Goldsmiths Research Online

Goldsmiths Research Online (GRO)
is the institutional research repository for
Goldsmiths, University of London

Citation

Shain, Farzana. 2000. Culture, Survival and Resistance: theorizing young Asian women's experiences and strategies in contemporary British schooling and society. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 21(2), pp. 155-174. ISSN 0159-6306 [Article]

Persistent URL

https://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/30575/

Versions

The version presented here may differ from the published, performed or presented work. Please go to the persistent GRO record above for more information.

If you believe that any material held in the repository infringes copyright law, please contact the Repository Team at Goldsmiths, University of London via the following email address: gro@gold.ac.uk.

The item will be removed from the repository while any claim is being investigated. For more information, please contact the GRO team: gro@gold.ac.uk

Goldsmiths
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Culture, Survival and Resistance: theorizing young Asian women's experiences and strategies in contemporary British schooling and society

FARZANA SHAIN, Keele University, Keele, UK

Correspondence: Farzana Shain, Department of Education, Keele University, Staffordshire ST5 5BG, UK. Email: eda54@keele.ac.uk

To cite: Shain, Farzana (2000) 'Culture, Survival and Resistance: theorizing young Asian women's experiences and strategies in contemporary British schooling and society', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*,21:2,155 — 174

Article: DOI: 10.1080/713661156 URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/713661156

Introduction

In the 1980s the sociological literature on young Asian women was preoccupied with challenging their invisibility and negative stereotyping in much of the youth literature. Such work (Parmar & Amos, 1981; Parmar & Mirza, 1983; Parmar 1988; Brah & Minhas, 1985; Mac An Ghaill, 1988) reported on the development of resistance strategies in schools which focused on a positive identification as 'Asian'. While divisions within this category were acknowledged, the focus was primarily on the factors uniting young Asian women. Recent literature has focused mainly on specific subgroups to examine the specificity of experience; for example, Sikhs (Bhachu, 1991; Drury, 1991) and Muslims (Mirza, 1989; Haw, 1994; Basit, 1997a, 1997b; Knott & Khoker, 1993). Fewer accounts deal theoretically and empirically with both the commonalities and divisions existing among Asian young woman, and on the intersection of their lives with economic, political and ideological structures in contemporary British society. This paper therefore attempts to develop an analytical framework that captures the complex reality of the lived experiences of young Asian women with reference to the intersections of that experience with educational institutions and frameworks. Following a brief overview of the youth literature, the article draws on Gramscian concepts to shed light on the strategies that young Asian women employ to deal with their experiences of schooling. It also assesses the implications of these strategies for the conformation or transformation of the social conditions, including schooling, that influence the lives of young Asian women. Throughout the paper, the term 'Asian' is employed to refer to people who have, or whose parents or grandparents have, migrated from the Indian subcontinent (including via Africa) to Britain. The term 'black' is used in its political sense and therefore includes those of both African/Caribbean and South Asian origin.

Invisibility, Pathology and Identity

The discussion below sets out the various ways in which young Asian women have been portrayed in the sociological literature on youth and schooling. Briefly, my argument is that, despite shifts in their characterization that make them more visible, there is a continuing tendency either to adopt a 'culturalist' analysis or produce images of fragmented groups.

Whatever the tendency, the outcome supports a reading of young Asian women which highlights their passivity as the victims of educational stereotyping or cultural conservatism.

Invisibility and Pathology: early British work on youth

This invisibility of young Asian women in the early British sociological literature on youth resulted from its predominant focus on young (white, heterosexual) working class males (Mays, 1954; Downes, 1966; Willis, 1977; Corrigan, 1976). Feminist analyses (McRobbie & Garber, 1976; Campbell, 1984; Leonard, 1987; Griffin, 1985; McRobbie, 1991), in highlighting the marginal treatment of young women, concentrated on young white women while studies of black youth focused on African/Caribbean young males (Hall *et al*., 1978; Gutzmore, 1983; Gilroy, 1982, 1987). In effect, young Asian women, along with African/Caribbean girls, were marginalized by the reduction of experience to gender, 'race' or class (Griffn, 1986, 1993).

In the 'ethnicity school' studies of minority ethnic life in Britain (CRC, 1976; Watson, 1976; Khan, 1976; Taylor, 1985), the experiences of Asian youth and particularly those of young Asian women were presented exclusively in ethnic or cultural terms and often within a cultural pathology framework. According to this perspective, the 'problems' faced by young Asian women stem inherently from their familial and cultural back- grounds, with the implicit assumption that this background is somehow inferior or inadequate when compared with Western family structure and society. Within a framework, young Asian women are falsely stereotyped as shy, timid and passive, and black youth as simultaneously a 'problem' and as victims (Gilroy, 1987, p. 11). Young Asian women are a 'problem' because of their apparently overstrict, overdisciplined upbringing, and are simultaneously depicted as victims of the 'backward and barbaric' cultures of their homes (Parmar, 1988).

The dominant images found in the ethnicity school literature were of Asian girls 'caught between two cultures' (CRC, 1976; Watson, 1976), in which Western youth culture, represented by the school, was 'freer'. In much of this literature, young Asian women's experiences were presented without reference to social and historical frame- works that account for the subordination of black groups in Britain (Lawrence, 1982; Fryer, 1985, 1988). Instead, essentialist accounts of Asian cultures have supported static representations of homogeneous Asian communities, incapable of change. In a wider critique of the ethnicity school or 'race relations' approach, Miles (1982, p. 64) has argued that by using ethnicity to refer to the 'perception of group difference the term was made to refer to any criteria by which a group might distinguish itself from another'. Moreover, an exclusive emphasis on cultural relations in the work of the ethnicity school serves to conceal the economic, political and ideological conditions that allow the attribution of meaning to take place. The effect of this is that 'the relationship between ethnic minority and ethnic majority society is viewed in exclusively cultural terms' (CCCS, 1982, pp. 113–114).

Studies of Young Asian Women in the 1980s and 1990s

In the 1980s, empirical work challenged the negative imagery of young Asian women by situating their accounts within a wider social and historical framework (Parmar & Amos, 1981; Parmar & Mirza, 1983; Brah & Minhas, 1985; Parmar, 1988). In such research, young Asian women reportedly defended themselves from racist attack by forming friendships based on a positive identification as 'Asian'. In the wider literature, this 'resistance' response was not fully

elaborated and amounted to little more than tokenism (Parmar & Amos, 1981). Although this work represented an important challenge to ahistorical and essentialist accounts produced within the ethnicity school tradition, its predominant focus on a positive Asian identity meant that divisions or internal struggles among Asians were not fully explored.

As pointed out above, in the 1990s, and against the background of sociological debates on difference and identity, the literature on young Asian women tended to focus on specific subgroups, especially Muslims (Brah, 1993; Knott & Khoker, 1993; Haw, 1994; Basit, 1997a, 1997b) and Sikhs (Bhachu, 1991; Drury, 1991). More sophisticated analyses have drawn explicitly on historical and political frameworks to examine the active role played by women in the transformations of their local and regional cultures in changing economic contexts (e.g. Brah, 1993, Bhachu, 1991). Other researchers (especially Drury, 1991, and Basit, 1997a, 1997b) have focused primarily on the distinctiveness of the cultures inhabited by young Sikh women (Drury) and young Muslim women (Basit), without explicit reference to the structural factors that impact differentially on the lives of these young women. It is worth examining Basit's thesis briefly as an example of this approach because it contrasts so sharply with the argument I will be presenting below.

Basit (1997b) examines the role of the family in shaping present experiences and future aspirations of British Muslim adolescent females. Through an analysis of interviews with young women, their teachers and their parents, she explores some of the assumptions that are held by teachers of British Muslim girls. She argues that teachers assume Muslim girls to be restricted within the home and to experience more freedom within the school but does not account for the origins of such assumptions nor for their impact on the school experience of young Muslim women. She does not question why many teachers share these assumptions, nor why these assumptions are also commonly held of non-Muslim Asian girls, for example Sikhs (see Wise,1995). Assumptions about young Muslim women are not therefore related to contemporary and historical discourses of Muslim and Asian cultures as 'heathen, backward and barbaric' (Lawrence, 1982; Fryer, 1985, 1988; Brah, 1993), nor located within a wider economic and political framework. There is a brief reference to the changing shape of racisms in the conclusion, but this is not explored in the body of the article, which focuses on 'cultural misunderstandings' between the 'majority British Population' and British Asian Muslims (Basit, 1997b, p. 426). Indeed, it is argued that the solution to these cultural misunderstandings lies in further dialogue between the two groups, who both hold negative stereotypes about each other:

> It is manifest that the process of stereotyping is reciprocal ... While there is a need for educators to have an understanding of the social world of the young people they work with and the reason they choose to live their lives in certain ways, there is also a need for ethnic minorities to understand why the notion of freedom is sacrosanct to the majority group. Clearly in order to avoid the perpetuation of stereotypes, more contact and dialogue between the ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups is crucial. (Basit, 1997b, p. 437)

I would suggest that this solution is itself based on a mistaken assumption of equal power relations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups, about the commitment to engage in full dialogue and also about the effectiveness of dialogue. Consequently, there is a lack of acknowledgement of power structures of, for example, gender, race and class, and of how these intersect with the everyday experiences of young Asian women in historically specific periods.

Due to this neglect, Basit's analysis fails to account for the complex ways in which young Asian women are both defined and are able to define and respond differentially to the experiences of schooling in British society in the context of the late 20th century. Indeed, by focusing on specific subgroups all of the above analyses do not explore the commonalities and divisions existing within and across the category of young Asian woman. The next section draws on the work of Gramsci (1971) to establish an analytical framework that can account for the ways in which structures, including education, can shape and influence the experiences of young Asian women without necessarily determining them. It is able also to account for both the commonality and divisions that exist within the category of Asian young woman.

Retheorizing the Experiences and Responses of Young Asian Women

Gramsci's work is, of course, not specifically concerned with Britain in the 1990s, nor with education as a social institution, but his concepts and ideas have been developed and applied by researchers in relation to British society and other contemporary capitalist societies, for example by Hall (1980), Hall *et al*. (1978), CCCS (1982), Laclau and Mouffe (1985). It can also be found in the approaches of Brah (1993), Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) and Bhavnani (1993). Hall's reading of Gramsci has also been particularly influential in recent sociological debates on identity and cultural studies (see Parmar, 1990; Rutherford, 1990; Mani & Frankenberg, 1993).

Gramsci's concepts of historical specificity, articulation and hegemony are a persuasive attempt to move beyond the problems of ahistoricism and essentialism found in some of the approaches outlined in the previous section. By 'historical specificity' Gramsci refers to a particular social formation at a particular point in time; by 'articulation', he refers to the interrelationship of economic, political and ideological structures in specific historical periods. Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' allows for the possibility of resistance to limits that are set on experiences. By 'hegemony' he refers to a set of practical assumptions or a worldview that secures the domination of a particular group (ruling bloc) primarily with the consent of the subordinated, though coercion remains in reserve. Gramsci argued, however, that hegemony is never complete. There are always alternative practices and ideas that are continually emerging both within and without the dominant hegemony. Some of these initiatives are oppositional or counter-hegemonic and pose a real threat to the social order. Others are incorporated within the basic terms of the dominant meaning system. Williams (1980) defines this as a distinction between alternative and oppositional cultures and this is further elaborated in the final section of the paper. Contrary to class reductionist approaches, Gramsci's approach emphasized the importance of forming political alliances that were based on divisions other than class, in order to seriously challenge the hegemony of a dominant group. These political identities for Gramsci would be the 'first representations of a new historic phase'; 'the nucleus of a new ideological and theoretical complex, what was previously secondary and subordinate, even incidental, is now taken to be primary' (Gramsci, 1971, p. 195).

The experiences of Asian young women need to be understood within the context of 'articulation', or in the intersection of their everyday lives with the economic and political relations of subordination and domination (Rutherford, 1990, p. 20). For Gramsci, this articulation is:

> the starting point of critical elaboration: it is the consciousness of what one really is, and how 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date which deposited

> an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory ... each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations but of the history of these relations, he is a precis of the past (Gramsci, cited in Forgacs, 1988, p. 326)

The application of this to young Asian women's experiences means that race, gender, class and age divisions cannot be mechanically added or reduced to one or other of the divisions. Instead, these divisions must be seen as interrelated in a complex fashion, and as underpinned by the simultaneous operation of economic, political and ideological structures in the historical juncture of late 20th-century Britain (Parmar, 1988). It is important also to recognize that identities are never fixed but are relational, complex, differentiated and constantly repositioned. Thus, Asian women may be defined and may define themselves in different ways depending upon the particular time, context and place (Parmar, 1990; Mani & Frankenberg, 1993; Rutherford, 1990). For example, a Muslim young woman of Pakistani descent living in Britain may be defined or define herself by reference to race (as black), religion (Muslim), nationality (British) or ethnicity (either Pakistani or Asian) depending upon the context in which definition takes place.

Historical specificity requires that the position of Asian women in the 1990s is understood within the context of the complex social and historical processes that account for the subordination of black groups in Britain. Social relations in capitalist patriarchal societies such as Britain are set against the background of colonialism and imperialism (Brah & Minhas, 1985, pp. 14–15). It is not simply that colonialism is reproduced but that its ideologies are reworked in the shifting relations of late modernity and globaliza- tion (Hall *et al*., 1996) and are concretely articulated with other divisions of gender, ethnicity and class (Brah, 1993; Hall, 1992).

The class locations of the families of Asian women cannot be understood without reference to this global, social and historical context. Migration from the former colonies was actively encouraged to help Britain rebuild the economy, following the shortage of labour created by the end of the Second World War. As a number of commentators have argued (Parmar & Amos, 1981; Fryer, 1988), this migration also resulted from the systemic economic exploitation and plunder by the British during their colonial occupation of parts of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. By comparison with immigrants from the West Indies, Asians and especially Indians were more likely to be members of the skilled working class or professional and business classes (Bagley, 1969, cited in Taylor, 1985). Large numbers of doctors, engineers, scientists and teachers arrived with vouchers for the 'special skills' category of the 1962 Immigration Act. In 1965–1967, some 2,942 teachers from India and 577 from Pakistan were admitted (Rose *et al*., 1969). Also recruited were professional and business people from East Africa (Kenya and Uganda).

However, the majority of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent were land labourers and therefore classed as unskilled. They found work predominantly in manu- facturing industries (Taylor, 1985). Immigrants from the Indian subcontinent were primarily motivated by the desire to find work. Consequently, ethnic minorities tended to settle in inner cities where employment and housing could be more easily found. This has had a lasting legacy in urban areas (Taylor 1985; Garland, 1996). Evidence (Rose *et al*., 1969; Beckerlegge, 1991) suggests that concentrations of Asian communities are found in particular areas of Britain, and that religion and region of origin have also influenced the development of distinct communities in

those areas. Modood (1992) has noted that Pakistani Muslims from the Mirpur region are more likely to be found in high numbers not in London but in industrial towns and cities such as Rochdale, Bradford and Manchester, where they found work in textile mills. They are therefore located in those areas that have suffered most from the economic recession in England. This is supported by recent figures from the labour force survey (cited in Labour Market Trends, 1997, p. 300), which show that Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have substantially high rates of unemployment, compared with other ethnic groups (24% for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, whites 7.9%, blacks 14%, Indians 12%). For women, these figures are higher (28% for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis compared with Indians 11%, whites 6.1%, blacks 17%). Clearly this has implications for the class locations and settlement patterns of Asian girls' families, which then influence the type of schooling they receive and their future employment.

Thus, young Asian women like other people are located in economic contexts that are historically shaped. In the cultural sphere too there are complexities. Asian girls are subject to prevailing gender regimes in Britain (Brah & Minhas, 1985). However, they fall outside those stereotypical images that bombard the everyday experiences of white women, but within racialized stereotypes (Parmar, 1988). Currently these images are located in attempts at crisis management that have resulted in the reactivation of racist ideologies. These are rooted in Britain's imperial past but reworked in the definition of black groups as a 'problem' that poses a 'threat to the British way of life' (CCCS, 1982; Barker, 1981; Solomos & Back, 1994). The state, through its implementation of immigration control policies, has played a central role in the racialization of immigration, that is, in the identification of immigration as a black issue and therefore as problematic (Solomos, 1992; Miles, 1994). This racialization process has produced contradictory and differential imagery of different sections of the black community with African/Caribbean men predominantly associated with criminal activities involving drugs and prostitution; Asian men have been portrayed as equally problematic, though primarily as exploiters of the welfare system. African/Caribbean women have been depicted as independent but sexually available. This racial stereotyping has resulted in images of Asian women as dependants who are 'controlled by their men' (WING, 1985; Klug, 1989).

Images of black youth are also contradictory. They have been commonly identified as a 'problem ' but in different ways at different historical moments (CCCS, 1982; Gilroy & Lawrence, 1988). Young African/Caribbean men have been portrayed as a discipline problem in schools and as 'underachievers' who are lazy and aggressive. Asian youth by contrast have been portrayed as hardworking and passive. The racialization of religion has been prominent particularly since the demise of Communism and its replacement with Islam as a threat to the Western world order. In Britain this threat, symbolized by the Rushdie affair and the Gulf War, has been pivotal in the constitution of contradictory imagery of young Asian men in the 1990s. Thus, on the one hand they continue to be stereotyped as hardworking and passive (when compared with African/ Caribbean young men), and on the other hand they are characterized as volatile, aggressive, angry young men, who pose a threat to the social order (Searle, 1990; Solomos & Back, 1994).

It is only against this social and historical background that the responses of young Asian women to education and other social institutions can be analysed. Asian young women in the context of the imagery invoked by the definitions of black people as undesirable and Muslims as barbaric and backward, have been portrayed as passive, timid, quiet and shy, as the victims of cultural practices that oppress them. Assumptions that they are constrained by cultural requirements to expect arranged marriages do not take into account that young Asian women's

lives are also affected by the gender relations that prevail among the particular Asian groups to which they belong. Some young women may be constrained by the gender relations in operation within their families but the cultural constraints argument misrepresents the home lives of all young Asian women. Gender relations vary not only within particular groups within the 'Asian' category, such as Muslims or Pakistanis, but also within particular families across these groups. Therefore, in order to theorize fully the position of young Asian women, it is essential to take into account other axes of differentiation such as class position within Britain, religion, language and caste, area of origin, region, sexuality and ability.

In the 1990s, there were a multiplicity of factors that accounted for the position and experiences of young Asian women. The areas from which their parents migrated include the Mirpur border with Kashmir, the Northwest Province and the province of Punjab for Pakistanis, the Assam border for Bangladeshis, and for Indians the Punjab, Kutch and Gujerat. Others have migrated from India via East Africa. There are three main religions practised by Asians in Britain (Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism), at least five languages (Punjabi, Gujerati, Bengali, Pushto and Urdu) and a multitude of castes (Shah, 1992; Taylor, 1985). Young Asian women are also subject to in□uence from the local and regional cultures in which they are located. These factors combine to produce specific experiences for young Asian women in Britain; Asian cultures in London may be distinguished from their counterparts in Birmingham. Similarly, east London cultures have distinctive features as compared with those from west London (Brah, 1993).

Since the experiences of young women are shaped by a multiplicity of factors (including race, gender, class, ethnicity, ability, sexuality, regional origin of parents, religion, and regional location within Britain), their responses to the situations in which they find themselves will also vary. These depend upon particular relationships between the various structural factors that shape their experiences, and also upon the subjective experience of these situations. Young women of similar religious backgrounds located in the same region within Britain, whose parents originate from the same region in Pakistan, may define their experiences of school in very different ways. This may relate to the class position of their respective families in Britain, or to the gender patterns within their households.

Following Gramsci (1971), I want to argue that people are not determined by the social conditions they find themselves in. Instead, there is space to resist and challenge dominant cultural definitions within the sphere of civil society. The cultural spaces inhabited by Asian young women are not static but are historically variable, and Asian women can play an active part in either confirming or transforming them. The extent to which young Asian women are able to confirm or transform the cultural spaces they inhabit, including those of education, is discussed more fully in the final section. The next section, however, draws on an empirical study to outline some of the strategies employed by young Asian women to deal with their everyday experiences of schooling.

Strategies Employed by Young Asian Women in Schooling

This section reports on research (see Shain, 1996, 2003) that investigated the experiences of young Asian women, aged 13–16, across eight schools in the Greater Manchester and Staffordshire areas in England. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 44 Asian girls, all of whom were British born, of Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian descent and from one of three religious backgrounds: Muslim, Sikh or Hindu. Their families originated from different urban/rural backgrounds which gave rise to different class positions in their country and region

of origin but in the British context they were predominantly from working class backgrounds when defined by reference to parents' occupation.

The research revealed that young Asian women, rather than being passive recipients of oppressive cultural practices, were involved in making choices that were influenced by the multiplicity of factors outlined above. Those choices informed the conscious strategies that were employed by them to deal with their everyday experiences within schools. The models outlined below (which describe these strategies/responses) are in no way exhaus- tive or static; they serve instead as a heuristic device to illuminate the complexity of the experiences of young Asian women. The strategies are also historically specific, that is, subject to change in different economic, political and ideological structures in given historical periods. One woman may employ different responses at different moments in time. Three models or strategies were devised, based on empirical investigation: (i) resistance through culture, (ii) resistance against culture and (iii) survival. These are discussed below. However, final analysis revealed that the responses of the young women did not fit neatly into these categories and therefore five types of response are outlined below in order to illuminate the complexity of the lived experiences of young Asian women in contemporary Britain.

Resistance through Culture

One of the main characteristics of this response was the prioritization of racism as a source of oppression within the school. This was often to the neglect of other sources such as gender and class. The experience of racism in the school led to the formation of an all Asian female subculture, from which white students and teachers and Asian students who appeared to the young women to ally with whites in the school were excluded. Sexuality was an important mediating factor in that the young women were particularly judgmental of Asian girls who were involved in romantic relationships with boys, often employing sexist abusive language (Lees, 1997) to refer to them:

> There's a girl, [****], in the third year. She acts like she's English. She goes out with boys like she hangs round with boys in school like she's got no Asian friends and [she hangs round] with boys; white boys. [People] swear, to her face and behind her back; 'slag', 'bitch'; anything that comes into our minds; because she's stupid going out with an English boy and she's Asian. (PA, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

The above comment re□ects an expectation on the part of the speaker that Asian girls should maintain a collective identity as 'Asian' and female, and should not therefore be seen to associate with either boys or white students. Romantic relationships with white boys represent the ultimate symbol of incorporation into the dominant white culture of the school and Asian girls engaging in such activity are effectively punished through the questioning of their sexual reputation. Asian teachers were also expected by the girls to express loyalty to Asian students. When they failed to meet these expectations they were reported to have lost sight of their ethnic roots, becoming incorporated instead into the school's official dominant white culture. As one young woman put it, 'the black teachers, they try to mix in with the white ones and try to become like them' (TH). In this specific case the young woman (labelled as a persistent truant in the school) expressed her disappointment with Asian teachers. In her view these teachers were 'used' by and eventually 'sided with' white authority figures (welfare officers) against her family in warning them that her continued absence from school risked the potential involvement of social services. She had expected Asian teachers to identify with and be

sympathetic to the needs of Asian children and their families over and above their responsibility to the school. Clearly, however, Asian teachers have their own priorities and agendas as well as responsibilities to their employers. The idea that Asian teachers should be expected to speak on behalf of their communities reflects a 'burden of representation' (Parmar, cited in Open University, 1993) that is problematic, since Asians are not internally unified. Asian teachers, like others, may stand in contradictory and or even oppositional positions within their communities.

For the girls in this category, however, racism was a defining feature of their experience in schools and it was this that justified such expectations of other Asian students and teachers in the school. It also provided a vehicle for the expression of their identities in the school context, of which dress and language were important visible markers. Traditionally inspired modes of dress, for example, were defended with pride even when imposed by parents, and the use of 'home' language in the school was employed as an exclusionary mechanism:

> I speak [my language] at school sometimes with friends ... like when you want to say something and you don't want others to know like when there's Christian people present ... They say, 'speak in our language' ... We [say], 'no, we're not saying anything about you, it's just our culture'. [Laughs]. English people speak English, Asian people speak their own language. (TH, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

The speaking of home language in the above case not only marked out a separate Asian identity, excluding white students, teachers and some Asian students, but also enabled them to 'win space' as a way of defeating the boredom and low expectations associated with life in lower sets where these young women were predominantly found. School was therefore viewed as a place to have fun and meet friends because they did not expect to study beyond compulsory schooling. The pursuit of educational success did not therefore feature in this response:

> I can't read or write. I just [can't] be bothered. It's boring English. I just don't like the teacher, he's always picking on us, all the Asian girls...I'm not interested. I don't want to do anything. I just like coming to meet my friends. (AP, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

An association is made here between the teacher routinely 'picking on' Asian girls and the lack of interest in schooling. The validity of this view is not at question here; rather, it was the perception of being 'picked on' that produced a common focus that led to shared strategies containing wider implications for their future career and educational aspirations. In identifying racism as the main cause of their oppression, the young women appeared to accept and provide justification for the probability that they would not be allowed (by their parents) to proceed on to further education or work. The school became a central arena for the working out of Asian female identities in which they also attempted to convince other Asian women of the inevitability of their future roles as mothers and wives. Guiding this action was a fatalistic attitude fuelled by an inherent belief that no alternative was possible. Consequently, the young women challenged the dominant stereotypes of passive, timid and quiet Asian girls, by becoming involved in a number of activities that ran counter to the official culture of the school. This included truancy and fighting to defend themselves from racist attack; but in doing so felt they were punished more harshly by staff than were white students responsible for similar rule-breaking activities. The young woman cited below, for example, clearly felt that the school operated with a double standard on punishments for truancy:

> I think they're [teachers] racist to tell you the truth, they know the Asian' parents are stricter so they get on to 'em. Say an Asian person truanted and a white person truanted as well. Well they'd just tell the white person off, or send a letter. But they'd ring the Asian parents. (TH, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

Although the above statement is expressed hypothetically, it in fact refers to the incident alluded to earlier, when the school employed its Asian teachers to inform TH's parents of her poor school attendance. As a result of this knowledge, parental permission was withdrawn for her to continue her studies beyond compulsory schooling. Another young Asian woman was suspended during a critical examination period for 'fighting':

> About two weeks ago; the girl didn't get into much trouble; they let her get away with it. She said she wasn't really aiming at me but it does hurt when she says, a 'gang of Pakis' so I went to get her but I didn't hit her and she told the teacher and I got into trouble. (NN, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

This young women clearly felt that she had also been treated harshly by the school. In her view, the school had allowed racist behaviour to go unchecked precisely because she was perceived to be part of an Asian 'girl gang'. Both incidents cited above reflect the ways that common sense ideas informing the routine practices of teaching are shaped by practical ideologies that can have material effects (Parmar, 1988). The young women who refused to conform to the stereotypes of quietness and meekness were frequently labelled by teachers as a 'gang of Asian girls'. They were the least likely to be thought of favourably by teachers and claimed to receive little or no encouragement from the school to pursue academic success. Asian women who do not conform to the shy, timid and quiet stereotypes can be treated more harshly than other young women when they have broken school rules. Punishments were more severe precisely because these girls challenged what was expected and acceptable behaviour by an Asian girl. By not conforming to the stereotypes, such young women may be labelled as threatening, particularly when in all Asian groups and subjected to further racial abuse and physical attack (Brah & Minhas, 1985). In their rejection of schooling, however, the young women played an active part in the reproduction of the conditions of their oppression.

Survival

The main characteristic of this response was that neither sexism nor racism was resisted. The young women appeared to conform to the stereotypes of quiet and shy Asian women. However, this apparent conformity was part of a conscious strategy of survival. Unlike in the strategy of resistance through culture, language was not employed as a mechanism of white exclusion; a deliberate attempt was made to form friendships that crossed ethnic boundaries. Dress was context appropriate in that the majority of these young women wore trousers for school and traditional outfits at home. Although they were not exempt from name calling, the young women enjoyed positive relations with white students and with staff as a result of their apparent conformity with the stereotypes above. They were found in the higher academic sets within school and spoke of career plans with determination. The majority expected to combine a career with marriage but the choice of marriage partner was expected either to be made by parents or to be highly influenced by perceived religious requirements:

> I want someone who would let me have my freedom. Y'know let me get a job and support me; as well I'd like to support him in a sense. He would have to be Hindu in

> our religion obviously, it would be a scandal otherwise. (PM, Hindu, Bangladeshi descent)

This statement suggests that young Asian women are not passive receptors of cultural and religious practices; rather, they actively interpret which aspects of these practices to reject and which to accept, illustrating that Asian cultures are not static but variable (Bhachu, 1991) and that young Asian women play an active role in their transformation. For the young women in this category, academic success was the key factor that motivated their survival strategies within the school. In this process, a major consequence was deferred gratification. The young women did not, therefore, involve themselves in rule-breaking activities, nor did they confess to engaging in relationships that might threaten their existing positive relations with parents (or teachers), as the young woman cited here explains:

> There's a lot of Asian girls who go out with boys and I hate them y'know. Because I know it's against our religion. If that's what they want to do they can but the thing I don't like about them is they're two-faced. Because they can tell me that they go out with boys, but I already know, but [...] my mum trusts me and she knows I'll never do that. I know I'll never get that trust back off her. (ZK, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

It was the experience of family and in particular her relationship with her mother that differentiated this young woman's approach to schooling from the other Asian girls she describes as 'two-faced'. The trust and support of her mother for her education had been carefully secured and involvement in a heterosexual relationship could potentially destroy that trust, posing a threat to her educational aspirations. A further element of this and other survival strategies was an awareness that identification with the Asian girl groups in the school had particular consequences both in terms of negative relations with teachers and students and potential racial abuse. It was this awareness that in□uenced their association mainly with white students in order to avoid being subjected to racist name calling, 'because its not nice being called names especially in front of a whole class. I think as I said, I choose to stick with white girls to have less trouble. But I also stick with them because they are the only ones in my class' (ZK). Though such strategies protected them from name calling in the school, they did not guarantee protection outside the school:

> SS: [Racist name calling] doesn't happen in school that much but outside school it does; 'Paki'; 'Get out of this country'; 'It's not your country'.
>
> Interviewer: How do you feel ... ?
>
> SS: I'm not a Muslim. They don't know that, but I feel bad; just because it's not our country doesn't mean we can't stay in it. I mean, English people go to India don't they.
>
> Interviewer: When they say Paki, what do you think they mean?
>
> SS: They think I'm Muslim then.

It is clear from the above, that SS associates being a 'Paki' with being Muslim. This highlights the contested nature of this racist term of abuse particularly in the wake of the Rushdie affair and the crisis in the Gulf in the early 1990s. Both were key events in the racialization of religion (Modood, 1992; Miles, 1994; Solomos & Back, 1996) which appears to be internalized here.

This example also reflects the way that Asian girls are both positioned and position themselves in relation to such discourses (Mani & Franken- burg, 1993). Defining herself as an Indian Sikh and therefore as a non-Muslim in this specific context, SS is able to dissociate herself from a label that has its roots in the period of racialized immigration politics in the 1950s and 1960s (Solomos, 1992) but is one that continues to be applied to perceived members of the Asian community. In the late 20th century, therefore, there were a range of competing discourses of racism present and some were more dominant than others in certain moments of crisis.

The dissociation from Asian girl groups to avoid such labelling and the apparent conformity to stereotypes were factors that contributed to the positive perceptions held by some teachers and students of these girls. However, one consequence of this survival strategy was that other Asian women and Asian males within the school labelled them as 'stuck up' as a result of their willingness to associate with people across ethnic boundaries. The survival strategies of the young women contained the potential to widen access into higher and further education for young Asian women. Through their individualistic, hardworking strategies, they could win the approval of teachers and parents for further education. However, discrimination in the labour market must not be underestimated (Mirza, 1992), as the figures cited in the previous section would suggest.

Survival and Resistance against Culture

As with the previous category, the young women were predominantly found in the higher academic sets and enjoyed positive relations with staff. They adopted Western modes of dress both in the school and at home but in the majority of cases this was with parental permission and did not therefore represent active resistance:

> [My father] says you're over here, so you might as well behave as though you're here and not get left out. Part of what causes the trouble is the way people dress and how they stick to what they've come from, like if they come from India or Pakistan. They stick to their ... they think they can do as they please. That's a really big part of racial discrimination, the way they are themselves. (NS, Sikh, Indian descent)

The message that appears to have been internalized by this young woman, whose family were located in a more affluent area of Greater Manchester (and away from concentrated Asian areas), is that to avoid racial discrimination Asians need to abandon any inclination towards Indian or Pakistani cultures from 'back home'. Such behaviour is viewed as symbolic of a refusal to integrate into British society. It was this assumption that guided the strategies of young women like NS. They therefore positively dissociated from the Asian girl groups precisely because their non-conformist behaviour was perceived as a rejection of British identity.

Both immediate and deferred gratification were in evidence, with some young women allowing leisure pursuits, such as attendance at nightclubs, to compete with schoolwork. They also communicated their willingness to involve themselves in romantic relationships. Their willingness to associate with boys and to positively dissociate from the Asian girls groups led to their experience of sexist name calling within the school:

> [I have been called] 'tart' by other Asian girls; I'm not bothered. It's because they can't do it [go to nightclubs and dress in Western fashions]. If they could they'd understand. We just laugh at them and make them paranoid. (FH, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

In the above case there remained, however, a marked preference for an Asian (Muslim) boyfriend, illustrating again the way that some aspects of religious and cultural teachings remained important to them. For this young woman it was the thought of 'kissing someone who had just had a pork sandwich' that was unimaginable. Within the school, however, the adoption of Western modes of dress and the dissociation from Asian girls groups were influential in increasing their popularity with teachers and students, relative to the Asian girl groups. Compared with this group they were not perceived to be maintaining an exclusionary and separate Asian identity based on common experience of racism. Although racism was experienced by these young women, it was not prioritized as the main cause of their oppression. Rather, uneven gender relations within their communities were highlighted, with one young woman employing the term 'backward' to describe the views of her parents. Thus, on many occasions their views displayed an internalization of racist ideologies and this was further evident in their negative descriptions of other young Asian women in the schools:

> Well, I don't like the girls who are really like Pakis, I know I'm a Paki, but at least I don't speak my own language in front of people. It sometimes embarrasses you in front of your mates. (AA, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

In this instance a young Muslim woman makes a distinction between being labelled 'Paki' because of perceived membership of an Asian ethnic group and actual behaviour that is considered to be rude and embarrassing in the context of the wider culture of the school and by implication is more deserving of racial abuse. The attitudes and actions of the young women in this category contrasted with those of other young Asian women who by comparison were characterized as 'backward ' or as 'refusing to integrate '. Their actions thus unwittingly reinforced the negative imagery of Asians in British society.

Survival and Resistance through Culture

As with the young women in the resistance through culture category, the existence of racism in the school was highlighted. However, for these young women religion was identified as an important mediating factor in this experience of racism and was in□uential in their approach to schooling. They did not actively involve themselves in fighting, and confrontations with other students in the school or with teachers arose primarily when a perceived religious principle or practice was attacked. For example, one young woman expressed her frustration at being made to engage in activities that ran counter to Islamic beliefs as she understood them:

> Sometimes it really gets to me and I get worked up. Well ... like when they don't understand that you can't do certain things like in Islam, I don't really know if it's really true but what I've heard is that you can't draw pictures like of people because you have to put Jaan [life] in it right, but [the teachers] don't understand and they make you do it. It bugs me so, I get a short temper; I get really mad. (TT, Muslim, Pakistani descent)

Whether or not this was an accurate understanding of Islamic teachings is not at issue here (see Mirza, 1989); what is important is that, unlike in the strategy of resistance through culture category, for this young woman it was religion that was a vehicle for resistance against

teachers' authority (Knott & Khoker, 1993). For another young women it was the perceived hypocrisy of other Asian students (mainly Muslims) in the school that was the source of her frustration. Below she describes her disappointment with these students for ridiculing her brother's 'choice' to wear a turban:

> I said, 'If you don't want to wear things that represent your religion it's fine, but if he does just let him.' It was mainly Muslim people. I said, 'You wear white hats to mosque, why don't you wear them to school? If he goes to the Guddwarra he wears his turban and he also wears it to school. He's proud to be a Sikh. Why don't you be proud to be a Muslim? (BS, Sikh, Indian descent)

Schooling is an important site for the contestation of ethnic identities in relation to the hegemonic white culture of the school. The turban is a very visible symbol of non- conformity in this context and here Muslim students (predominantly male), both through their negative comments and by not wearing their white hats into school, play an active role in the marginalization and subordination of these identities. Despite being occasion- ally subjected to such ridiculing, the young women in this category continued to stress the importance of religion as a guiding principle in shaping their approach to schooling; as one young Muslim woman put it, 'It's important, the way I dress; my attitudes really. It's everyday life, the food I eat, the clothes I wear, my thoughts' (YB, Pakistani descent). However, they were not subjected to the racist name calling in school which the young women following the resistance through culture approach had to endure and, despite occasional disagreements with teachers, they were regarded favourably.

Located in the mid to higher sets, these young women were regarded positively by staff for two main reasons: firstly, they were seen to integrate, because within the school they formed friendships that crossed ethnic boundaries; secondly they appeared to conform to the stereotype of the shy Asian girl. Again, deferred gratification was an important consequence of this response. The young women did not involve themselves actively in all Asian friendships groups. Instead they worked conscientiously in attempting to achieve academic goals. A striking characteristic of this response was that they displayed a willingness to forsake future career plans for marriage:

> I might have to be married at 21. It's the way, so I won't make it to university. Maybe [to] college. I'll be married. [I'll be] in a house of my own maybe [with] my in-laws, hopefully with a job. I could carry on or maybe be a secretary. Mum and Dad choose a few people and I could meet them. I'm confident that my mum and dad will choose well. He'll have a nice home—I'm not scared of being thrown into prison like my cousins. He would have to be an Indian Sikh. (BS, Sikh Indian)

The majority of the young women in this category talked positively of the future careers they expected to pursue but expressed their willingness to forsake their future ambitions for marriage. At the best they expected to combine marriage with career. In the above example, the young woman had expressed a wish to enter into a career in pharmacy but realistically expected to be doing secretarial work as an aside to marriage because it is a perceived a religious expectation. They defended in general terms the arranged marriage by pointing to divorce rates for love marriages in the wider British context. They were also readily accepting in their own specific cases of their parents' choice of marriage partner. Unlike the women in the resistance through culture category, this prospect did not result in their rejection of

schooling and its replacement with strategies to defeat boredom within the school. They continued to pursue academic success in the hope that their parents might allow them to succeed, thus ultimately adopting a survival strategy.

Resistance against Culture

The main characteristics of this response were: the prioritization of sexism in the traditional parent communities as oppressive, in some cases to the denial of racism; identification of themselves as distinct from other Asian students, because of their willingness to mix across ethnic groups; identification of racism as caused by the behaviour of black groups themselves; Western values and tastes in preference to the traditional cultures of the home; a preference for white students as friends; active resistance against religious and cultural values. This strategy was not found in the final research study, only in the pilot study. I have included it because it exists, even if it is uncommon. The reasons for its lack of visibility are as follows: firstly, young Asian women who viewed their parental cultures as a positive source of identity did not wish to resist overtly against their parents. This was also the case when they required their parents' trust in order to pursue academic goals; secondly, direct and overt resistance was not necessary for some Asian women, because permission was given by parents to adapt cultural practices as appropriate; thirdly, some young Asian women avoided overt resistance because they had learned from the experiences of other Asian women that resistance did not pay. It could have severe consequences such as being withdrawn from school or even being 'sent back to Pakistan'.

These responses demonstrate that young Asian women are not passive recipients of cultural traditions which are handed down to them, rather they are involved in making meaningful and active decisions about their lives, which inform the various strategies employed by them in order to deal with the experience of schooling. Now that we have outlined the potential implications of the strategies for the educational performance of young Asian women, the final section examines the implications of each response for the confirmation or transformation of the social conditions in which they find themselves.

Discussion: theoretical implications of the responses of young Asian women

In an earlier section, drawing on the work of Gramsci, it was suggested that young Asian women are not determined by the social conditions they find themselves in and that:

> However dominant a social system may be the very meaning of its domination involves a limitation or selection of the activities it covers, so that by definition it cannot exhaust all social experience, which therefore always potentially contains space for alternative acts and alternative intention which are not yet articulated as a social institution or project. (Williams, cited in Said, 1986, p. 252)

It can be argued that the responses of young Asian women outlined above represent these 'alternative acts and alternative intentions'. The question that remains to be answered is that of where those responses are located, if they are not yet articulated as a social institution or project. For this purpose, it is useful to draw on the work of Williams (1980), who has extended Gramsci's concept of hegemony to assess the revolutionary potential of cultural spaces inhabited by people.

Like Gramsci, Williams contends that hegemony is never complete and is always open to contestation. He proposes that in any society there is a central system of practices, meanings and values that can be termed 'dominant and effective'. This he calls a 'corporate system', to refer to the general and dominant elements of hegemony (as opposed to 'subordinate' as used by Gramsci). This dominant system relies on the process of incorporation, suggesting that alternative systems of meanings can be tolerated, accommodated, diluted and even reinterpreted in terms of the dominant culture. Thus, hegemony is not imposed ideology; there are struggles, meanings and practices that are not part of the dominant culture and potentially pose a threat to its dominance (Williams, 1980). Meaning systems fall into two general categories, alternative and oppositional, which for Williams contain a simple theoretical distinction; between those who find an alternative or different way to live their lives without challenging the dominant culture and those who find an alternative and wish to change society in its image. This is the difference between individual and small group action and potentially revolutionary actions that involve collective resistance. However, Williams maintains that there is a fine line between individual and collective struggle approaches.

Like other political theorists who have made contentions that oppositional and political consciousness and organized resistance can develop out of oppressive social relations and conditions, Williams has not specified the precise way in which this process occurs. Through her study of survivors of sexual abuse, Kelly (1988) has developed a model that outlines three stages in development from individual action to collective struggle that is revolutionary. According to this model, the first stage involves the recognition that the cause of personal experiences is oppressive social relations. Secondly, this understanding must be accompanied by a belief that social change is both necessary and possible. The third and final stage involves the coming together of individuals into some form of collective organization that is consciously directed towards achieving the necessary change. She also maintains that each strategy is relatively autonomous of the others, and that progression between the stages is not automatic (1988, p. 228). Although there are problems with Kelly's progressive model, it is useful to draw on here as a tool to explore the possibilities and limitations to collective action.

In terms of the above model, the young women in the resistance through culture category had reached the first stage. They prioritized racism in their oppression within the school and in their local struggles. Although they did not articulate their experiences within anti-racist constructs, their causal explanations drew upon an experiential under- standing of their subordinate position in society. Their prioritization of racism led to the formation of all female Asian friendship groups in which they found solace. They were involved in rule-breaking activities that included truancy and fighting. There was evidence that a minority of these young women were conscious of the need for change, but for the majority it was not considered to be a real possibility. This led to their adoption of immediate gratification, whereby they sought immediate pleasure at the expense of academic success. These young women, then, had not fully reached stage two of the process outlined above. Therefore, their use of resistance within the school must be identified as a coping mechanism rather an oppositional response that threatened the dominant culture's hegemony in any real way (Williams,1980). Although their resistance strategies presented a threat to the dominant culture, ultimately these resistances were incorporated, and they were unable to turn the situation to their advantage. By 'messing about' within the school and 'having fun' the women effectively withdrew themselves from legitimate means of success from the point of view of the dominant culture. They therefore adopted a strategy that confirmed their oppressive conditions; without educational qualifications their labour market choices were limited. Although the adoption of collective

survival strategies cannot be regarded as 'collective organizations' consciously directed towards achieving the necessary social change' (Kelly, 1988, p. 228), their actions did present a challenge to the dominant stereotypes of them as passive and obedient.

The young women in the survival response had also reached stage one. This is because they identified personal experiences as caused by oppressive social relations. They recognized a number of oppressive relations, and not merely racism, in operation in school and society. The survivors had also reached the second stage in that they recognized the need for a change to these oppressive relations. Although their responses remained individual and they had not reached the third stage of collective struggle, the young women adopted an approach that was based on individual survival and did not connect with other struggles in these schools. Instead, they believed that social change was possible through educational mobility and set about pursuing this individualistic option. Though at this stage it did not represent a conscious, collective strategy that was directed towards achieving necessary change, in the long term this response contained the potential to provide the young women with individual success and recognition.

The young women in the survival/resistance against culture category had also reached the first two stages of the model outlined above. They had reached stage one because they recognized that personal experiences were caused by oppressive social relations. Their responses drew on an experiential understanding of race, class and gender discrimination. However, a number of these women prioritized gender relations within the home as the cause of their oppression. The majority had reached the second stage believing, like the survivors, that change to their situation was necessary. However, they conformed to a survival response, believing that change could be achieved through educational mobility. They did not actively resist parental wishes and again the responses of these young women represented survival strategies that were directed towards personal advancement; but in adopting this response they challenged dominant attitudes and expectations of Asian girls through their achievements

Finally, in the survival/resistance through culture response the young women through their experiences had recognized racism, sexism and class as obstacles. Some had reached the second stage in identifying areas of the school curriculum and practice that required change. However, they were apparently content to adopt an alternative lifestyle to that of the dominant culture. This response drew on their religious beliefs and defiance was displayed openly when these views were under attack. Through this response, new religious identities were being created and lived. However, no evidence emerged of the young women joining religious groups such as Hizb'u'Tachrir (HT), a revolutionary Muslim youth group, which could have represented a conscious and collective organization directed towards achieving change. It must be acknowledged, however, that HT is very male dominated and may not be a comfortable place for young women.

None of the young women had reached stage three, that of turning individual struggle into collective survival. Their responses must therefore be viewed as coping strategies rather than oppositional. In this context, the response of resistance through culture represents a coping mechanism or a survival strategy. The young women's responses must be viewed as alternatives to the dominant culture rather than oppositional because they do not represent a real threat to the hegemony of the dominant culture.

Although the responses were not revolutionary, the strategies of the young women cannot be viewed simply as reproductions of the apparently static cultures that are handed down to them

(as in cultural pathology frameworks). Instead they reveal that young Asian women are involved in creating and shaping new identities for themselves which draw both on the various residual cultures of their parents' traditions and on the local and regional cultures that they currently inhabit. This has important implications for schooling, in that young Asian women cannot be simply viewed as the passive victims of cultural practices that oppress them. Schools need to reassess the part they play in the reproduction of such assumptions by paying attention to routine practices (through classroom interaction, careers advice, discipline procedures) that may, albeit unwittingly, reinforce them.

Conclusion

This paper set out to develop an analytical framework able to capture the complex reality of the lived experiences of young Asian women. By drawing on the work of Gramsci it has demonstrated that, contrary to the stereotypes and pathological assumptions found in some academic discourses, young Asian women are not passive, 'obedient little creatures' who are 'caught between two cultures'. Rather, there is intention and purpose in their actions. They are involved in creating new meanings and identities that involve conscious strategies of survival to deal with the everyday situations they find themselves in. These conscious strategies of survival are influenced by the complex interrelationship of a multiplicity of factors that account for their experiences in contemporary British society. These strategies or responses, though not revolutionary, also pose a serious challenge for studies of schooling that view Asian cultures as static and incapable of change. They also reveal that schools are important sites for the contestation of Asian female identities.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the young women and the schools who took part in the research on which this paper is based. I am extremely grateful to Jenny Ozga and would also like to thank David Gadd.

References

ANTHIAS, F. & YUVAL-DAVIS, N. (1992) *Racialized Boundaries* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul).
BARKER, M. (1981) *The New Racism* (London, Junction Books).
BASIT, T. (1997a) *Eastern Values, Western Milieu: identities and aspirations of adolescent British Muslim girls* (Aldershot, Ashgate).
BASIT, T. (1997b) I want more freedom but not too much, *Gender and Education*, 9(4), pp.425–439
BECKERLEGGE, G. (1991) 'Strong cultures' and discrete religions: the influence of imperialism, *New Community*, 17(2), pp. 201–210.
BHACHU, P. (1991) Culture and ethnicity amongst Punjabi Sikh women in 1990's Britain, *New Community*, 17(3), pp. 401–412
BHAVNANI, K. (1993) Towards a multicultural Europe?: 'race', nation and identity in 1992 and beyond, *Feminist Review*, 45, pp. 30–45.
BRAH, A. (1993) 'Race' and 'culture' in the gendering of labour markets: South Asian young women and the labour market, *New Community*, 19(3), pp. 441–458.
BRAH, A. & MINHAS, R. (1985) Structural racism or cultural difference, in: G. WEINER (Ed.) *Just a Bunch of Girls* (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).
CAMPBELL, A. (1984) *The Girls in the Gang* (New York, Blackwell).
CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES (CCCS) (1982) *The Empire Strikes Back* (London, Routledge). COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION (CRC) (1976) *Between Two Cultures* (London, CRC).

CORRIGAN, P. (1976) Doing nothing, in: S. HALL & T. JEFFERSON (Eds) *Resistance through Rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (London, Hutchinson).
DOWNES, D. (1966) *The Delinquent Solution* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul).
DRURY, B.M. (1991) Sikh girls and the maintenance of an ethnic culture, *New Community*, 17(3), pp. 387–399. FORGACS, D. (1988) *A Gramsci Reader* (London, Lawrence & Wishart).
FRYER, P. (1985) *Staying Power: the history of black people in Britain* (London, Pluto Press).
FRYER, P. (1988) *Black People in the British Empire: an introduction* (London, Pluto).
GARLAND, D. (1996) The limits of the sovereign state: strategies of crime control in contemporary society, *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(4), pp. 445–471.
GILROY, P. (1982) Police and thieves, in: CCCS, *The Empire Strikes Back* (London, Hutchinson).
GILROY, P. (1987) *Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: the cultural politics of race and nation* (London, Hutchinson). GILROY, P. & LAWRENCE, E. (1988) Two-tone Britain: white and black youth and the politics of anti-racism, in: P. COHEN & H. BAINS (Eds) *Multi-racist Britain* (London, Macmillan).
GRAMSCI, A. (1971) *The Prison Notebooks* (London, Lawrence & Wishart).
GRIFFIN, C. (1985) *Typical Girls?: young women from school to the job market* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul). GRIFFIN, C. (1986) *Black and White Youth in a Declining job market: unemployment amongst Asian, Afro Caribbean and white young people in Leicester* (Leicester, Centre for Mass Communications Research, Leicester University Research Report Series).
GRIFFIN, C. (1993) *Representations of Youth* (Cambridge, Polity Press)
GUTZMORE, C. (1983) Black youth: and crime, *Race and Class*, 25(2), pp.13–30.
HALL, S. (1980) Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance, in: UNESCO, *Sociological Trends: race and colonialism* (Paris, UNESCO).
HALL, S. (1992) New ethnicities, in: J. DONALD & A. RATTANSI (Eds) *Race, Culture and Difference* (London, Sage). HALL, S., CRITCHER, C., JEFFERSON, T., CLARK, J. & ROBERTS, B. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: mugging, the state and law and order* (London, Macmillan).
HALL, S., HELD, D. & MCGREW, T. (1996) *Modernity and Its Futures* (Buckingham, Open University/Polity). HAW, K. (1994) Muslim girls schools: a conflict of interests? *Gender and Education*, 6(1), pp. 63–76.
KELLY, L. (1988) *Surviving Sexual Violence* (Cambridge, Polity Press).
KHAN, V.S. (1976) Pakistani women in Britain, *New Community*, 5(1–2), pp.99–108.
KLUG, F. (1989) Oh to be in England: the British case study, in: F. ANTHIAS & N. YUVAL-DAVIS (Eds) *Woman–Nation–State* (London, Macmillan).
KNOTT, K. & KHOKER, S. (1993) Religious and ethnic identity among young Muslim women in Bradford, *New Community*, 19(4), pp. 593–610.
LABOUR MARKET TRENDS (1997) *Labour Market Trends*, 105(8) (London, HMSO)
LACLAU, E. & MOUFFE, C. (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London, Verso).
LAWRENCE, E. (1982) Just plain common sense: the roots of racism, in: CCCS, *The Empire Strikes Back* (London, Hutchinson).
LEES, S. (1997) *Ruling Passions: sexual violence, reputation and the law* (Buckingham, Open University Press). LEONARD, E. (1987) *Women, Crime and Society* (London, Longman).
MAC AN GHAILL, M. (1988) *Young, Gifted and Black: student–teacher relations in the schooling of black youth* (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).
MCROBBIE, A. (1991) *Feminism and Youth Culture: from Jackie to Just Seventeen* (London, Macmillan).
MCROBBIE, A. & GARBER, J. (1976) Girls and subcultures, in: S. HALL & T. JEFFERSON (Eds) *Resistance through Rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (London, Hutchinson).
MANI, L. & FRANKENBURG, R. (1993) Cross currents, crosstalk: race, 'postcoloniality' and the politics of location, *Cultural Studies*, 7(2) pp. 292–400
MAYS, J. (1954) *Juvenile Delinquency* (London, Cape).
MILES, R. (1982) *Racism and Migrant Labour* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul).
MILES, R. (1994) Racism in Europe: unity and diversity, in: A. RATTANSI & S. WESTWOOD (Eds) *Racism, Modernity and Identity* (London, Polity).
MIRZA, H. S. (1992) *Young, Female and Black* (London, Routledge).

MIRZA, K. (1989) The Silent Cry: second generation Bradford Muslim women speak, *Muslims in Europe 43* (London, Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations).
MODOOD, T. (1992) British Asian Muslims and the Rushdie affair, in: J. DONALD & A. RATTANSI (Eds) *Race, Culture and Difference* (London, Sage).
OPEN UNIVERSITY (1993) *The Burden of Representation*, Course Ed. 386, Race, Education and Society (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).
PARMAR, P. (1988) Gender, race and power: the challenge to youth work practice, in: P. COHEN & H. BAINS (Eds) *Multiracist Britain* (London, MacMillan).
PARMAR, P. (1990) Black feminism and the politics of articulation, in: J. RUTHERFORD (Ed.) *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* (London, Lawrence & Wishart).
PARMAR, P. & AMOS, V. (1981) Resistances and responses: the experiences of black girls in Britain, in: A. MCROBBIE & T. MCCABE (Eds) *Feminism for Girls: an adventure story* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul). PARMAR, P. & MIRZA, N. (1983) Steppin' forward—working with Asian young women, *Gen*, 1, pp. 16–19.
ROSE, E.J.B., DEAKIN, N., ABRAHAMS, M., JACKSON, V., PESTON, M., VANGS, A.H., COHEN, B., GAITSKILL, J. & WARD, P. (1969) *Colour and Citizenship* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
RUTHERFORD, J. (Ed.) (1990) *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* (London, Lawrence & Wishart).
SAID, E. (1986) Foucault and the imagination of power. in: D. COUZENS-HOY (Ed.) *Foucault: a critical reader* (London, Blackwell).
SEARLE, C. (1990) Race before wicket, empire and the white rose, *Race and Class*, 31(3), pp 31–48.
SHAH, R. (1992) *The Silent Minority: children with disabilities in Asian families* (London, National Children's Bureau). SHAIN, F. (1996) A study of the experiences and responses of young Asian women in secondary education in Britain. Unpublished PhD thesis, Keele University, Keele.
SHAIN, F. (2003) *The Schooling and Identity of Asian* Girls (Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham).
SOLOMOS, J. (1992) The politics of immigration since 1945, in: P. BRAHAM, A RATTANSI & R. SKELLINGTON (Eds) *Racism and Anti Racism: inequalities, opportunities and policies* (London, Sage).
SOLOMOS, J. & BACK, L. (1994) Conceptualising racisms: social theory, politics and research, *Sociology*, 28(1), pp. 143–161.
TAYLOR, M. (1985) *The Best of Both Worlds* (Oxford, NFER).
WATSON, J. (Ed.) (1976) *Between Two Cultures: migrants and minorities in Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell).
WILLIAMS, R. (1980) Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory, in: R. WILLIAMS *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London, New Left Books).
WILLIS, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: how working class kids get working class jobs* (London, Saxon House).
WING (1985) *Women, Immigration and Nationality Group: worlds apart, women under immigration law* (London, Pluto). WISE, S. (1995) Why Asian women still run away from home, *Cosmopolitan*, March, pp. 12–15.