention and control. As a corollary of the (religious) obligations of parents towards children, nobody understands the interests of the children better than their parents. Having said that, though endorsed by a majority of young people themselves, this belief in itself neither ensures nor precludes good parenting in practice.

A majority of parents and grandparents believed that the White values of independence, autonomy and rights of young people served to encourages children to disregard family

values and practices. Hence, they emphasised that young people were encouraged to seek help from various 'Help-Lines' and Social Service professionals at school and College, which undermined the role of parents and parental authority that might be shared by significant adults within a particular family. State or professional intervention that results in families being 'split-up' or young people given practical and financial support to live independently was considered a violation of the sanctity of family life (also see Qureshi *et al.*, 2000).

Further, within this dominant discourse, the threat of White culture and values of independence and autonomy are perceived to corrupt the young people into challenging parental authority, threatening the moral fabric that holds the family together as part of an 'imagined' community (cf. Anderson, 1991). The notion of respect and fear for parents, elders and teachers is perceived to be part of this moral fabric holding the 'Asian/Muslim' community together. According to Majid, for example:

> If children do not listen to their parents, they will become westernised and there will be no difference between them and the English community.

As mentioned in an earlier section, respect for parents and obedience is defined as an obligation for children that derives legitimacy from religion and is, therefore, treated seriously by both sides. The wider White community and the school (co-educational) system are often perceived as a threat to these and other values related to 'decent behaviour' and respect for elders that children might be taught at home (see Ahmad *et al.*, 2002). It is important to reiterate that whilst the notion of autonomy is constituted differently between White and South Asian cultures, the acts of subversion of parental authority and surveillance of the community are part of intergenerational relationships rather than an influence of Western or White values *per se*, as observed earlier.

Sakina Bi, Rubi's grandmother (introduced earlier), felt strongly that as a Muslim family, children and grandchildren have to be taught values of honesty, decent behaviour, and respect for elders and teachers to instil strong family and community values. She emphasised that family matters and disagreements between children and parents can only be solved within the family rather than through state/professional intervention. Like

other parents and grandparents, she believed that Social workers do not understand or appreciate these family values since they follow a white world view within which children are treated as independent and having rights of their own. She provided the example of Rubi's friend who had a disagreement with her mother (described as a good, caring and loving mother, though one that probably put too much pressure on her children to conform) about not being allowed to meet a particular boy. This girl went too far and contacted a social worker, which was a breach of boundaries between the family and state as representing the public domain. She ought to have confided in her mother and sorted the matter out. According to Rubi's version of the story, the whole affair was a mistake, the boy was not committed and her friend should have returned home the same day rather than cause trouble for two families:

> My friend was staying there for about two or three nights, then she went to Social Services where she stayed for some time. Then she had to go through a whole court case to, you know, cos she wanted to go back home afterwards, cos she realised what mistake she had made and everything. She's going through the court case and everything, and like a lot of people have got in trouble for this thing. Like her dad, like kind of kidnapped that boy's brother and it was just… the whole thing's was a mess. So, like, it wasn't only her who was affected, it was her whole family as well….

Rubi concluded that though her friend was back with her parents and at school, social services had to check the credibility of her parents and to make sure that she was in a safe environment. Her friend had lost the respect of her peers at school, her father faced charges for kidnapping the boy's brother, and the family were forced to leave the town since the whole affair was within the public domain. The parents were blamed by the wider community for not having raised their daughter properly. Professional intervention in such matters results in loss of face for the family within the community, apart from undermining the parental authority, it signifies a breakdown of the more accepted, kin based, networks for negotiation and reconciliation. The crux of the argument was summarised by Majid, who said that, 'Social services and other organisations are the ones who disgrace us, do you understand?' Whilst we did not notice a gender divide in parents' perception of social services and the work of social workers as observed by Qureshi *et al.* (2000), the statements represented above related to

others, or to hypothetical situations, rather than direct experiences within the family. We shall see below how the context within which interaction with health and social care professionals takes place might shape these perceptions differently.

The above discussion draws our attention to how family and State are seen to represent conflicting values regarding the rights and autonomy of young people within the community, and notions of parental responsibility and authority. It is interesting that participants had more varied responses to professional intervention in hypothetical situations representing conjugal conflict, though close kin and elders were expected to play a mediatory role in such matters. This might well be since conjugal relationship is defined as a mutual contract and, though divorce is (mistakenly) perceived to be a Western phenomenon, religious law allows for the mutual dissolution of the contract. Without getting into a relativist position, the above discussion points to a major difference in notions of parenting, parental authority and the rights of the young person under the UN convention, calling for a wider debate on the laws and forms of state intervention in family life within a multiethnic British society.

Negotiating professional relationships within the context of health
There are other aspects of family life where state or professional help is negotiated differently within the broader context of illness, disability and caring. As mentioned earlier, the idealised notion of a caring, extended family is used to distance the self from the other. Whilst the dominant external and internal discourses constructs the 'Asian' family as caring and taking care of its own, caring and carers' needs are in fact very similar to those of the majority community (see, Atkin and Rollings, 1994; Chattoo *et al.,* 2002). Bulk of caring is provided by women within families. Poverty, unemployment and underemployment, poor housing and higher incidence of disability and chronic conditions exacerbate the condition for those living on the edge irrespective of ethnic background (Beresford, 1994).

Ideas of family obligations and expectations of caring, in light of the moral policing of the community, and wider negative values associated with disability can further isolate Asian parents and carers who might be reluctant to seek professional help or benefits (see Katbamna *et al.,* 2000). A lack of understanding of the system and breakdown of communication between parents and professionals concerned can result in long delays in

dealing with a particular situation. Let us take the extreme case of a family where a 12 year old boy, Javed, had recently moved with his mother and siblings to join his father who had worked here most of his life.

Javed had sustained serious brain injury in a road accident a year ago in Pakistan but had recovered well. However he had lost a year of school, was slower in his responses, had weak bladder control and suffered difficulty in remembering things and places. His mother was worried about teachers treating him unfairly if she disclosed that he had problems, and feared that her son might be sequestrated into a special school for mentally challenged children. She wanted her son to have mainstream education but felt unable to discuss the issue with anybody since she was new to the town and to the educational system here.

It is hardly surprising that Javed experienced difficulties when he joined school, especially since he did not speak English and had no friends. His school fellows picked on him and teased him about his clothes, shoes and bag and he got into trouble with the teachers who assumed that he was being difficult and disobedient ('like other Pakistani boys'). Javed was traumatised by these experiences and refused to go back to school. The matter was given to the school community liaison teacher who discussed the issues with Javed's mother at home. Eventually he was referred to an educational psychologist who conducted the standard tests in English with the help of an interpreter. The psychologist's report suggested that a language and cultural bias made it difficult to assess Javed's level of cognitive development and reasoning skills. In the interim, Javed's mother was put in touch with a local community organisation and other services. She herself felt that he should be offered home tuition until a decision was made regarding his future schooling. He was given a special needs statement and a place back at the old school. At the end of the first year, according to his mother, Javed was not provided the one to one support that he needed, and was finding it difficult to deal with children who teased him. His teachers continued to remain anxious about his behaviour though he was said to be making progress in class. His mother was worried that being at school caused him emotional distress and that he was losing weight and finding things difficult. Despite the involvement of a bilingual educational social worker and the school liaison teacher, she was not able to find a school where his needs would be recognised and addressed.

Javed's mother's decision to hide his condition from the school made sense within the context of her fears about him being sent away to a special school for 'mentally retarded' children; and wider negative attitudes towards impairment and disability within her own community. There is an issue here about opening the debate about disability within Asian communities (see Ahmad *et al.,* 2002 for a broader discussion of these issues) as well as making equal opportunities training mandatory for school staff. We know little about how children with various levels of impairment not apparent to others are treated within the mainstream school system, and how inclusive schools are in addressing their needs. Javed's experience also points towards the initial absence of any professional links between the family, school and the community that could have facilitated the period of transition to a new system and given his mother the confidence to discuss his problem with the school teachers at the beginning, rather than when things got out of hand. A the same time, parents like herself and her husband who do not speak English and can not understand the educational system benefit a great deal by the presence of a bilingual liaison teacher or professional who helps to bridge the gap and enables parents to participate more actively in the school life of their children (see Katz, 2002).

There is evidence to suggest that lack of access to knowledge about services, and often poor quality of services results in poor outcomes for certain chronic conditions, such as, coronary heart disease and diabetes, among ethnic minority populations (see Nazroo, 1997). As we have seen, it has been observed that popular stereotypes and attitudes of professionals towards South Asian families affect the pattern of referrals to secondary and social care services (Bhakta *et al.,* 2000), not recognising their support needs, often leaving patients and carers to fend for themselves.

One of the grandmothers in our sample, Sakina Bi, for example, recalled how she had struggled on her own with six children (including two energetic twins), a meagre income and a small house with no running hot water. One of her sons was diagnosed with Hodgkin's disease for which he needed chemotherapy at the age of six. She managed without any practical support professionals or her sister-in-law, her only relative living close by, who was busy with her own children. Consequently, her eldest daughter had to stay off school to take care of the twins when she took her son to the hospital (both mother and daughter broke down at that point in the interview). Although friends provided moral support and were 'closer than family', there was no practical support for

her either from the extended family or from services. She was unaware of any services or benefits until her daughter was diagnosed to have Multiple Scoliosis.

Sakina Bi did not have own parents, siblings, aunts or uncles to help her out. It is important to note that the presence of a wide network ok close or distant kin does not ensure that the support required by a particular family or person will be available. Indeed, the previous cycles of material and moral obligations, existing interpersonal conflicts, as well as material resources affect the level of support available to a family from their kin network (see Finch and Mason, 1993). As suggested earlier, kin relationships have to be recognised and maintained through reciprocity for obligations to be realised in practice. In fact, Mr Iman would say that kinship is about reciprocity rather than obligations *per se*. According to him, 'If you go to visit someone once, they might visit you twice. If you don't visit uncles and aunts, they will not visit you'. However, whilst it is obligatory for relatives to visit someone who is ill or facing hardship, these visits often do not involve offering practical, material help or support. We shall now try and explain some of the context within which seeking help from state through social services is experienced as a legitimate option and how wider kinship obligations and failed responsibility play a part in all this.

Iman and his wife, Hajira Bibi, lived with their six children and had a daughter who was severely disabled. The couple remembered bitterly the time when their house caught fire and they had to move to a council flat without any personal belongings. As we have seen, while the family had a wide network of relatives, including siblings, some of whom lived locally, nobody came forward to offer practical or material support, not even by way of old clothes and furniture. It is understandable that the couple believed that friends, neighbours and social care professionals who had helped at the time and afterwards were better than family. In fact relying on professional help was ideal for a family in their situation since kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties are bound by an obligation to return favours, or material or practical support received, whereas professional help involves peace of mind since it is non-reciprocal and free from an obligation to return. Hence state help is the best help since, as articulated by Hajira Bibi:

> They are the people who have helped us. When we received the house next
> door, they gave us the hoist, the wheelchair, and slings. They came four

times to our house during the holidays. When my daughter went to school, they came three times. They have helped us more than our relatives. If we depend on our relatives or neighbours, they may let us down. It is better to rely on the council. We have peace of mind.

The couple might have been exaggerating the lack of support from their relatives to highlight the feuds, bickering and disagreements, a constant feature of extended family life that is often neglected in literature. They were disappointed that they had turned down the offer of a better house in order to live close to their siblings and other relatives, who they had assumed would help with their daughter's care, and routine matters of every day life, and provide the emotional security of being close to your kin. Mrs Iman said:

> We turned it (better house) down to live near our close family members. At that time only his sisters and my brother lived in this area. And because we thought our relatives lived here and because we didn't know how we would cope with our daughter we decided to stay in this area. Even if they didn't help us, *we felt secure* that they were close by. The children would think twice before fooling around (there would be uncles, aunts to keep an eye on them, reflecting a notion of parental responsibility being shared with close relatives). If we couldn't make it on time to pick the children, they could stay with the relatives. This is the reason we refused the house they offered. Now we realise that we should have accepted that house even if it was at a distance.

The desire to stay close to their relatives, however, had resulted in accepting a house that was inappropriate for the needs of their daughter who was paralysed and not able to speak or take care of her personal needs. The professionals from social services and the council, despite their continuous support were not able to understand some of their caring needs. Their daughter was confined to her room, and as Hajira Bibi remarked:

> My daughter sleeps in that room and we sleep on the sofa. It has been three/four years since both of us sleep on the sofa day and night. The council have told us to sleep upstairs and use the intercom. When I'm on

my own I get scared sleeping on my own. My daughter can't speak and feels secure knowing we are nearby. If we sleep upstairs and something happens to her, if she has a cough, by the time we come down anything could happen to her.

Iman added:

We need a house where everything is on the ground level, the bedroom etc. My daughter likes to be with her brothers and sisters. If they are on the computer she wants to be with them and participate with them but at the moment she uses a wheelchair and can't go upstairs or into the kitchen. She can't go in the front room if they (siblings are) sitting there. If the house were to be on ground level, she could move around freely.

Inadequate housing is a pervasive problem facing many disabled people and their carers (see, Anionwu and Atkin, 2001). However, Hajira Bibi admitted that, at times, the professionals did not understand what they (parents) wanted, just as they failed to understand why their demand for a house at one level could not be addressed. Their daughter had been offered respite care at a local hostel for young disabled people where she could board. They felt unsure about the quality of (institutional) care that she would receive there and believed that no one can look after a child better than the parents, and it was their responsibility to take care of their daughter. They were, however, happy to receive help with personal care at home twice a day. This distinction between domiciliary and institutional care is well recognised in literature on caring within South Asian families (see, Bhakta, 2001).

We looked at one example of good practice where the support provided through statutory services enabled Iman and his wife to fulfil their responsibilities of taking care of their daughter at home, though there were other issues that remained unaddressed. It is important to learn from a contrasting experience of a family where despite professional input the family felt unsupported, especially since the role of the carers in this case was seriously undermined by one of the professionals. We present the family experience from the perspective of the young woman rather than her parents since she felt strongly about the issues she wanted to raise. She was also a young carer herself and someone

whose childhood had been radically altered by the unfair share of disability and chronic illness within her family.

Fifteen year old Rehana lived with her paternal grandmother, parents, two elder sisters, and two younger siblings in a terraced house. Rehana's grandmother was suffering from cancer and needed help with her daily routine. Her father had been suffering from a mental health problem and had not worked for many years. Her mother suffered from a painful colon condition for which she had undergone surgery resulting in a colostomy bag. Rehana's two elder sisters were disabled. The eldest, who was 22 years old at the time, was a wheelchair user and needed 24 hour personal care. Rehana explained how, under the circumstances, she had to assume responsibilities towards her sisters and be like their 'second mother', and also help her mother in taking caring of home. The family received professional help with the disabled sisters and were in contact with a social worker.

Rehana was quite upset by the attitude of the social worker who, she felt, had no understanding of the family culture and no respect for her parents. She narrated one particular instance as an example of his discriminatory and racist attitude towards the family that reveals complete lack of understanding of family values, roles and shared responsibility within a kin network. The following instance needs to be located within its larger context. Rehana's paternal uncle, also her mother's cousin, who used to live in France, had died suddenly. Rehana's father had to rush to France to facilitate release of the body to be buried in Pakistan and her mother had to go to Pakistan to support the rest of the family in their bereavement. Rehana was left in charge of the family at home but was supervised by her aunt (father's sister) and older cousin who lived within the neighbourhood (shared parental responsibility). During her parents' absence, the social worker (a man of Afro-Caribbean origin) visited the family. Rehana explained what followed:

> Rehana: And, you know, he can discriminate against people, which I feel, is really wrong. Whereas me as a person, I don't say it to the face. I keep it inside, but you know, I feel really bad, I feel as if I'm in…
> SC: How do you know when you're being discriminated against?
> Rehana : Because he…(pause)

SC: Can you give us an example?

Rehana : An example of someone, I won't mention their name…

SC : No, no, don't mention the name, just an example…

Rehana : It's like, d'you know, once … (social worker) came in, right, and my dad was away. My uncle passed away and my dad was in Pakistan, and this person goes, 'Well, I'm sure he's enjoying himself over there and he's left you over here'.

SC: Oh, right, okay!

Clearly, the professional had no insight into the family circumstances and had not bothered to cross check the details: assuming that a trip overseas must mean a pleasure trip, a holiday.

On another occasion, the social worker had brought a trainee (visitor) along and showed no respect for Rehana's parents who, although not speaking English, understood many words and phrases. Rehana also felt the social worker ignored her feelings and undermined her presence and role as a young carer:

> (He)… came in, right, and brought a visitor along, and he goes, 'He (father) sleeps all days, he sleeps all day long and she (mother) eats all day and she sits around'. That's all he said to the new visitor and she looked quite, you know, shocked. And I felt really bad because, you know, this person has known us for a couple of years, good couple of years, and he turns round and said *that*. It really hurts inside. Cos when my dad, he can't really, he can understand but he can't, you know, express himself (in English). So I find it hard really.

This is a very common example of how health and social care professionals treat South Asian people who don't speak English, as non-persons, treating them in discriminatory ways that undermine their sense of dignity and self respect (see Chattoo *et al.,* 2002; Atkin, 2004), often resulting in hurt, bitterness and lack of faith in the statutory services. As suggested in the introduction, health and social care practices often reflect Western, ethnocentric views that ignore alternate notions of childhood, growing up and parenting (see Allgar *et al.,* 2003). Racism is one way of explaining the pathologisation of other forms of childhood and parenting that do not correspond to the white, middle class default values underlying policy and practice discourse. In the above case the young carer

was clearly suggesting that the racist attitude of the social worker also undermined her presence and role as a carer within the family: as if she was not present or would not mind the unfair and derogatory comments made about her parents. Such experiences reinforce feelings of partial citizenship among young people living in inner city areas.

It seems that in the above case, the social worker concerned with the needs of the two young disabled women did not recognise the chronic health problems faced by the parents themselves. Rehana also implied that he felt that she ought not to be responsible for taking care of her sisters or other siblings: a role that she herself had acquired over the years in exchange for the status of being treated as an older and responsible member of the family. Finally, Rehana implied that the social worker did not seem to have the remotest clue to the complex network of family obligations operating across continents or the role of the aunt and cousins played in the every day life of Rehana's family. It is here that a knowledge and understanding of the family situation could potentially have resulted in a better partnership between the family and professionals, resulting in appropriate support for the family.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, at a methodological level, this has been a challenging subject since we were trying to understand complex abstract ideas and values related to ethnicity and identity within an age range spanning 12-80 years, across three generations. The method of using individual narratives and tracing a family history through these narratives provides fascinating insights into how family values and practices operate within an intersecting grid of gender, generation, changing socio-economic profile of a family from a particular ethnic background. Further, engagements with family values and practices is an important source of identity for the young people, as is their relationship with significant others within the wider society. This is an issue we will return to as it is fundamental to understanding our conclusion.

At a theoretical level, this report has tried to move away from the professional focus on young people as a 'problem' and subjects of surveillance and looked at them as active social agents who create and negotiate values and meanings in relation to their social identity. In doing so, the notions of ethnicity and generation are problematised within our work. This, as we shall see, draws attention to structural features of gender, socio-

economic position and a particular family history that underpin markers of ethnic identity, resulting in a range of family values and practices within a community. We explained these differences through a dialogue between dominant and demotic discourses in relation to family values and practices that seek to mark moral boundaries between self and significant others on one hand and home and the outside world on the other.

We have also tried to argue that, within social policy and lay discourses, social change is perceived to be a consequence of the process of acculturation or adoption of the values of the 'host society' by the younger generation, resulting in inevitable conflict of values between the older and younger generation. The younger generation of people of immigrant origin is often believed to be trapped between cultures: reflecting an ideal and mechanist view of the past where, it is assumed, everyone followed a particular norm. This synchronic view of culture and social change is premised on essentialist notions of family, culture and ethnicity and does not recognise the diverse and dynamic axes of power, conflict, continuity and change. More significantly, this view of social change is an historical, denying the role of colonial past in the diasporic movements and the making and unmaking of boundaries reflected in the process and production of ethnic identities (see Hall, 1990).

As we have seen, for example, young people and their parents do disagree, while sharing many similar values and beliefs. Continuity and change represent the creative dynamic at the heart of who these young people are. We have also argued that the salience of Pakistan origin, and the complex relationship between culture and religion, operates differently within different contexts. This, in turn, is important in how ethnicity is conceptualised and constructed through policy and practice. Hence, at one level, the salience of Pakistani origin has changed for the young people: in terms of the proximity and dispersion of actual sustainable community and kin networks, real and ideal material, emotional and symbolic ties with Pakistan. At the same time, for most young people, Pakistan is important since they are brought up within a set of family and community values that are traced through parents and grandparents to Pakistan. The ethnic label is also ascribed, since no matter how British they themselves feel, act and behave, at the end of the day, they will still be perceived as Pakistani by others. Hence, the celebration

of difference, their religion and their culture becomes a viable tool for facing racism and discrimination within the wider society.

To some extent, it seems we can do little more than provide a set of conclusions of which there will be many exceptions. Nonetheless, the inability of service provision to meet the needs of minority ethnic populations and provide accessible and appropriate health and social care, suggest that however complex the problem is, we need to address it. If nothing else this report by outlining the dynamics and diversity of Pakistani family life makes a modest contribution to these debates. This is particularly important because the absence of adequate knowledge and understanding, professional assumptions and popular stereotypes about the culture and family life of ethnic minority communities often result in lack of adequate referrals to community and family support services. Essentialised notions of the 'other' deflect our attention away from structural issues of inequality in access to services and forms of institutional cultures that can help perpetuate discriminatory practices.

Reconciling emerging themes: transforming policy and practice

One of the proposed outcomes of this research and development project was to offer policy and practice guidance. Before doing so, however, we will reflect on how we developed such guidance, through reconciling our experience with broader theoretical concerns. This is as important as the actual guidance. By engaging with policy in such a way, we begin to understand some of the difficulties in promoting and sustaining good practice and present a framework, which can help sustain successful service interventions. The reflexive practitioner, as we shall see, is central to such success as is good leadership.

Attempting to reconcile abstract and complex ideas, such as family obligation, within the context of the more pragmatic concerns of policy and practice, raises several initial tensions, which underpin this final concluding section. How do practitioners, for example, provide care that is sensitive to the needs and backgrounds of a patient or client, without becoming distracted (and perhaps sometimes confused) by theoretical (and at times esoteric) debates about the nature of diversity and difference? How can practical advice avoid seeming bland and patronising, providing little more than general, universal statements, unable to address the specific problems faced by practitioners in

their everyday practice? How can policy guidance provide constructive support to practitioners without undermining and criticising the essence of their professional practices, by reminding them of the extent to which they do not meet people's needs? How can policy and practice recommendations make a clear commitment to change, without overwhelming practitioners by reminding them about how much needs to be done?

In offering suggestions which engage with more immediate policy and practice concerns, we have to confront the tensions outlined. There are, of course, no easy solutions: but this in itself is important to recognise and is perhaps the starting point for successful policy and practice. Moreover, the ability of practitioners to offer sensitive and appropriate care in the most demanding circumstances, reminds us of the creative and reflexive aspects of health and social care provision. To further make sense of this, it is perhaps helpful to reflect on how the various tensions outlined above find expression in how social policy engages with ethnic difference and diversity, particularly since this provides the broader context in which our conclusions will be interpreted and acted upon (see Atkin, 2004 for a more detailed discussion).

First, practitioners often feel ill-equipped to respond to the needs of a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-faith Britain, and inadequate when they recognise both the complexities and scale of the difficulties they face in providing sensitive and responsive care. There is good evidence of this from our own findings. Second, policy in responding to these complexities and making them more manageable, attempts to find solace in prescriptive accounts, which reduce diversity in cultural and religious practice to over-simplified, static and mechanical accounts. Ironically, many of these problems occur because authors want to be helpful and provide explanations that enable health professionals to respond to the needs of a multi-ethnic society. Such explanations, however, tend to present static and one-dimensional views of cultural norms and values, which are devoid of context and allow no room for individual interpretation. They can also create the illusion that they offer a solution to an extremely complex situation.

Introductory notes on minority ethnic communities, present in most training material for service practitioners, often follow this pattern. It is common, for example, to see one-page explanations of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh cultures, in which patient's beliefs are expected to

correspond. The accounts of our respondents provide ample evidence of the problems inherent in such approaches. Third, current debates about ethnicity, diversity and difference can easily become politically charged, with practitioners feeling uneasy, uncomfortable and unsure of how they should best respond (see Gunaratnam, 2001). We know, for example, that Pakistani people are reluctant to raise cultural aspects of their care with practitioners because they worry about being misunderstood; similarly practitioners do not ask about cultural backgrounds of their patients or clients for fear of being misinterpreted (Mir and Din, 2003).

Finally, much debate about ethnicity and social policy focuses on negative accounts of service delivery and although useful in illustrating the process of discrimination and racism, does little to transform policy and practice. This carries the implicit danger of 'condemning everything' and 'proposing nothing', which at its most extreme means leaving 'a waste ground, devoid of meaning' (see, Bauman, 1992). This, of course, is not only unhelpful to practitioners but extremely disempowering. There is a good deal of evidence outlining the process and outcomes of racism, disadvantage and inequalities in the UK. Policy and practice, however, has been less successful in translating these insights into improvements in service delivery. This is now the challenge facing those working in health and social care. Focusing on the needs of minority ethnic populations is not the same as responding to these needs. Often there is a gap between our understanding of the issues and our willingness to act on their implications to improve service delivery. A commitment to change, therefore, is essential. Without such a commitment to change, service initiatives are not only in danger of wasting valuable public resources, but are also in jeopardy of becoming little more than token gestures, leading to increasing disillusionment and estrangement among minority ethnic communities (see also, Mir and Nocon, 2002).

Developing policy and practice guidance

Responding to diversity is a core issue for the provision of accessible and appropriate services within a welfare state. Professionals providing health and social care, as we have noted, often feel overwhelmed by the prospect of grappling with debates on ethnicity while dealing with people from increasingly diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. We have also suggested that understanding the complexity of family life of ethnic minority communities (as any community) and recognising it as the loci of health, illness

and caring, is central to providing support to young people and their families that is culturally appropriate and acceptable. As part of this, we illustrated the impact of stereotypes and ethnocentric values underpinning support services on the lives of Pakistani families and why it is important to challenge these through reflexive practices. Whilst the complex web of values surrounding inter-generational and intra-generational family obligations, and other family values and practices operate at an abstract level, we argued that these values are implied in how relationship with community and professionals representing the state are negotiated. More importantly, we tried to explain why it is important for professionals to engage with these abstract values since policies and practices themselves reflect assumptions of family values and practices that might, at times, be at odds with the values and experiences of people from different ethnic or socio-economic backgrounds.

Family life and relationships are complex and marked by gender, generation and socio-economic position within any ethnic group (see also Karlsen and Nazroo, 2002). The idea that identities are situational and flexible is not new and is perhaps particularly true of diasporic communities (Papestergiadis, 1998). Globalisation, transcontinental family connections, the flow of cultural symbols, images and goods across national and continental boundaries all provide facets which can be adopted into and used to reinvent personal and group identities (Burghart, 1987; Ahmad *et al.,* 2002). Our findings suggest that in making sense of family norms and obligations, the participants develop multi-identifications, some held more strongly than others and many becoming particularly salient in certain circumstances, contexts and places. Not surprisingly, this report shows that minority ethnic young people's identity is complex, fluid and negotiable. Being a young person, generational relations, social class, gender, ethnicity and religion, for example, represented important identifications and the inter-relationship between these identifications was complex and intimately connected to questions of power, structure and history. This explains the diversity in the responses of the families included in our work. In effect, the reason ethnic identities remain contingent has to do with their responsiveness to context. As suggested by Werbner (1997: 18), '…ethnicity is as much the product of internal arguments of identity and contestation as of external objectification'.

Accepting this contingency and developing an anti-essentialist strategy, however, raises its own problems. We have established the importance of not over-simplifying the experience of families and essentialising ethnicity, cultural and religion. For the time being, however, we struggle for a working language that enables us to make sense of such diversity and difference as well as a defined framework that can empower health and social care professionals to use this reflexive knowledge in practice. As we have seen much of our analysis is beset with qualifications as well as constant reminders that our conclusions do not necessarily apply to everyone. This is not a problem *per se*, but does illustrate that despite the considerable material that explores diversity and difference, there is no emergent robust and standard theory that can help us translate easily this knowledge into policy and practice.

Promoting good policy and practice, however, requires a more fundamental shift in professional culture. We know, for example, how professional culture mediates policy and practice (see Lipsky, 1980). Health and social care professionals exercise considerable discretion in their work. This is because policy aims of public services are vague and unfocused: they define the general aims of provision but offer no specific details of how to achieve these aims. Further, many of the situations faced by these workers are too complex to reduce to 'programmatic formats' and it is difficult to develop simple, routine, mechanical responses: a theme that should be now familiar to us. In responding to clients or patients' needs, practitioners use a sense of their *professional role and ideology*, which defines legitimate intervention on the basis of an agreed body of knowledge; *assumptive worlds*, where professionals can apply their own values and 'common sense' when making decisions; *office culture*, where experience and knowledge are passed on from one generation of service practitioners to the next, through the processes of myth, history, narrative, ritual and ceremonies, which come to form a shared 'organisational' reality; and the *external political, social and economic environment*.

Policy and practice guidance is made sense of within this broader professional context and explains why a reliance on policy and practice recommendations to improve the situation of minority ethnic populations is misguided. The realisation of policy and practice is far more complex than this, occurring as a process of strategy and struggle (see Bourdieu, 1977). Policy and practice guidance is simply one stratagem in developing accessible and appropriate care for minority ethnic populations. To be fully successful,

broader engagement with professional culture and societal assumptions is necessary. As our findings demonstrate, the ways in which we conceptualise ethnicity, difference and diversity, present many difficulties for minority ethnic populations. Their needs are either disregarded as consequences of ethnocentric assumptions and values or interpreted as a problem resulting from cultural practices (see also, Atkin, 2004). Reflexive practice, in which practitioners not only generate solutions to the problems presented by patients and clients but also question the assumptions informing such solutions, begins to engage with the complex task of providing support for Pakistani families (see Rojeck *et al.,* 1988 for a broader discussion of these issues).

Policy recommendations and a good practice guide

Given the qualifications and the considerations outlined above, our aim is not to provide a prescriptive list of recommendations or a good practice guide that will work in every situation. As we have established, it is important to avoid uncontextualised accounts that ignore the diversity and complexity of people's experience. Otherwise we are reduced to providing simplistic and unsophisticated responses by encouraging ill-advised policy and practice developments. What we would like to recommend are some thoughts for reflective practice that can form the basis of leadership, training and professional development, and empower professionals to engage with the complexity of family life of young people from ethnic minority communities and, in doing so, recognise similarities and differences across communities that enabling them to address Pakistani family needs and plan support according to context:

- Professionals need to listen carefully and ask sensible questions in relation to family life in order to provide appropriate support. This requires health and social care professionals to constantly evaluate and reflect on their practice and focus on the context of need. In doing so, practitioners also need to question their own professional culture and the fundamental assumptions informing health and social care for minority ethnic populations.

- There is considerable diversity of family forms within Pakistani communities. Policy and practice needs to reflect this and not rely on essentialised and simplistic accounts of cultural practices, values and norms. Gender, socio-economic background and family history within ethnic groups underpin this diversity. It is important not to assume that distinct ethnic communities share

homogenous ideas of family life. The responses of services need to reflect this in a more considered way.

- At the same time, young people from Pakistani families, share much in common with their white counterparts. Negotiations with parents about acceptable behaviour, re-interpretation of their parents' values in the context of their own biographical experience and asserting their own sense of identity, which both challenge and preserve family values, occur irrespective of a person's ethnic background. Similarly, young people from Pakistani families share the same worries, anxieties as their white peers, which suggest there are generic aspects of 'growing up' that occur across cultures, although their expression might take different forms. A person's ethnic background is not the only aspect of their identity and its relevance to policy and practice depends on context and circumstances.

- Kinship obligations operate across continents, and life circumstances - such as serious illness or death of a parent or sibling - sometimes necessitate unplanned travel and stay overseas, resulting in disruptions to education and the usual routines of young people. This can necessitate professional support.

- Professionals from schools, education, health and social services need to understand how ideas of parenting, childhood and 'youth' might differ not only between ethnic groups but also within each ethnic group.

- There is a need to address racism at various levels. Tackling discrimination and racism demands more than a tick box approach to diversity training and involves cultural change at institutional level. It also requires reflexive practice on the part of practitioners, in which ideas of diversity and difference are critically evaluated on an ongoing basis.

- Schools, especially, need to address ethnocentrism and racism, promote better understanding of different cultures (including White cultures) and celebrate difference as constitutive of a multi-ethnic society rather than treat difference as a problem or threat.

- There is a need to open up debate on disability and disabling attitudes within Pakistani and other Asian cultures. Current discursive practices often place the disabled young people and their parents in situations of greater isolation and disadvantage. Addressing these wider attitudes to disability and gender will also

empower service providers to understand the broader family context of Pakistani families, address appropriate issues and provide appropriate support.

- The idea of cultural conflict and estrangement among South Asian young people needs to be challenged as it does not reflect the realities of family life. Cultural – re-constitution occurs, in which young people engage with and re-interpret their parents' values and norms, within the context of their own experience. This can raise tensions between young people and their parents, but our findings also suggest considerable continuity in the values of young people and their families.

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APPENDIX A

Dissemination activities, development and output

DISSEMINATION ACTIVITIES, DEVELOPMENT AND OUTPUT

We have been involved in various activities to ensure that the findings are disseminated widely to various stakeholders - professionals, academic peers, young people and their families within the communities and local school. These activities and dissemination events are listed below.

Community Events and development work

We organised three community events, two based in Dewsbury and one in Bradford. These events were part of the development phase of the project and involved discussions with community representatives and professionals in developing partnerships across sectors of care, whilst feeding the findings from this research back into the community.

The first event was held at the Savile Town Community Centre in Dewsbury, on 25th June 2003. The agenda and venue were set by members of the community involved in different forums and working across the voluntary and statutory sectors. This event focused on important issues related to health and access to services where the Chief Executive of North Kirklees Primary Care Trust (PCT) was one of the guest speakers. Whilst the attendance at this meeting was not very high (35 people in all), different sectors and services were well represented and we had a good discussion and suggestions for work that needed to be followed up in Dewsbury. It also seemed that the event generated confidence and trust regarding building better working relationships between the PCT and the community. Other meetings, between community representatives and managers of the PCT, have since occurred.

The second event was held at the Carlton Bolling College in Bradford on 16th July and was attended by a range of professionals form education, local council, Regen 2000 and the police. David Mallen, Chairman Education Policy Partnership, Bradford was one of the guest speakers. It was heartening to listen to the personal accounts of the students. Some of the issues and suggestions raised for improving the services for young people within inner city Bradford generated interest among professionals present, resulting in further collaboration between school and the local council. We had good feedback on the preview of findings presented at the event and requests for reports.

The third event was held at the Birkdale High School in Dewsbury on 15th of October and was well attended by parents and students who had participated in the research, community members, and various professionals representing education, social services, police and health.   The presentations generated an extended discussion on the implications of the research for understanding issues related to educational performance of boys of Pakistani origin in Dewsbury, and possible areas of collaborative work in future are being explored. The guests were invited to reflect on three questions emerging from the research and the ensuing discussion over refreshments.

National conference

A one day national conference is being organised this summer to share the findings widely with professionals and academics from different backgrounds, and to have a wider discussion on the implications of research in the field for policy and practice.

Workshops

1. Workshop on 'Involving young people in research' presented at the ESRC Conference on Researching Children, University of Leeds, May 2002.

2. Workshop on 'Ethnical issues of involving young people in social research' presented at a Barnardo's Seminar on young people and research, London, March 2003.

3. Following on from our community event held at the Birkdale High School, the Kirklees Education Service are hosting a national conference and study day on 'Young people, School Performance and Family Relationships' in Dewsbury, in March this year. We have been invited to hold a workshop based on our findings. This is going to be an important event and provide further opportunities for collaborative work in future.

Presentations

1. 'Intergenerational obligations within families of Pakistani origin: understanding continuity and change, and its implications for the elderly' paper presented at the one day conference on 'Ageing and Social Inclusion', organised under the new Research Grants Programme of the Community Fund, London February, 2002

2. 'Parenting among minority ethnic populations: a review of the literature' presented at the BSA Seminar on families and kinship, University of Leeds, February 2002.

3. 'Involving ethnic minority young people in research: practical and theoretical considerations' presented at the ESRC Seminar on Learning Disabilities, University of Birmingham, March 2002.

4. 'What does health needs assessment mean for minority ethnic young people' presented at the Health Needs Assessment on Minority Ethnic Young People, organised by East Leeds PCT, Leeds, June 2002.

5. 'Intergenerational obligations within families of Pakistani origin: using sociological research in primary care', presentation at the YReN Annual Day, Harrogate, June 2003.

6. 'Intergenerational obligations within families of Pakistani origin: relevance for primary care' presented at the community event organised at the Savile Town Community Centre, Dewsbury, June 2003.

7. 'How can we use research to improve primary care services' presented at a community engagement and primary care event, Dewsbury, June 2003.

8. 'Family obligation and young people: improving policy and practice' presented at a family obligations community event, Bradford, July 2003.

9. 'Young people of Pakistani origin and their families: what have we learnt?' presented at the community event at Carlton Bolling College Bradford, July 2003.

10. 'Young people of Pakistani origin and their families: implications of the study for community regeneration', presented at the Community event organised at the Birkdale High school, Dewsbury, October 2003.

Academic papers

Two academic, peer reviewed papers are being written based on the project:

1. 'Young people of Pakistani origin and family as a source of identity', for possible submission to *Sociology*.

2. "'They are the ones who break our families": the relation between family, community and state', for possible submission to *Journal of Social Policy*.

Copies of the final report, a summary for professionals and good practice guide, a summary for communities in English and Urdu are available from the Centre for Research in Primary Care. For further details, please contact, Hazel Blackburn Tel: 0113 3434835, email: h.blackburn@leeds.ac.uk. The report and summaries can also be accessed on the Barnardo's website: www.barnardos.org.uk.

APPENDIX B

Sample details of families

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SAMPLE DETAILS OF FAMILIES

Bradford

CODE	YOUNG PERSON	PARENT	GRANDPARENT
BDFI	YW	Mother	Grandmother/aunt Grandmother refused to be taped
BDF2	YM	Mother and father	Grandmother
BDF3	YW – rang four times, FATHER ILL, YW still in Pakistan, COULD NOT BE INTERVIEWED	Mother, father and maternal uncle	
BDF4	YW YM	Mother	Grandmother
BDF5	YM	Mother	Grandmother
BDF8	Father suspicious of research. Not allowed access to sons/daughters	Father	
BDF9	YW	Mother	
BDF10	YM	Mother and father	
BDF11	YW1 YW2	Mother and father	
BDF12	YW1 YW2	Father refused, IK found it difficult to convince him	
BDF16	IK to interview YM? Went twice, finally SC interviewed sister in July	Father	
BDF17	YM	Father	

Dewsbury

CODE	YOUNG PERSON	PARENT	GRANDPARENT
DWF6	YW	Father	
DWF7	YW	Mother	
DWF13	YM	Father	
DWF14	YM	Father?	
DWF15	YW	Father/mother	
DWF18	YM/YW	Mother	
DWF19	YM	Father	
DWF20	YW	Mother	Grandfather and grandmother
DWF21	YW	Mother	
DWF22	YW YM	One sister and two brothers live on their own	
DWF23	YW YM	Mother interviewed but refused to be recorded	

APPENDIX C

Information sheet

YOUNG PEOPLE OF PAKISTANI ORIGIN AND THEIR FAMILIES

Who are we?
We are a group of researchers working at the Centre for Research in Primary Care, University of Leeds.

What are we trying to do?
We would like to invite you to take part in our research. Some of you might already have taken part in group discussions in the previous phase of this research. We are hoping to talk to young people, their parents and grandparents of Pakistani origin to seek their views on the kinds of support among different members of the family. We would also like to know what different members of the family think about how family support is changing or not changing. Our objective is to develop initiatives to support the needs of young people and their families within the community.

Why is the study important?
This is an important study, exploring issues that you as members of the community might wish to be addressed. The study has been funded by the Community Fund and we are working closely with Barnardo's. Barnardo's, as some of you might know, is a charity that works closely with the local communities and is involved in research and development work committed to improving support and service for young people and their families. Barnardo's will take our findings to ensure appropriate support for young people and their families.

What will happen next?
If you agree to take part, a researcher (who speaks your language, and shares your gender if you desire) will contact you and ask for a time to come and talk to you. We can talk to you anywhere you like. With your permission the interview will be recorded on a tape recorder so that we do not miss anything you feel is important. Each interview will take about sixty to ninety minutes.

Confidentiality
Everything that you tell us will be treated as confidential and your details will not be shared with anyone other than our research group. Information provided by a member of the family will not be shared with others within the family. The results of the study will be published and shared with Barnardo's and other services. However, none of the people taking part in this research will be mentioned by name or place.

Taking part or not taking part in the study will not affect any benefits or services that you might be receiving at present. If you were to identify any particular needs for help, we shall, with your permission, try our best to refer you to the appropriate service.

Further Information
If you would like further information about the project please contact::-
Sangeeta Chattoo or Ikhlaq Din at the Centre for Research in Primary Care, Nuffield Institute for Health, 71-75 Clarendon Road, Leeds LS2 9PL.
Tel: 0113 343 4828 Fax: 0113 343 4836 or email (s.chattoo@leeds.ac.uk)

APPENDIX D

Topic guides

Young people of Pakistani origin and their families

Topic Guide for Young People

Biographical details (name, age, gender, work, length of stay in the UK/born here, kind of moves and reasons, salience of Pakistani origin)

1)   **Who constitutes Family?**
       a) Close family co-residential
       b) Close family living separately and
       c) Others not so close but extended family
       d) Who lives in this house with you?
       e) Any members of the close family who don't live with you?
       f) Frequency, importance and nature of contact
       g) Other relatives who might be considered extended family/where do they live?
       h) Frequency and nature of contact, role and importance

       Biraderi **– who do you include and how do you exclude others?**
       Importance and involvement of *biraderi* in every day life, special occasions, religious and political matters?

       Friends and neighbours – (markers of identity – class, ethnicity)
       a) Who are your friends?
       b) Are you able to choose your friends?
       c) Do you have friends in the neighbourhood? Who?
       d) What kind of help do you provide your friends and vice versa?
       e) Are there matters that you feel are better shared with friends rather than family?
       f) How are friends different from/similar to family?

2)   **What are families about** (generation and gender) material and moral inheritance, and reciprocity?
       Delayed and direct obligations to provide support (practical, emotional, financial and personal care

       A) intergenerational obligations
       a) Obligations or duties that parents have towards children and why? Do parents have different obligations towards sons and daughters? Why?
       b) Expectations, obligations or duties of sons and daughters in relation to parents (*farz* and *haqq*). Examples of what you do for them and why is it important? What is good, constraining about these obligations?
       c) Potential dilemmas, disagreements, conflict of ideas and interests -examples?
       d) Obligations or duties of grandparents towards grandchildren - examples?

       e) Obligations of grandchildren in relation to grandparents - examples, and conflict of ideas?

       f) Uncles and aunts. Examples and why is it important?
       g) Members of the community/*biraderi*. Examples and why is it important?

       B) Role of state in providing support to families – practical and
       financial in relation to income, education, illness and disability.

       C) What do you think of nursing homes and old age homes? Who goes there?

       D) intragenerational obligations – between siblings, married siblings living separately (difference between brothers/ sisters), cousins and others. Examples?

3)   **Right to make decisions and choices** (respect, honour, shame, control and conflict through examples)
a) Religion – core beliefs and practices. Why is it important to follow these?
b) Language, dress, food (patterns of eating and sharing), friends, going out
c) Choice of marriage partner/ and co-residence (right to choose and decide)
d) Circumstances, family business, unemployment). How would you choose and when?
e) Education, employment or family business – right to choose/decide
f) Sharing income with parents, other relatives, sending money to Pakistan

4)   **Continuity and social change** (reasons and examples)
a) Do you think the extended family is still strong or is it changing for better or worse? Why?
b) How are things similar and how are they different?
c) Stories that your parents and grandparents tell you about their own past or family life in the past/ back in Pakistan?
d) Do you feel a sense of belonging, to Pakistan? (their past and your heritage)

Young people of Pakistani origin and their families

Topic Guide for Adults

Biographical details (name, age, gender, work, length of stay in the UK/born here, kind of moves and reasons, salience of Pakistani origin)

1) **Who constitutes family?**
   a) close family co-residential
   b) close family living separately and
   c) others not so close but extended family
   d) Who lives in this house with you?
   e) Any members of the close family who don't live with you?
   f) Frequency, importance and nature of contact
   g) Other relatives who might be considered extended family/ where do they live?
   h) Frequency and nature of contact – role and importance

   Biraderi – who do you include and how do you exclude others?
   a) The role of *biraderi* in every day life, special occasions, religious matters and mosque?
   b) Does it exercise authority over its members? How?

   Friends and neighbours – (markers of identity – class, ethnicity)
   a) How did you decide to live here and how long have you lived in the neighbourhood?
   b) School, college and community ties?
   c) Who are your friends?
   d) Who would you exclude as potential friends?
   e) Are there any situations where you might think asking for help from friends is better than asking a relative, eg – a loan of money?
   f) How are friends different from/ similar to family?

2) **What are families about? Gender roles, relationships (gender and age/generation), material and moral inheritance and reciprocity -** delayed and direct obligations to provide support (practical, emotional, financial support and personal care)

   A) intergenerational obligations (circumstances and context)

   a) Parents in relation to children – difference between obligations towards sons and daughters
   b) Sons and daughters in relation to parents (*farz* and *haqq*) - potential areas of conflict?
   c) Obligation to send money overseas and why?
   d) Grandchildren in relation to grandparents, potential areas of conflict
   e) Self in relation to uncles and aunts, children in relation to uncles and aunts
   f) Members of the community/ b*iraderi*
   g) Neighbours/friends

   B) intra-generational obligations – between siblings (difference between sisters and brothers) cousins and others. Obligation to send money overseas and why?

   C) Role of state in providing support – practical, financial and personal care in relation to illness and disability

   D) What do you think about nursing homes and residential homes? Who goes there?

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3) **Right to make decisions and choices** (honour, shame, control, dilemmas and conflict)
   a) Religious matters, core of religious beliefs and practices, why is it important to follow these principles and practices?
   b) Food (patterns of sharing and eating), dress, friends and life outside home
   c) Choice of marriage partner/ and co-residence (right to choose and decide, material circumstances, family business, unemployment)
   d) At what age were you married and how?
   e) Did you choose your partner or have a say in the matter and where you lived?
   f) What material, personal factors influenced the decision?
   g) Is that the way you would want your children to be married? Why (the norm, authority)?
   h) Would you expect your son and daughter-in-law to live with you or live separately? Why?
   i) Can you think of any examples where there was conflict over the choice   of a marriage partner and /or co-residence?
   j) Education, employment or family business – right to choose/decide
   k) Sharing income with parents, other close relatives, sending money to Pakistan. Why is it important?

4) **Continuity and social change -** (reasons)
   Is family life similar or is it changing since your own childhood? Are things better or worse and why?