

**Individual and family expectations among first
and second generation Sikh women in the UK:
aspirations, constraints and patriarchal practices.**

Ms Harpreet Kaur Bains

*Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the
Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield.*

November 2005

Acknowledgements

Without the time, help and financial support of many people, this study would have been impossible.

I owe great gratitude to the women who gave up their time to be interviewed, without these women this study would not have been possible.

My sincere thanks go to my supervisor, David Phillips, who gave me his time and support over the years. I would also like to thank Malcolm Cowburn for his meticulous comments in the final stages of this thesis.

I would also like to thank my friends John Richardson, Steve Huckerby, Mariano Campoy, Morgan Meyer, Jo Britton, Kate Reed, Richard Jenkins and Harpal Johal for numerous conversations about my work. Many thanks to Dominique Kuenzle who spent hours reading over my transcripts and discussing, over several hundred curries, the experiences and concerns of South Asian women in the UK. Paramdeep Singh deserves a special mention as he spent hours helping me with transcribing the data, thanks Param.

Last but not least, I owe my greatest gratitude to my family. My brothers, Rajvinder and Sandeep and my sister-in-law Sandeep Kaur, have provided me with much encouragement and support over the years. The two most important people when writing this thesis have been my parents who have provided me with endless emotional and financial support and much laughter and happiness. Words cannot express how grateful and indebted I am to you both, thank you mum and dad.

Abstract

This thesis explores the lives of first and second generation Sikh women in the UK. It explores how women's lives are affected by family expectations, patriarchal practices and relations. Based on thirty-nine interviews (nineteen with first generation women and twenty with second generation women), the study provides an insight into generational trends and changing perspectives on patriarchal practices within the Sikh community.

This study assesses how first and second generation Sikh women see 'appropriate behaviour' of women as reinforced by both men and women. Women's perceptions of the impact of the Sikh community on individuals and their families are explored to evaluate the role it has in reinforcing 'traditional' and patriarchal values on its members.

Beginning with a review of the available literature and a discussion of its limitations the thesis moves on to give an overview of the position of South Asian groups in the UK, focusing particularly on the Sikh community and Sikh women. The thesis identifies feminist theory and the grounded theory approach as appropriate analytical tools for the research into Sikh women's perceptions of their families and communities. The results are then organised under three main headings – community, family and patriarchy. Finally, the conclusion ties together the respondents' narratives and situates Sikh women's experiences within the sphere of the Sikh family and community in the UK.

This thesis is dedicated to my baba ji

Thanks baba

Dalipchand Bains 1903 – 2003

Contents

Chapter One:	Introduction	1
	A note on terms and terminology	9
Chapter Two:	The South Asian community in Britain	11
	Introduction	11
	Problems with the South Asian category	12
	Demography of South Asians in the UK: Ethnicity and economic activity	14
	Historical overview of Sikhism and religious participation of Sikhs in the UK	17
	Migration process	21
	Ethnic minority families and 'the Sikh family'	26
	Ideological shifts in family values and ageing	32
	Second generation	42
	Arranged and transnational marriage	44
	Sikh women and limitations in literature	47
	Conclusion	48
Chapter Three:	South Asian women and patriarchy	50
	Introduction	50
	Feminism and the concept of patriarchy	51
	Public and private patriarchy	54
	British South Asian women, patriarchy and the family	57
	British Asian women and paid work	59
	<i>Izzat</i> , honour and respect	62
	Conclusion	64

Chapter Four:	Methodology	66
	Introduction	66
	Feminist methodology	66
	Qualitative research and grounded theory	72
	Tensions, contradictions and overlaps between the Feminist perspective and grounded theory	77
	Methods: Sample and background of respondents	81
	Table: Details of Respondents	83
	First attempt of entering the field	85
	Second attempt to gain access	89
	Thoughts on gaining access and problems encountered being an 'insider'	91
	Biographical/life history method	94
	Interviews	97
	Data collection and analysis	100
	Coding, categories and emerging themes	101
	Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability	103
	Conclusion	107
 Chapter Five:	 The influence of the Sikh community and extended family	 108
	Introduction	108
	'Changes' for first generation Sikh women	108
	Community and extended family pressure on women	110
	'The gossip community'	114
	Respect	119
	Conclusion	121

Chapter Six:	Female relationships within the Sikh family	123
	Introduction	123
	'Breakdown of the family'	123
	Living with in-laws	126
	Living in a nuclear family	131
	Expectations of daughters-in-law	139
	The perspective of the mothers-in-law	142
	Sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law	144
	Transnational marriage	146
	Families reinforcing patriarchal practices with domestic violence – Hardeep's and Jasbir's stories	150
	Conclusion	155
Chapter Seven:	Patriarchy	157
	Introduction	157
	Sikh religion	158
	Power and control	163
	'Double standards'	166
	'Too modern'	171
	Housework	173
	Conclusion	177
Chapter Eight:	Conclusion	179
	The categories of 'first' and 'second' generation	180
	'Surveillance'	181
	Households within the Sikh community	184
	Questioning patriarchal practices: second generation women	188
	<i>Izzat</i> and patriarchy	189
	Sikh families in the UK and private patriarchy	191
	Concluding remarks	193
Bibliography:		195

Chapter One

Introduction

My grandfather, Dalipchand, arrived in the UK in 1966. On arrival he resided with fifteen people in a three bedroom house and started full-time employment the next day at the local foundry. He worked long hours, in poor conditions for very little money. In 1967 my father arrived. Aged fifteen he started work at the foundry and moved into the household of sixteen. In 1974 my father and grandfather left England for their 'homeland', India, in order to find a bride, my mother. My mother arrived with duvets which my grandmother had made especially, with extra cotton, because she had heard that it was 'very cold in England'. On arrival, my mother worked full-time as a machinist, took care of the domestic duties and cared for me and my brothers. Importantly, a priority for my parents and grandfather was to save money and 'send it back home'.

Forty years later, my grandfather sits in an affluent suburb of Kent with his Alsatian in the garden, sipping his Hennessey and watching Cilla Black's *Blind Date* and, bizarrely – something which I and my brothers could not grasp – *Songs of Praise*. My mother and father, initially starting off with debts and factory jobs, have become economically and socially well established in both their 'homelands' and have moved up the class ladder to become middle class citizens.

Moving the attention to a second generation British born Sikh, I have grown up in an extended family which consisted of my grandfather, mother, father, uncle, aunty, cousins, brothers, sister-in-law and nephew. I was (and still am) enriched and rooted within a complex family structure sprawling over four generations. Additionally, I reside on the one hand within a Sikh community which partly functions by, and survives on, 'policing' or 'surveying' and defining the behaviour of individuals and their families. On the other hand, I reside with white English people where my identity as an Indian women is reasserted and 'where I am free to roam'.

One of the important experiences of growing up in the British Sikh community is that Sikh cultural expectations and 'surveillance' of individuals by the community

and extended family are often directed at women and affect them more than men. Thus, this study attempts to focus on the experiences of Sikh women living in the UK and to assess the impact of these cultural expectations upon them.

This study does not attempt to explore or focus on concepts and arguments surrounding questions of 'race' and ethnicity (see Malik, 1996; Back and Solomos, 2000; Hutchinson and Smith, 1996; Rex, 1986 for a fuller discussion). This is a consequence of its focus on intra-family and intra-community relations, and more specifically on generational issues and the movement from extended to nuclear family units. The study explores internal relationships within a given group rather than the relationships and interaction with external groups or organisations. The study does however acknowledge the role of 'race', racism and class in the lived realities and experiences of South Asian women.

This exploratory study emerged within a grounded theory framework. Although the study is conducted with recognisably feminist research interests, it aims to generate theory through the data rather than test pre-existing concepts or theories.

Consequently, the study does not fit into the generic discussions of 'race', racism, cultural studies, anthropology or identity. In academic terms this study can be broadly categorised as 'South Asian studies'. The study therefore gives a voice to Sikh women and makes public their concerns and experiences.

For the purpose of this study, first generation Sikh women can be defined as women who arrived from the Punjab, India, often as brides, in the late 1960s and 1970s. Most of these first generation migrants came as adults and many were without any formal qualifications (Modood, 1997). Second generation women, on the other hand, can be described in terms of being British born and British educated children of immigrant parents (Wilson, 1978). The third generation, who are not the focus of this study, but are mentioned throughout the thesis, can be broadly defined as having been educated in British schools and as in many cases being the children of persons who have been educated in Britain (Modood, 1997) and the grandchildren of first generation migrants. Additionally, this study also explores the experiences of a group of young women who have recently arrived from India. This group of women can be defined as arriving from India over the past five years, from wealthy middle

class backgrounds in the Punjab, educated in India to university level and married to British born Sikh men.

This study seeks to grasp a better understanding of the development and position of Sikh women in the UK. It collates existing literature on Sikhs, bringing together census material and smaller scale studies to outline and distinguish Sikhs from other South Asian groups. It is, however, important to note that the literature available on Sikhs is limited in quantity and scope. The last major study conducted specifically on Sikhs dates back to Roger Ballard's work (1977), which attempts to give an overview of the migrants' experience of settlement in the UK. After his initial work on the Sikhs, Ballard has moved on to explore Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian groups (1982; 1994). Further, he has increased his academic focus on Islam, Pakistani and Muslim communities (1996). More recently (2001) his academic works examine South Asians as a whole, and attempts to distinguish some of the similarities and differences between the Punjabi groups.

There is extensive literature on the Sikh Religion. McLeod (1999) and Jakobsh (2003) explore the religious teachings of the gurus, and American scholars such as Mahmood and Brady (2000) assess the tensions and contradictions between religious and cultural beliefs of Sikh women in America. Parminder Bhachu (1985) on the other hand has focused on East African Sikhs and their experience of being 'twice migrants' and has focused on issues surrounding women and the subjects of arranged marriage, education and dowry.

Although this study has raised some questions about Sikh male identity, Sikh women are the focus of interest. Of the many possible ways of characterising and exploring Sikh women, such as class, educational qualifications, caste, or marital status, this study primarily focuses on the impact of the family and community on women. It reveals substantial differences between the expectations, standards and modes of behaviour experienced by first and second generation women.

In some cases first generation women reinforce patriarchal beliefs and practices on women due to cultural expectations of how women should behave and the fear of losing *izzat* (honour) or bringing shame to the family. More specifically, some first

generation women reinforce patriarchal beliefs particularly on daughters-in-law, partly because these women are expected to provide care for in-laws in old age and thus act as a form of 'social security'. On the other hand, many second generation women expressed discontent with 'men being allowed to get away with things compared to women', 'women having to do all the housework' and the notions of '*izzat*/honour' applying particularly to females and not males. Accordingly, the focus on generational differences between Sikh women provides an opportunity to explore how patriarchal structures can be conserved by women themselves, and enforced by older women on younger women.

Being an 'insider' and a sociologist enables me to assess the complex and often oppressive patriarchal relations among group members. However, to what extent I can completely remove myself from the community under study is questionable. Additionally, my shared experience with Asian women may mean they are more willing to speak to me (Bhopal, 2001). On the other hand, my shared experience may also mean that some Sikh women may not always want to speak or confide in me because of a fear of me knowing a member of her family or someone from her wider social network. Consequently, I will attempt to explore the complexities of participating as an 'insider' in the methodological section of the thesis.

The thesis begins with a review of relevant research literature, bringing together the limited literature on Sikhs in the UK. One key aim of this survey is to distinguish British Sikhs from other South Asians groups. In particular, differences and similarities among Sikhs, Pakistanis, Hindus and other minority groups in Britain will be sketched in. Whereas studies of impoverished or underachieving groups, as well as the surge of interest in 'Muslim groups' after September 11, have led to a considerable amount of data on British Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, Sikhs and Hindus have been less extensively studied (for a discussion on Hindus see Ramji, 2003 and Raj, 2003). A possible explanation for this apparent lack of interest is that many Sikhs and Hindus have succeeded in obtaining higher educational qualifications and becoming 'middle class' (see Modood et al., 1997).

Based on the limited literature available, this chapter gives a brief overview of educational attainment of ethnic groups in the UK, explores the differences in

income between the groups and touches upon age composition and geographical location of minority groups. It sketches the migration process from the Indian subcontinent to the UK and discusses the status and position of the migrants at the time of migration to Britain. Additionally, the chapter briefly touches upon the stereotypes of black and Asian families and the ageing process within Asian families, and defines the extended family within the South Asian context. Instead of attempting to give an overview of the history of the family (see Hareven, 2000) or explore the family over the life course (see Hockey and James 2003), the section focuses specifically on ethnic minority families and locates the chapter within a wider context of South Asian Studies.

The chapter then focuses on first and second generation Sikhs. It looks at how the migration process and residency in the UK have affected Sikh families, as well as the cultural and religious values and beliefs of their members. A sketch of the Sikh religion is provided, and the religious principles that are relevant to the questions of gender equality are highlighted.

A theoretical chapter follows the literature review. It introduces the concept of patriarchy, presents and discusses various existing definitions, and uses the concept to identify certain structures, roles, practices and values as patriarchal. Although the chapter is primarily interested in patriarchal structures within South Asian families, it places special emphasis on Walby's (1990) discussion of private and public patriarchy. It prepares the ground to use this distinction in relation to Sikh women in the UK. Importantly, the chapter contests the notion that patriarchal relations are specifically male-female and argues that relationships between women can be just as oppressive. The notion of *izzat* or family honour is introduced and presented as one key factor playing a role in enforcing and maintaining patriarchal relations within the Sikh community. Further, the literature on paid work is summarised in relation to ethnic minority women, in particular first and second generation Sikh women.

Chapter four is concerned with methodology. The first half of the chapter presents the methodological position of the study. It situates this thesis within the broad category of qualitative research, thus allowing greater depth and understanding of the lives of the respondents, which would not be achievable with a quantitative

study. The importance of working within a framework of feminist and grounded theory methodology is discussed in detail. Potential contradictions which emerge from combining feminist and grounded theory principles are also discussed.

The second half of the chapter explores the complexities involved in the practicalities of conducting interviews and gaining access. The number of interviews conducted, age categories and socio-economic position of the women interviewed are described. Further, 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives are discussed and the cost of being an 'insider' is sketched out in relation to my own personal experience in the field.

The following chapters proceed to present results and data from the interviews. The first results chapter, 'The Influence of the Sikh Community and Extended Family', outlines how Sikh women perceive the beliefs and expectations of family members and the wider Sikh community as determining how they should behave. The notion of *izzat* is discussed, particularly in relation to its role in justifying and motivating 'surveillance' and 'maintaining checks' on female members of the family and community. Throughout this thesis the concept of 'policing' or 'surveillance' is used, which can be described as a force which regulates the behaviour of individuals and their families. In this context, the respondents' appeals to respect are discussed, as many first generation women believe that respect has declined among second generation women. First generation women make comparisons from their own experiences and interactions with their mothers-in-law and suggest that they themselves were more respectful compared to the 'girls these days'. Overall this chapter considers the importance of community influence and the pressure the Sikh community places on individuals and their families.

The second results chapter focuses on family relations, and the interactions between individuals and family members. The chapter begins by briefly outlining the changing structure of Sikh families. Respondents, particularly first generation women, give their views on the movement away from an extended family unit to a nuclear family unit. The chapter moves on to explore the types of pressures and expectations family members place upon individuals. Although the chapter places special emphasis on the relations between in-laws and daughters-in-law, and

common notions of what it is to be a 'dutiful daughter-in-law', the roles of sister-in-law and brother-in-law are also considered. The chapter concludes by introducing the issue of patriarchy within the Sikh community. In particular it focuses on mothers-in-law reinforcing, and in-laws turning a blind eye to, patriarchal practices.

Whereas chapters five and six analyse the respondents' statements with respect to patriarchal family structures, beliefs and practices, the final results chapter looks more directly at how respondents deal with what they perceive as gender inequality within the family and community. Much emphasis is placed on the way some British second generation Sikh women invoke religious principles in order to challenge cultural values and family structures that they perceive as patriarchal. Subsections in the chapter concentrate on the kind of power and control that is asserted over some women through domination and domestic violence. Sikh women's perceptions of the attitudes of Sikh men towards gender equality are presented, and similar to previous chapters, differences between the assessments of first and second generation women are identified and analysed. First generation respondents often claim that second generation Sikh men are less patriarchal than their first generation counterparts, or indeed not patriarchal at all. Second generation women, on the other hand, usually insist on the inherently patriarchal standards of second generation men, which they see as no different from the beliefs of first generation men.

The chapter also assesses the patriarchal beliefs of mothers-in-law and their apprehensions of young women becoming 'too modern' and not fulfilling expectations of a daughter-in-law. It surfaces that many first generation women reinforced patriarchal practices and expressed discontent with second generation women who had become 'English' or 'too modern'. Additionally, some daughters-in-law and many married women name housework as a key issue of concern when living with their in-laws. Accordingly, the chapter explores women's discontent with domestic work.

The concluding chapter brings together the theoretical discussion and results from the research. The chapter explores the complex issues associated with extended and nuclear families and emphasises that the movement from an extended family unit to a nuclear family unit does not indicate a breakdown of emotional and financial ties

for the Sikh community. The subject of the wider community and its influence on individuals and their families has been underestimated and consequently there is a gap in the research literature. This study has partly attempted to fill this gap; however, in the conclusion it is argued that there is a need for further research in the field of community pressure and influence. Additionally, the consequences of an ageing Sikh population and the apprehensions and fear of first generation women residing alone is identified in the chapter. Further, the contentious issue of patriarchy within the Sikh community and the differences in beliefs between first and second generation women are reinstated and the implications of these differences are explored.

Overall, the study attempts to present, and analyse, Sikh women's views and perceptions of their community and family. The focus of interest is therefore on how Sikh women situate themselves within the patriarchal structures of the family and Sikh community. This enables the study to present and analyse the qualms women have with issues of gossip, double standards, expectations and pressures. The study outlines the complex dynamics between mothers-in-law, sisters/brothers-in-law, mother, father, husbands and importantly daughters and daughters-in-law. Although many of the first and second generation women in the study live in nuclear family units, all of them continue to maintain strong emotional and financial ties with the in-laws and paternal family members. Second generation women find the close ties often 'stressful' and 'pressurising'. Additionally, many first generation women express their apprehensions of children 'moving away' and question who will care for them in old age.

Importantly, the study reveals that women negotiate and contest traditional cultural and patriarchal beliefs of individuals and community members. The study also reveals that many first generation women believe that second generation women are 'too modern', and are forming nuclear family units, and becoming independent, educated and wage earners. By contrast, many first generation women believe that Indian born women are not 'modern' because they are from India and thus make more 'traditional' and 'respectful' daughters-in-law. Both first and second generation women suggest that the belief that 'women from India are more

traditional' and are more likely to conform to traditional cultural practices is precisely why some Sikhs marry off their sons in India.

A Note on Terms and Terminology

Over the years a controversy has emerged regarding the category 'black' as a common identifier for the experiences of African-Caribbean and South Asian groups (Modood, 1997; Brah, 1996). African-Caribbeans and South Asians who migrated to Britain during the post-war period occupied, broadly, a similar position to one another, in terms of experiencing racism, performing predominantly unskilled jobs and obtaining low levels of income compared to the white majority (Brah, 1996). However, the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) (Modood, 1997) study revealed that South Asians rejected the term 'black' for themselves and Brah (1996) outlines that even some African-Caribbeans do not recognise themselves as black. Hazareesingh (1986) argues that the term 'black' should be confined to people of African descent, and that people from the South Asian subcontinent should be categorised under the concept of 'Indian', based on the belief that, historically, they share an overarching culture (cited in Brah, 1996).

For this study Afro-Caribbeans are referred to under the category of 'black' and the 'South Asian' category encapsulates ethnic minority groups born on the Indian subcontinent or British-born people who have parents from the Indian subcontinent. Peoples from the Indian subcontinent include Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians. The category includes people from Muslim, Sikh and Hindu religious backgrounds. It should be noted that the South Asian category incorporates much cultural and religious diversity among its members. These cultures and religious groups are situated within class, caste, regional and linguistic differences and divisions (Brah, 1996). These divisions will be discussed in the following chapter.

Throughout this study I will use the term 'ethnic groups', which can be defined as: 'a population whose members believe that in some sense they share common descent and a common cultural heritage or tradition, and who are so regard by others' (Smith, 1986, p. 192). When this study refers to 'minority ethnic group or population' it refers specifically to South Asian groups (and not, for example, Irish,

Jewish, Italian groups unless stated). Sometimes the term 'white' is employed in this study which implies, unless stated, the British, and often English, ethnic majority. It does not, however, include white ethnic minority groups (for example, Welsh and Scottish groups).

Even though the study does not focus on 'race' and 'racism', some remarks on the complexities and discussions surrounding these concepts are in order. In my usage of the term 'racism' I will follow Solomos' characterisation of racism as covering "ideologies and social processes that discriminate against others on the basis of their putatively different racial membership" (2003, p. 11).

As regards to the notion of 'race', common notions or classifications of 'race' have often been preoccupied with drawing boundaries on the basis of skin pigmentation, nationality, country of origin and religion to define groups (Solomos, 2003: Pilkington, 2003). However, this classification or commonplace classifications have often been met with vigorous opposition. For example, Solomos (2003, p. 10) suggests that many societies, and members within a society, still act as if 'race exists as a fixed objective category'. Another influential view has been put forward by Miles (1993: 1989). He suggests that the term 'race' is misleading because of its connotations of naturally occurring populations, when in fact it is itself constitutive of an (arguably false) representation of reality. Mason (1994) rejects the notion of 'race' on similar grounds, emphasising its inherently hierarchical nature.

Sometimes, the concept 'household' is used, which is often referenced and cited by authors other than myself. Moore (1988) highlights that the concepts of the 'family' and 'household' are often used interchangeably, and that the terms are difficult to separate clearly. Nevertheless she provides a broad definition of the concept: "household' is the term used to refer to the basic unit of society involved in production, reproduction, consumption and socialization' (Moore, 1988, p. 54). Berthoud and Beishon (1997) also provide a definition of 'households': 'this is defined as a group of people who live in the same accommodation and share at least some of their catering' (p.19). For this study Berthoud and Beishon (1997) concept of 'household' will be applied. The problem of categorising and defining the family will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

The South Asian Community in Britain

Introduction

This chapter explores and gives a broad overview of the current literature on South Asians in the UK, with particular reference to the Sikh community. Its main aim is to introduce the reader to the relevant research literature, as well as to introduce or clarify the most important concepts for this study.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the categories of Sikhs and South Asians, as they will be used throughout the thesis. Secondly, to grasp a better understanding of the position of South Asian groups in the UK, and their similarities and differences, it is important to give an overview of their demography and economic position. Then, this chapter gives an historical overview of Sikhism and outlines the core principles and beliefs of Sikhs. This section also sketches out religious participation of Sikhs in the UK and highlights the similarities and differences in religious practices and beliefs between first and second generation Sikhs. A brief summary is then provided of the migration process to outline the South Asian, and more specifically Sikh, migrants' experiences of settlement, housing and paid work in the UK. The study moves on to discuss the concept of the family, focussing on ethnic minority families in the UK. In line with Ballard's (1977; 1994; 2001) research priorities, the focus of discussion will be the Sikh family. This section also gives a broad overview of the stereotypes of 'black' and 'Asian' families. The changing structure of South Asian families is then explored in relation to shifting ideological values and beliefs. This section focuses particularly on the ageing South Asian population and the implications of this process. The chapter then moves on to give particular attention to second generation Sikhs. The discussion then progresses into outlining issues of marriage for second generation Sikhs and then moves on to sketch out the implications of maintaining transnational networks. Lastly, some limitations of current research literature on South Asian women in the UK will be explored.

Problems with the 'South Asian' Category

Before discussing some demographic features of the South Asian communities in the UK, some remarks on the categories most used throughout this thesis are necessary. Discussions are restricted to the terms 'South Asian' and 'Sikh'. Other categories, such as Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian, Muslim or Hindu will at times be used, but because they are not at the heart of this study, they will not be elaborated on.

Is it possible to discuss the experiences and developments of the 'South Asian' migrants under one single category? Because this study employs the term, it is important to highlight the advantages and problems associated with it. Nasser (2003), for example, situates the complexities of South Asian communities in Britain within the construction of ethnic and religious identities:

The heterogeneity of the melange of South Asians is reflected in the different histories, cultural traditions, social classes and methods of insertions into Britain. Thus, group solidarities are multivalent, constructed around one or more identities such as Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian or ethnic such as Gujarati, Punjabi, Sylheti, or various sects of Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism (Nasser, (2003), p.27).

Warren's and Britton's (2003) discussion of ethnic diversity and disadvantage in economic well-being among immigrants indicates that it is unwise to discuss the experience, development, values and beliefs of South Asians under one defined category. Highlighting the differences between Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups, they build a complex picture of economic diversity among the various groups. This approach is supported by Ballard (2001), who suggests in his discussion of Jullunduri, Mirpuri and Sylheti networks that South Asian groups in Britain are developing in radically different ways. He states that the development of South Asian groups can be differentiated by the way they adopt differing methods of consumption, occupations, lifestyles, marriage, and practice of religious belief.

However, Ballard (2001) also argues these groups share some similarities as well. Extended family networks, arranged marriage, religion, nationality, language, food are only a handful of similarities amongst the groups. Ballard (2001) states that kinship

systems in the majority of South Asian groups display many commonalities. For example, patrilineal extended families are the basic unit of property-ownership and household organisation for many South Asian groups. Ballard highlights another commonality between many South Asian families; relationships are strongly hierarchal, 'particularly by gender and by age: superordinates are expected to exercise authority over and to take responsibility for their subordinates, whilst subordinates are expected to respect and obey their superordinates' instructions' (Ballard, 2001, p. 9).

Apart from these similarities stressed by Ballard, there is another argument for cohesion among South Asians in the UK. AlSayyad (2001) suggests that internal divisions between groups do not necessarily mean that they lack cohesion and cannot be categorised as 'South Asian', but should, on the other hand, be viewed as groups which are created around various solidarities and themes invoked at particular times (AlSayyad, 2001). Applied to South Asian immigrants to the UK, these themes invoked at particular times are manifested through the solidarity created by experiences of the migration process, poor working conditions, racism and so forth.

As long as the differences between the experiences of various groups are being kept in mind – and throughout this chapter they will be elaborated on – the similarities pointed out by Ballard (2001) and the geographical criteria pointed out below are sufficient for using the category 'South Asian' in this study. We can thus follow Khan (1999), who suggests that the term 'Asian' arose in the early 1970s in Britain when there was confusion about how to address people from India and Pakistan. The term 'South Asian' has been 'coined to apply exclusively to people of the Indian subcontinent and their descendants' (Khan, 1999, p.1).

Similar considerations as to the category of South Asians apply to Sikhs. Hall (1995), for example, suggests:

what is forming in Britain is a heterogeneous mixture of Sikh communities potentially united and divided according to class, caste, generation, religious belief and practice, educational level, place of origin, residential location, friendship patterns, and style of life (Hall, 1995, p. 246).

Despite these differences, in this study the terms 'Sikh' or 'Sikhs' refer broadly to the group of South Asians who have an affiliation (either direct or by family membership) to the religious beliefs and practices of Sikhism.

To grasp a better understanding of South Asian groups, the study will now move on to explore the ethnic composition and economic activity of these groups in the UK, focusing on Sikhs.

Demography of South Asians in the UK: Ethnicity and Economic Activity

Drawing from the 2001 Census, this section starts with an overview of the ethnic composition of minority groups in England and Wales. Profiles of South Asian groups such as geographical location, religion and income levels are then explored to differentiate between the experiences and positions of South Asian groups.

The minority ethnic population in Great Britain grew by 53 per cent between 1991 and 2001, from 3.0 million to 4.6 million. The ethnic minority population is 7.9 per cent of the total population of the United Kingdom (Census, 2001). Indians are the largest minority group (22.7 per cent), followed by Pakistanis (16.1 per cent), those of mixed ethnic backgrounds (14.6 per cent), black Caribbeans (12.2 per cent), black Africans (10.5 per cent) and Bangladeshis (6.1 per cent). There are more females than males in all ethnic groups except for white and Asian groups. Just under half of the Indian population (45.6 per cent) were born in England and Wales.

Indian people tend to live in populous regions; the majority living in the South East and West Midlands, but a substantial number also live in the East Midlands and the North West. Indians live in all parts of Britain, but form a very small part of the population of Wales, Scotland and the remoter English regions (Owen, 1994). The largest Sikh community is situated in Birmingham with a total of 28,592 Sikh residents; Ealing has the second largest community consisting of 25,625 Sikhs.

With regards to religion, data from the 2001 census indicates that 72 per cent of people stated their religion as Christian, 3 per cent as Muslim, 1.5 per cent as Hindu, 0.6 per cent as Sikh and 15 per cent of people stated no religious beliefs. The age profiles

differ greatly between people of different religions. Muslim and Sikh populations have a very high proportion of young people – 33.8 per cent of Muslims are aged 0-15, and 18.2 per cent aged 16-24; for Sikhs, 24.5 per cent are 0-15 and 16.7 per cent 16-24. Only 2 per cent of the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh populations are aged 75 and over. The Bangladeshi group also had a young age structure, with 38 per cent aged under 16. ‘This was double the proportion of the white group where only 19 per cent were under the age of 16’ (National Statistics, December 2002). It should be noted that minority ethnic groups have a younger age structure than the white population, reflecting past immigration and fertility rates (Census, 2001). The great majority of children from South Asian backgrounds are British-born and hardly any elderly members from ethnic minority groups are British-born (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997, p.21). There are now over 350,000 people from minority ethnic communities aged 65 and over (White, 2002, cited in Butt et al, 2003) – more than twice the number in 1991.

The economic activity of ethnic minorities in the 2001 Census indicates that there are different profiles within the Asian group. For the Indian group 46.4 per cent of men aged 16-74 are full-time employees, 14.3 per cent are self employed and 4.5 per cent are unemployed. This profile is similar to the white population of England and Wales. However, the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are very different with much lower economic activity and a higher unemployment rate (Census, 2001). The differences in employment vary greatly amongst South Asian groups. Sikhs and Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims show particular under-representation in professional employment. By contrast, Hindus and Indian Muslims report more than three times the share in professional employment compared with Sikhs, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi Muslims. Brown (2000) suggests that compared with Hindus, Sikhs are less likely to be economically active, more likely to be unemployed, less well represented in top status jobs, more dependent on self-employment to achieve high status employment, and less well paid. Thus, 71% of Sikh men are in full time employment compared with 88% of Hindu men and 63% of both Sikh and Hindu women are in full time employment (Brown, 2000).

Further, Warren and Britton (2003) develop the discussion on ethnic diversity and disadvantage in economic well-being by analysing wealth and asset levels from the 1995/96 Family Resources Survey sponsored by the Department of Social Security.

Warren and Britton (2003) point out that the families standing out with the highest incomes are the white, Chinese and Indian families. Indian families, however, lag behind their white and Chinese counterparts. At the other end of the income distribution, two groups – Pakistanis and Bangladeshis – have average incomes less than half those of the white and Chinese families (Warren and Britton, 2003). However, the Family Resources Survey revealed that the main source of low incomes was state benefits for Bangladeshi families and earnings for Pakistanis. Further, the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, the two lowest-income ethnic groups, can also be characterised by the fact that 80 per cent of working-age women classified themselves as ‘being outside the labour force’ compared with 30 per cent of white women (Warren and Britton, 2003, p. 109). Among Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK participation in the labour market is less widespread than it is for Sikh and Hindu women (Modood, 1997). Consequently, many Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are economically dependent on men. Additionally, educational achievement for second generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi women is lower compared to their Sikh and Hindu counterparts (Modood, 1997), which is reflected by the lower rates of economic activity and income levels for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women (Mason, 2000). Indian women, on the other hand, participate in the labour market at similar levels to that of white women, and married Indian women with children are more likely to have a full-time job than white women (Modood et al. 1997). In terms of financial asset levels, again the white, Chinese and Indian families had the highest levels of assets. At the other end of the distribution, Bangladeshi, Black-African and Black-Other families were severely disadvantaged in asset terms. Warren and Britton (2003) revealed:

‘...on all three measures used (pension, housing and financial savings), Black-African, Black-Other, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families emerged as repeatedly more disadvantaged than whites, Chinese and Indians’ (Ginn and Arber, 2001, cited in Warren and Britton, 2003, p.112).

For present purposes, the most important finding of these studies concerns the differences in participation in the labour market among women of different South Asian groups. For this study, because it focuses on Sikh women, and because the vast majority of Sikhs in the UK are of Indian descent (for the specific case of ‘twice migrants’ from Indian and East African origin, see the section on the migration process

later in this chapter), the above findings of Indian women's labour participation rates are highly relevant. We can now narrow our focus from South Asian groups in general to Sikhs in particular. The next section will give an overview of the Sikh religion.

Historical Overview of Sikhism and Religious Participation of Sikhs in the UK

This section begins by giving an historical overview of Sikhism and traces its origins to the first guru, Guru Nanak. Attention is also given to religious symbols, the five Ks, and to how a Sikh identifies him/herself through the symbolic representations of, for example, unshorn hair and wearing of a turban. References to the Granth Sahib (the sacred book of the Sikhs) are made with particular attention to gender equality advocated by the gurus. This section moves on to explore a group within the Sikh community called the Jats, and outlines how and why they became the students of the gurus. The Jats are important for this discussion as members of this group were interviewed for the study. Finally, this section touches upon the importance of religion for first and second generation Sikhs in the UK.

The Sikh tradition traces its origins to fifteenth-century Punjab in North India, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, born in 1469 CE. Guru Nanak and the subsequent nine Sikh gurus were visionaries – their message of liberation extended to all, regardless of caste, religion, and gender (Jakobsh, 2003, p.1).

Beginning with Guru Nanak (1469 CE), Sikhism evolved under the guidance of ten historical gurus. After the death of the tenth guru, Guru Gobind Singh, in 1708, the religious authority shifted from him to a book, the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Guru Gobind Singh is also credited with the creation of the distinctive Sikh social institution of the Khalsa, which is the collective body of all baptised Sikhs (Beckerlegge, 2001).

There is considerable controversy over the contribution of strands of Hindu and Muslim thinking to the creation of Sikhism in the seventeenth century. Beckerlegge (2001) observes that many Western textbooks understand Sikhism as the product of a 'consciously eclectic intention, an attempt to fuse Hindu and Muslim belief within a single irenic system' (Beckerlegge, 2001, p.452). On the other hand, many Hindu commentators stress that Sikhism is merely one of many Hindu reform movements

which have appeared from time to time in Indian history. Similarly, there have been Muslim claims that the oneness of God and the brotherhood of believers is an offshoot of Islam (Beckerlegge, 2001). However, most Sikhs assert strongly that Sikhism is an entirely independent faith (Mahmood and Brady, 2000).

Sikhs believe in 'One God' or 'Ultimate Being', who is formless and part of all creation but transcendent of it, and also follow the teachings of the Ten Gurus, which are a part of the Guru Granth Sahib, or the Sikh holy book (Mohmood and Brady, 2000). The word 'Sikh' in Punjabi means 'disciple' and is derived from the Punjabi verb meaning 'to learn'.

The principle of equality lies at the heart of Sikhism's ethical code; no distinction is to be made in terms of caste – central, of course, to the surrounding society in India – nor in terms of gender. This latter claim is of great importance in the context of this study.

Becoming baptised and conforming with the codes of conduct and beliefs of Sikhism includes the wearing of religiously significant symbols known as the five K's: the keeping of unshorn hair or *kes*, held in a topknot on top of the head by a *kanga* or a small curved comb that can then be covered with a turban, and the wearing of special breeches or *kachera*, a steel bangle or *kara*, and a sword or *kirpan*.

These symbols, and in particular the beard and the turban, have contributed to caricatures and stereotypes of Sikh men. McLeod (1976), in his writings on *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*, outlines the typical identification of a Sikh:

Travelling into New Delhi from Palam airport one is likely to find that the taxi is being driven by a Sikh. This will be at once evident from the driver's beard and distinctive turban (McLeod, 1976, p.1).

He moves on to suggest that these identifying characteristics should not be overemphasised, for they misrepresent the nature of modern Sikh society. Contemporary realities are much more complex than what the stereotypes suggest of Sikhs. Furthermore, stereotypes of a beard and turban are associations which are restricted to Sikh men. In contrast, identifications for Sikh women are less obvious.

According to Sikh religious doctrine and practices, the five K's are not gender specific. Women as well as men both partake in the wearing of religious symbols. However, the turban is often only worn by Sikh men and not Sikh women. Mahmood and Brady's (2000) research on American Sikh women adds to the discussion and suggests that there has been a renewed interest in women wanting to wear the turban. One possible reason for this phenomenon, as Mahmood and Brady (2000) suggest, is an underlying demand for gender equality. This discussion is explored in chapter seven.

Not only is membership of the Khalsa (and thus the display of the five K's) open to women, but gender equality is one of the core principles of Sikhism. Nanak's messages maintained that 'women and members of the lower castes were not in any way barred from attaining enlightenment, the highest purpose of human life' (Adi Granth: 9, p. 223, cited in Jakobsh, 2003, p.24). It is also important to note, however, that some commentators argue that the voice of the gurus was not a simple demand for gender equality. Thus, as Shanker suggests:

Guru Nanak's writings, and those of subsequent gurus, contain a range of views, from the positive to the negative as well as ambivalent attitudes, which suggest a tension between normative, negative assumptions towards women and more positive, inclusive, and emancipated attitudes' (Shanker, 1994, p. 191).

Sharing the view expressed by Shanker, Jakobsh (2003) makes the more specific claim that while Nanak preached gender equality, he did not do much to implement it on an institutional level. He failed, for example, to 're-evaluate social institutions such as marriage and marriage practices to make them more equitable for women' (Jakobsh, 2003, p.26). Further, Jakobsh (2003) suggests that it was the third Guru who attributed a shift towards the inclusion of women in the Sikh panth (community) and much of his criticism of society was directed towards the underprivileged situation of women. Surjit Hans (1980) adds that there is a noticeable increase of feminine imagery in the writings of the later gurus (cited in Jakobsh, 2003, p. 31).

Historical data suggests women in particular were attracted to the message of emancipation of the Sikh gurus (Jakobsh 2003). With respect to caste, the first

followers of the gurus, including the gurus themselves, were from the Hindu Khatri caste group, who served as teachers to the illiterate masses. The Jat caste constituted a large proportion of the peasantry and students of the Gurus.

From a pastoral community with an egalitarian social structure, the Jats became, by the sixteenth century, a largely agricultural group and acquired zamindar (land owner) status (Jakobsh, 2003, p.33).

As the rural Jats entered into the Sikh fold many became followers of the gurus – Jats quickly became, and still are, the dominant caste group among the Sikhs. At the time of the gurus the majority of Jats lived in the Punjab (Jakobsh 2003).

The 2001 Census of India indicates that 60 per cent of the Punjab population are Sikhs. Worldwide, the number of Sikhs totals somewhere between sixteen and twenty million (Mahmood & Brady 2000). Most of these live in Sikhism's homeland in the Punjab. During the past century, however, many Sikhs have emigrated from the Punjab, settling heavily in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

When Modood (1997) explored religious affiliation of South Asian groups in the UK, he found that religion is central in the self-definition of the majority of South Asian people who have settled in the UK. His study indicates that for about nine out of ten Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims religion was important; 'but while, for Muslims, nearly three-quarters of this group said it was very important, for the Sikhs and Hindus about as many said 'fairly important' as 'very important' (Modood, 1997, p.300).

Apart from these differences between religious groups, there are also significant generational differences. Modood found that religion was valued less by the young of nearly every faith except the New Protestants and Hindus. When compared to New Protestants and Hindus, religion was valued slightly less by Muslims and Sikhs, and much less by the Christians. Religion was valued much more highly by those over the age of 50. The most marked generational difference of the importance of religion, in Modood's study, was the response among Sikhs, which 'declined from two-thirds among the oldest to a third among the youngest' (Modood, 1997, p. 301). Surprisingly, then, Modood found that the young Sikhs' attendance to the gurdwara (Sikh place of worship) was much higher than young Hindus' attendance to the mandar (Hindu place

of worship). Muslim attendance to the mosque, on the other hand, is closely related to gender, with most men attending at least once a week. Modood claims that religion usually declines with the length of stay in the society to which migrants have migrated (Modood, 1997). This leads us to examine the migration process and settlement patterns of South Asians, more specifically the Sikhs, into the UK.

Migration Process

Large numbers of settlers from the Indian subcontinent, who arrived during the 1960s and 1970s, have now been residents in the UK for at least forty years. Hall (1980) claims that it is important to acknowledge the different ways in which various ethnic minority groups have arrived and settled in Britain and how their position has changed, evolved or has been preserved over the years. For a study like the present one, which focuses on South Asians and more specifically the Sikhs, it is thus important to say something about the migration process and how the groups have evolved over the years. The section examines push and pull factors and, relevant to many women and families, chain migration. Differences in settlement patterns of South Asian groups are then explored, focusing particularly on Sikh migrants from East Africa. Finally, Ballard's (1982) discussion of the consequence of migration on cultural values and beliefs is sketched out.

Ballard and Ballard (1977) suggest that the first entry of South Asians, before World War II, was that of individual pioneers who were initially almost all ex-seamen, and pedlars. Robinson (1986) states that the first migrants often did not stop in Britain for more than three or four years, although many were replaced by relatives and friends from the Indian subcontinent when they left. It is interesting to point out that the 'small numbers involved in the pioneer phase and the impermanence of settlement prevented the development of uniquely ethnic areas in British cities' (Robinson, 1986, p.27). The second major period of migration for South Asians, which took place after the Second World War, arose due to the demand for unskilled labour in British industry and an expanding economy (Solomos, 2003). Throughout this period people of South Asian descent travelled to undertake occupations of all kinds – unskilled, skilled, entrepreneurial and professional (Clarke, Peach, Vertovec, 1990). This period of migration continued to the early 1970s. The buoyancy of the British economy enabled

migrants to gain financial security, and some authors argue that emigration provided a voluntary avenue to rapid economic and social advancement (John, 1969).

A popular explanatory model for these migration movements employs the concepts of 'push and pull factors'. Robinson (1986), for example, argues that the partition of India and Pakistan, which encouraged high rural population densities, pressure on land, and fragmentation of landholdings all combined to 'push' for migration. 'Push factors' can be defined in terms of those factors that 'push' people to emigrate from a certain area – these are often structural such as poverty, flooding and famine. 'Pull' factors, on the other hand, attract migrants to areas of immigration. The main point of attraction for South Asian migrants to the UK was often the demand for labour and later the desire to join families. The danger with simple push-pull explanations is that there is a level of determinism in the push-pull theory which assumes the migrant has no agency, but is pulled and pushed between countries (Kalra, 2000). Push migration, of people from South Asian origin, benefited the UK as it acted as a resource in areas of rapid industrial growth, expanding economy and in areas of industrial decline and out-migration (Robinson, 1986).

Pettigrew (1972) highlights social values as an important push factor in the case of South Asians. He points out that the cultural values and beliefs of the sending society provide the motives for migration. Pettigrew argues that South Asian sending communities are characterised by a search for improved status or honour (*izzat*), of which material wealth is an important part (Pettigrew, 1972). It is not necessary for this study to decide the extent to which migration was forced upon Asians and to what extent it was a voluntary decision. Nevertheless, it is worth considering Khan's (1999) suggestion that before arriving and settling in Britain, the majority of immigrants had little if any understanding or anticipation of the all-pervasive British class system, or of the fact that gender differentiation of male and female roles was similar in Britain as at home.

Upon arrival in Britain, South Asian men searched for jobs to sustain a standard of living and repay debts in the Punjab. They were prepared to work long hours in tedious and poor conditions. Ballard and Ballard (1977) argue that compared to life in India, life in the UK during the period of settlement 'was tough: the niceties of normal social

life were abandoned and all gratification deferred in the expectation of a rapid return home' (p. 30). Initially men arrived first, found work, lived in shared accommodation and then gradually brought over their family members. Settlement in to particular geographical areas, for men, was due to where labour demand was high. Thus, as Jones (1978) suggests:

... settlement took place in areas where white labour was scarce because of the pace of economic expansion e.g. Greater London and Birmingham. Settlement also occurred in those areas where there was a labour shortage in certain industries because of the poor conditions of employment, e.g. the textile industry of Manchester and Leeds (Jones, 1978 cited in Robinson, 1986, p.29).

On arrival many male relatives and kinship members of migrants often sought accommodation with already settled migrants. Men offered support to one another, whilst their families were away and sought to locate accommodation and work for new migrants (Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Robinson, 1986).

The migration process in the late 1960s and 1970s consisted of large-scale entry of wives and children. Thus, Robinson (1986) concisely concludes:

Family reunion was characterised by the arrival in the UK of dependents who served to complete the joint household. This entailed the migration of the wives, sons, daughters, and to a lesser extent parents of the 1960s target migration (Robinson, 1986, p. 32).

The 'rapid return home' was weakened when wives and children joined their husbands in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This, in effect, alongside an increase in capital and wealth, encouraged families to invest in housing and property ownership (Ballard and Ballard, 1977).

In this context the prospect of family reunion established itself as an important emerging pull factor. This is best described under the heading of 'chain migration' (Robinson 1986). Chain migration can simply be defined as the successful migration of one family member creating a chain of opportunities for the whole kin network. Chain migration for South Asians ensured that kin and friends settled and clustered into existing areas of settlement. Robinson (1986) suggests that brotherhood and

community was of importance for the settlers and thus a 'desire to maintain social encapsulation encouraged voluntary clustering' (p.32). Further, 'propinquity allowed regular interaction between fellow-migrants and facilitated the construction of pseudo-traditional social networks and community institutions' (Robinson, 1986, p.32).

Robinson (1986) suggests that housing played a significant role for the migrant community, particularly after chain migration when kinship networks settled. The migration process led to ethnic clustering and poor housing conditions, however, the migration of women and families for many Indians initiated a movement away from crowded and rented accommodation to better owner occupied housing (Robinson, 1986). It was a key factor in determining individual and group status. Thus, 'the movement into single-dwellings stimulated the development of newly-pioneered ethnic space away from pre-existing clusters' (Robinson, 1986, p.35). Mason (2000) suggests that more recently, South Asians have achieved the highest rate of owner occupation compared to many whites and blacks. Within the South Asian category owner occupation among Indians is much higher when compared to Pakistanis and in particular Bangladeshis (Mason, 2000). Additionally, the type of property Pakistanis and Bangladeshis occupy reveals poor housing tenure reflecting old property, no central heating and a large number of people residing within the household (Pilkington, 2003).

Within the South Asian category not all migrants share or shared similar patterns of settlement, lifestyle and beliefs. The nature and period of migration affected the settlers differently. In what follows, such differences are illustrated by examining two groups of Sikh migrants. Groups of Sikhs who migrated directly from the Punjab differ acutely in their expectations and lifestyles to those of the 'twice migrant', Sikhs who had previously lived in East Africa (Bhachu, 1985). 'Twice migrants' are migrants who firstly left their homeland in India to migrate to East Africa due to labour shortages and economic gain in the receiving society. Further, due to political instability in East Africa migrants and their families were forced to leave in the late 1970s and many migrated to the UK. On arrival the East Africans' position in Britain was the new one of becoming a minority caste with the majority of the Sikh population of Jat origin. Bhachu (1985) argues that the caste consciousness of East Africans i.e. their 'Ramgarhianess' and their 'East Africanness' reflected not only their caste position but

also their class as 'relatively prosperous, skilled, urban middle-class settlers' (Bhachu, 1985, p.14). The East African migrants arrived with considerable knowledge; language, education, familiarity with institutions and bureaucratic processes and also a certain amount of capital, which made them more prosperous compared with their working class counterparts from the Punjab. Bhachu (1985) suggest that the 'middle classness' of the East Africans was represented and manifested through interaction with the indigenous British population. She argues it was mainly 'to stress their differences from the directly-migrated, predominately working class groups' (Bhachu, 1985, p.14). Bhachu (1995), in later works, describes the 'direct and twice migrants' (p.223) as individuals with differing skills and experiences compared to one another. The focus of this study is not the Ramgarhia Sikhs from East Africa, but the Jats who arrived from the Punjab, India. Thus, the majority of Sikh women interviewed for this study either migrated directly from the Punjab or are British born. The women interviewed all classified themselves as Jats and not from Ramgarhia origin.

The cultural values and belief systems of the first generation were transferred from the sending society to the receiving society. John (1969) claims that the emigrant Punjabi Sikh population 'planned, at first, to stay in Britain for only a few years...long enough to earn sufficient money to buy more land for their families back in the Punjab' (John, 1969, p. 19). If this was indeed the intention of those Punjabi Sikhs still residing in England, it is fair to say that things have not been going according to plan. For example Ballard (1982) suggests that the consequential effect of the arrival of wives and children and the establishment of housing made it difficult and unattractive for families to return to the Punjab. Further, educational achievement and the perceived high standards of the education system in the UK inspired parents to settle in England and educate their children (Anwar, 1998).

On the other hand, Robinson (1986) suggests that there were many disadvantages of emigrating to Britain. He outlines several disadvantages however the most relevant considered for this study consists of becoming a member of a small minority within an alien culture and the contrast between village life in India and industrial life in England. Perceiving British culture as not desirable, many immigrants when faced with the choice, opted to maintain, rejoice in and safeguard their own values and practices rather than those of their British equivalents (Ballard, 1982). At the time of settlement,

many Asians criticised British morality, sexuality, lifestyles, and family life, and this criticism of British morality still persists among some South Asians in contemporary society (John, 1969). It is argued that many ethnic minorities cluster in particular geographical areas 'to recreate Indian village life within the British inner city' (Robinson, 1986, p. 77). Thus, 'ethnic territory fulfils a clear function in that it provides the security, stability, and support of the village and allows everyday life to take place within an environment which is value-reinforcing rather than value-challenging' (Robinson, 1986, p. 77).

However, the above comments reflect a static migratory experience. Migrants 'rejoiced and safeguarded their own values' and 'ethnic territories provided an environment which was value reinforcing' does not consider any changes that migrants' made in order to find jobs or housing in British society and to be a part of British society. For example, some Sikhs removed their turbans in order to find a job, some Sikhs learnt English and some Sikh men went to the local pub for 'a pint of bitter and a pork pie'.

Furthermore, Ballard (1982) suggests that migration has not undermined or stood in contradiction to family unity. 'On the contrary migration has taken place within the context of familial obligations and has if anything strengthened rather than weakened them' (Ballard, 1982, p.187). When migrants arrived they practiced cultural values and beliefs similar to that of their homeland. Further, they maintained links with family members and the process of chain migration indicates strong family unity among its members. Nevertheless, if second generation South Asians are considered, the issue of strong family ties and maintaining links with family members through the process of chain migration can be questioned – to what extent are second or even third generation Sikhs 'maintaining strong family ties' with kin in the UK? The following section outlines the characteristics of the "South Asian family" and the relationship between its members.

Ethnic Minority Families and 'the Sikh Family'

The concept of family is vague and often requires clarification. Jackson (1997) argues that the term 'family' is problematic as it often glosses over the 'historical and cultural variability of family forms and many different forms of family life that women today

experience' (p.323). Jagger and Wright (1999) suggest that families are 'socially constructed rather than naturally or biologically given' (p.3). Importantly, Jagger and Wright (1999) stress that families and relations between family members are fluid and flexible.

As well as being subject to change over time, what counts as a family is also relative to culture. There are many 'types' of family: nuclear, conjugal, extended, joint and so forth. It is, for example, the norm for young white British people to move out of the parental home and to live separately with their own nuclear family unit (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997). On the other hand the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) (1997) study indicates that a high number of South Asian couples and their children still reside within the same house as the young man's mother and father. There are therefore differences between households and what a 'typical' white and South Asian British person would perceive as his or her family.

The concept of family used for this study is based on what is perceived as a family within a specific cultural context. The relevant cultural context for this thesis is the Sikh community and culture. In order to develop an adequate concept of family for analysing Sikh women's perception of family ties, it is necessary to have a closer look at South Asian, and more specifically Sikh, conceptions of what constitutes a family.

What is most commonly perceived by South Asians as 'family' is what is often referred to as the 'extended family' – even though specifically in the Sikh context, nuclear and single parent family households have also emerged (but the number of single parent families is much lower when compared to white and black families) (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997). Ballard (1982) offers the following definition of South Asian extended and joint families. They can:

...range over the members of a household (that is those who live together under the same roof), those who feel strong bonds of obligation to one another by virtue of close kinship (even if they do not live together), those who claim descent from a common ancestor (for instance 'of good family') and finally all those whom a person can trace a relationship, whether by blood or marriage (as in 'a family gathering') (Ballard, 1982, p.180).

Ballard's synonymous definition of extended and joint family emphasises the complex interwoven bonds of individual and family ties. Ballard's definition is problematic in that it perpetuates common affiliation and strength of ties among its members. It also suggests a static family form which does not evolve and adapt to circumstances which it encounters.

For example, there is evidence to suggest that South Asian families have been moving towards white British patterns of smaller households (Buchignani and Indra 1985). This is supported by Beishon, Modood and Virdee (1998) and Berthoud and Beishon's analysis of the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic minorities (1997), which states:

...South Asians have been moving towards white British patterns: Indian and Pakistani households contain fewer children than they did in the early 1980s; South Asians who were born in Britain had slightly smaller families than those born abroad; (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997, p. 58).

Modood, Beishon and Virdee (1994) share this view in the case of Indians, but they found, on the other hand, that Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have larger complex households compared to Indians who often fit the stereotype of 'mum, dad, and two kids'. Multigenerational living patterns are stronger among Asian Bangladeshi and Asian Pakistani families than among their Indian counterparts (Butt et al, 2003). Still, taken as a whole, South Asians tend to live in larger households compared to white families (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997).

It is important to note that the 'Indian category' consist of a number of ethnic groups such as Sikhs and Hindus and some Muslims; there is very little empirical work on specifically Sikh or Hindu families or households. Not only are there differences among South Asian groups there are also class differences within a group. For example, Anwar's (1979) and Werbner's (1990) studies indicate differences in kin support between working class and middle class Pakistanis. They found that mutual kinship obligations and greater ties with kinship groups existed among working class rather than middle class Pakistanis.

In the context of Sikh families, it is further worth noting that it is less common for married siblings and their families to live together, particularly compared to the short period after the migration process in the 1960s and 1970s when it was to a certain extent necessary for married siblings to live together because of financial and emotional support (Ballard, 1982: 1977).

In general, Indian families wanted to maintain traditional extended family networks, similar to those they had left in their homeland (Ballard, 1977). Ideological change hand-in-hand with economic stability enabled family members, brothers and their families to move gradually into their own homes. Nevertheless, the extended family still exists within the Sikh community (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997), particularly among the first generation of migrants and amongst a small group of second generation British born Sikhs who reside with their parents.

The contemporary migrant South Asian family consists of wide networks of familial relationships bound together with similar households scattered around the world. Thus within the South Asian community, relationships are established with families from which wives have been taken, or to which daughters have been married into. When assessing the South Asian family it becomes apparent that many values and beliefs orientate around the family. Ideologically it was, and still is, assumed that obligation to the family should always be put before personal self-interest (Rapaport, Fogarty and Rapaport, 1982). Thus, Leonard and Speakman (1986) suggest that certain ethnic groups, including South Asians and Cypriots, stress family relationships and obligations to kin, beyond the nuclear family. Additionally, Basit (1997) maintains that families of South Asian origin are close-knit, cohesive structures and family loyalty is very strong. Ballard (1982) suggests that superordinates are expected to support and care for their subordinates, while subordinates are expected to respect and obey their superordinates, thus, 'it was upon the maintenance of these asymmetric reciprocities that the unity and continuity of the family depended' (Ballard, 1982, p.183). To summarise:

Familial ties are, or at least should be, unrestricted and open-ended. They are founded on a sense of commonwealth amongst participants, so that no overt calculation of an individual's contribution to, or benefit from, the whole should ever be made (Ballard, 1982, p.187).

The networks of binding relationships mentioned above are appropriate for an analysis of the South Asian family. Following Ballard, the concept of family used in the remainder of this thesis is constituted by a complex structure of binding relationships, which will be further explored in this thesis.

The rest of this section explores some of the problems associated with categorising ethnic minority families. Robinson (1995) suggests of researchers conducting research on black families; 'researchers...must guard against classifying the 'black family' as a single entity' (p.67). This claim should also be applied to researchers of South Asian families and more specifically, for the purpose of this study, to Sikh families. Discussions on 'South Asian families' should be approached with some caution as there is a great deal of internal differentiation between the groups.

Further, in the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in Britain Berthoud and Beishon (1997) highlight the differences between people, families and households of ethnic groups – '...black and South Asian family structures each diverge from the white pattern, but in opposite directions' (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997, p.56). A striking finding from the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) (1997) is that Caribbeans are less likely to marry, if at all, compared to their white and especially South Asian counterparts. Unlike their Caribbean counterparts, South Asian mothers had married and most of them remained married. The study also revealed that Indian and African Asian women were rather similar to white women in the age which they married and had children and the total number of children in their families. On the other hand, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women started their families much earlier and completed them much later which, unlike their Indian and African Asian counterparts, indicates more children per household (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997).

It has recently been argued that much sociological literature on black and Asian families and communities implicitly contains cultural stereotypes. Alexander, for example, claims that:

...while African-Caribbean communities are defined as outward looking, moving into mainstream culture, re-defining notions of Britishness, Asians in contrast, are seen as inward looking, static, culture-bound and exclusive, outside mainstream national culture and, increasingly, incompatible with it. Whereas African-Caribbean cultures are defined as forward looking, individualistic, late- or post-modern, Asian cultures are placed as anachronistic, collective, pre-modern (Alexander, 2002, p. 563).

Alexander's claim that Asian as well as black communities have often been described in terms of cultural stereotypes is supported by Robinson (1995), Lyles and Carter (1982) and Owusu-Bempah and Howitt (2000). They suggest that myths exist of black families as being dysfunctional, welfare dependent, matriarchal and dominated by strong women. Other myths portray black men as weak, unreliable partners and fathers, and as often absent from the family.

Alexander (2002) suggests that while research and academic literature on black communities and families has often focused on 'structural issues of inequality, disadvantage and discrimination' (p. 556), studies on Asians have, on the other hand, tended to concentrate on 'fascinating' cultural aspects of arranged marriage and religious rituals. Thus, similar to the perception of black families as being strange, different and inferior (as, for example, in Ahmad's (1990) discussion), there are also myths and stereotypes of the Asian family.

Robinson (1995) suggests that Asian families are perceived to be insular because they seek to preserve religious and cultural traditions and extended family networks. Asian families are often labelled as 'problematic' for their 'tight' and 'rigid' family structures. This discussion is exemplified by Parmar (1981) who points to the problems that Asian extended family kinship systems face in the context of British society. Parmar further holds that the 'rebellion' that Asian parents face from their daughters and sons is to be expected, particularly if Asian parents place stress on 'uncivilised' and 'backward' customs such as arranged marriages (Parmar, 1981, p. 21). Ramji (2003) suggests that as a consequence, much discussion of Asian families has focused mainly on 'arranged marriage'. Another instance of how cultural stereotypes can shape research is Anwar's (1976) claim that the Asian family is ridden with cultural conflict,

which affects particularly young women, who are said to be 'torn between two cultures'.

In the context of this thesis it is important to note that all too often, complex family relationships and dynamics are reduced to simplistic explanations of 'cultural conflict', 'between cultures', 'tight-knit' and 'traditional' which offers no understanding of the complexities and positive aspects of the 'Asian family'. Inherent in the idea of 'cultural conflict' is the assumption that the values of British family life are the norm and therefore modern and superior while the Asian culture is backward, traditional and inferior (Robinson, 1995).

This section has explored concepts of the family. It has laid out the usage of the term 'family' for this study and highlighted some problems associated with the term's application to ethnic minority groups. The next section addresses the changes in family values that have accompanied settlement of South Asian families in the UK.

Ideological Shifts in Family Values and Ageing

This section explores the shifting values and beliefs of South Asian communities in the UK, focusing particularly on the Indian, and more specifically on the Sikh communities. The discussion begins by outlining the complexities involved in categorising family values and capturing 'the family in crisis' or 'family is breaking down'. It then looks at a series of different explanations for this perceived change in values, considering modernisation and urbanisation in general, the migration process and the impact of British culture on young South Asians, the difference between collective and individual interests, the ageing process, and wider networks of mutual support. Finally, attention is given to women, the relationship between ideological shifts in values on the one hand, and increased educational qualifications and economic independence on the other, as well as the impact it has had on family structures.

Just as the concept of the family is problematic, culturally relative and contested, so are family values. Accordingly, instead of attempting to define family values, Jagger and Wright (1999) suggest that contemporary concerns of family values are intertwined with the changes in family living and household consumption. They move on to argue

that 'the precise definition of those values varies according to the political and moral sentiments of the user' (p.2). The danger of insisting on one 'right' or 'correct' set of family values can be illustrated by discussions of families by politicians, in particular conservatives or neo-conservatives, who tend to assert that the family is in 'crisis' and that family values are 'eroding'. In her study of family obligations, Finch (1989) diagnoses a general tendency when comparing the past with the present to draw too sharp a distinction between 'then and now', 'a tendency often linked to a view of the present as either vastly superior or inferior to the past' (Finch, 1989, p.58). She goes on to say that this notion has a strong hold on popular consciousness and develops the discussion:

The present day is seen as a time when people's sense of duty and responsibility is much weaker, so that they are less prepared to acknowledge obligation or to take responsibility for kin (Finch, 1989, p.58).

Importantly for this study, the claim that the family is in crisis is familiar to some South Asians in the UK. Indian radio presenters, for example on Punjab Radio, often suggest that the Indian family is in crisis – endlessly varying themes such as 'family values are breaking down' or 'there is no longer any respect' are often topics for discussion. Some of these charges are echoed by respondents later in this study, amongst whom there persists a belief that in the past or at present in India, there was/is a time when 'the family' had a stronger sense of responsibility towards looking after the old and sick members of the family.

Jagger and Wright (1999) point out that there is nothing new about the idea that the family is in crisis, because the perceived state of the family has 'long been associated with moral order'. According to them, there has been a long history of the 'disjunction between the idealisation of one type of family – the heterosexist nuclear family – and the diversity of actual family forms and living arrangements' (Jagger and Wright, 1999, p. 10). However, when assessing the respondents' narratives, it will be important to acknowledge that apart from the common complaint that the family is in crisis, there have been major changes in both family structures and values.

In the case of South Asian families in the UK, this view is supported by Ballard (1977), who suggests that although many first generation South Asians are strongly conservative in their attitudes and are convinced that they have maintained traditional patterns in their entirety, 'it should not be assumed that no change has taken place in their behaviour' (p.190).

Of central concern throughout this thesis are values related to the authority of elders and the respect for older family members. A part of the value system of traditional South Asian society was the veneration of elders; 'parents in particular were held in the greatest regard' (Bhat and Dhruvarajan, 2001, p.626). Talking about the Indian community, Robinson (1986) states that:

...both in economic and social life, the family head retains total authority, and demands the loyalty of each and every household member. Consequently, life is structured for each family member so that roles are clearly defined and the individual subordinates his own will to that of the group (Robinson, 1986, p. 68).

Robinson develops the argument, suggesting that a 'system such as this cannot operate unless there is an in-built, or socially sanctioned, respect for authority' (Robinson, 1986, p. 68).

What is perceived to be an erosion of the traditional sense of duty and obligation of the younger generation towards the older generation is of great concern to many first generation South Asian immigrants to the UK. For example, Beishon et al (1998) point out that when South Asians worry about what was happening to the family they often refer to the challenges to authority and loyalty of elders. The claim that younger family members put their interests above the interests of the family plays a role in this thesis, as first generation Sikh women's views of second generation Sikh women indicate.

In this context it is worth considering the impact of globalisation and urbanisation in the process of changing family values and family ties.

Urbanisation, modernisation and globalisation have led to changes in economic structure, erosion of societal values and the weakening of social institutions such as the joint family. In this changing

economic and social milieu, the younger generation is searching for new identities encompassing economic independence and redefined social roles within, as well as outside, the family (Bhat and Dhruvarajan, 2001, p.621).

Even though Bhat and Dhruvarajan's paper focuses on the changing structure of family values taking place in India, their discussion can be applied to Indians in England, because the majority of migrants have arrived from villages in India and have entered an urban and industrial environment in the UK. The impact of modernisation on family life is reflected by many first generation Sikhs, who express the view that the weakening of societal values and living in a 'modern world' encourages the independence of young Sikhs and thus contributes to the weakening of family ties and values (Ballard, 2001; 1994).

The impact of modernisation and urbanisation on family life could be described as greater for families that move out of one cultural milieu into another. Bhachu (1991) and Bhopal (1997) both state that family organisation, gender differentiation of work, consumption and lifestyle patterns have been radically affected by the social context in which migrants have settled. On the other hand, the widely expected assimilation of English cultural patterns has not occurred (Brah, 1996). The British South Asian communities across all generations have and maintain their distinctive lifestyles.

In order to trace the influence of British culture on South Asian immigrants it is important to acknowledge the impact of British born South Asians on their families. Especially among those South Asian groups whose children have done well in the British educational system, changes of attitude among the younger generation are to be expected. Hall (1995) suggests that 'Sikhs, like white middle-class English students, are products of the English educational system. At school, Hall (1995, p. 249) suggests that British Sikhs confront the 'contradictions between the promises of the liberal ideology of individualism and freedom'. On the other hand, Sikh children are taught at home about the family and to compromise individual concerns with the greater needs and interests of the family unit and to show respect to their elders. Ballard and Ballard (1977) make a similar observation:

At home: loyalty should always be to the family group and children should respect the authority of their elders and put obligations to others before personal self-interest. In contrast, at school, children are encouraged to see themselves as independent individuals, taking decisions according to their own personal views and inclinations (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, p. 44).

The difference between individual and collective interests is often appealed to when South Asian parents complain about their 'individualist' offspring. Owusu-Bempah and Howitt (2000, p.89) argue that in most cultures outside the Western world, 'one seeks to advance the family rather than oneself; a member's concern is for the welfare and happiness of the family as a whole'. This view is based on maximizing and making the best use of resources within the kin group. The emphasis is rather less upon the calculation of personal advantage, and rather more on the kin group as a co-operative unit, taking collective decisions which are to the advantage of all (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt (2000).

According to this point of view, for many second generation children traditional family values stand at odds with neo-liberal capitalist ideals of individualism, greater autonomy and independence, as well as 'loyalties to the self' (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt, 2000). Decisions about the needs of kin, and whether one has a duty to put them before one's own interest, cease to be static sets of responsibilities and become matters for judgement (Finch, 1989). Thus, values of parents on the one hand and contemporary consumer materialism on the other hand affect the relations between generations.

This contrast is particularly evident if we assess the issue of collective and individual activity of group members. This distinction between acting as an individual and acting as part of, or in the name of, a group, is closely related to the difference between individual and collective interests. A good illustration of this tension is provided by Sikh marriages as described by Ballard, who suggests that it 'is far more than a conjugal partnership for individuals: rather it lies at the core of the way in which the domestic group – and indeed the extended family – renews itself so that it can proceed onwards to the next generation' (Ballard, 2001, p.29). Young Sikhs have been socialised into the norms of extended family life and in response are aware of their parents' expectations. In this case, Ballard suggests, many children feel the obligation

or they feel that they owe their parents the duty of participating in an arranged marriage. Hence they participate in an event that is fundamentally understood as a collective act of two families. However, the study will reveal that after agreeing to an arranged marriage, couples often desire and prefer to live in an independent unit.

The first generation migrants' concern about their children's increasingly individualist orientation is directly related to their anxieties about growing older and getting in need of support. A deep rooted belief for South Asian parents is that their children will offer an irreplaceable source of long-term security. The older generation is caught between the decline in traditional values and the extended family acting as a micro social security system. Bhat and Dhruvarajan develop the concept and task of the joint family as follows:

The joint family performs the tasks of national insurance, guaranteeing basic subsistence to all: the orphans, the disabled, the aged, the widows as well as the temporarily unemployed. The joint family owned land in common and all income went into a common pool (2001, p. 626).

According to this line of thought, the values related to veneration of, and respect for, the elders directly connect with the question of who will care for them in old age. One way in which regard and respect is expressed, particularly in the belief systems of the older generation, is for children both to invite their parents to reside with them and care for them in old age – to what extent this is occurring is questioned by the older generation and is explored in this study.

Another development impacting negatively on the status of older people is the increasing occurrence of dual career families. Female participation in economic activity either as workers or as entrepreneurs has increased considerably compared with previous generations (Bhopal, 1997). This development has had implications for the elderly, as it will be illustrated in chapters six and seven. On the one hand, as Bhat and Dhruvarajan (2001) suggest, working couples also find the presence of old parents emotionally bonding and a great help in caring for their own children.

When attempting to explain the perceived changes in family values among British South Asian communities, we must also consider the ageing process in general. 'Sociologically, ageing is a serious form of transition from one set of social roles to another, and such roles are difficult' (Coleman and Cressy, 1984, cited in Bhat and Dhruvarajan, 2001, p. 628). Such social roles are particularly 'difficult' for migrants in the West, because the transition is distinctly different to their homeland. Shifting social roles are complex and complicated as noted by Bhat and Dhruvarajan:

Now, elderly people have to cope not only with the changing family structure but also with changing role relations within the family. In an agriculture-based traditional society, where children followed their parent's occupation, it was natural that the expertise and knowledge of each generation were passed on to the next, thus affording older persons a useful role in society. However, this is no longer true in modern society, in which improved education, rapid technical change and new forms of organisation have often rendered obsolete the knowledge, experience and wisdom of older persons (2001, p. 628).

As mentioned above, there are now over 350,000 people from minority ethnic communities aged 65 and over in Britain (White, 2002, cited in Butt et al, 2003). This reflects the wider trend of an ageing population, but is mainly due to the post-Second World War generation of migrants from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa now reaching retirement age (Butt et al, 2003). Thus, the number of elderly people in the Sikh population has been rising (Census, 2001) and this has brought with it an era of insecurity and concern amongst the aging population as this study reveals. The rise of the ageing population indicates that there are more people who may require emotional and physical support, including sharing a home with children or relatives (Butt et al. 2003). But at the same time many elderly Sikhs are experiencing difficulties deciding who they should reside with, as Butt et al.'s study (2003) reveals:

Although a minority of participants from minority ethnic groups expressed unhappiness about what they saw as a reduction in the support that adult children gave their parents, the majority were of the opinion that, while it may have been customary for older people in their country of birth to be supported by their children, this was not always possible in Britain (Butt et al. 2003, p. 3).

Focusing too often on the decline of the extended family and the implications surrounding the decline, academics and theorists have often forgotten or pushed aside

the impact of relatives and village kinship groups on family units. Traditionally, in Indian families the kin descending from the male lineage would live within the same household or at least within the same village (Ballard, 1982). Living close to each other facilitated the establishment of patterns of mutual support within the extended family unit: sharing households, as well as exchanging financial, physical and mental support all contributed to familial bonds and accentuated the progression of the extended and joint family (Ballard, 1997). Patterns of support existed between generations and genders, it was not specific to one group. Finch (1989) outlines that when we assess day-to-day practical assistance it becomes apparent in an extended family unit that women help each other through minding children, caring for the elderly, providing clothing, and sometimes taking a relative's child into their own home.

However in the West, places of work are not situated in one geographical area which extended family members can reside in. On the contrary, Bhat and Dhruvarajan (2001) suggest that when places of work are not close to home, family 'togetherness' can be disrupted and family ties can therefore be loosened due to the distance. Further, a factor which is often ignored is that the 'differences of economic power create sharper disagreements, causing tensions in the family' (Bhat and Dhruvarajan, 2001, p. 626).

Additionally, a breakdown or a reduction in contact with extended family and village kinship groups is closely related to the belief that settled migrants no longer require support from the extended family and village kin. For example, Clarke, Peach and Vertovec state that for Indians:

...dependence upon others for initial support was usually for a limited time, the need for, or the desire to, form ethnic clusters seems to have been minimal (1990, p.211).

At the time of migration Indians formed small ethnic clusters. However, twenty or thirty years after the migration process, many Sikhs have moved up the class ladder, achieving middle class material attributes such as better housing, good quality cars and expensive furniture (Ballard, 2001). A large number of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, on the other hand, have failed to move up the class ladder and still live within large households often in poor housing and deprived areas (Mason, 2000). Arguably in many cases, once an extended family unit breaks up geographically, as (it) has been the case

with many Indian families, the patterns of support and day-to-day practical assistance previously connecting family members also weaken.

Accordingly, at least in the case of Indian, and more specifically Sikh, families in the UK, there has been a reduction in the amount and type of mutual support (Clarke, Peach and Vertovec, 1990). However, this cannot be seen simply as a linear decline from a high to a low point. Rather it should be understood as a variation and fluctuation in type of support offered. The literature discussed above thus can be seen in the light of a more general point made by Finch:

... the amount and type of support which kin give each other varies with the particular historical circumstances within which family relationships are played out, so that looking at patterns of support at different points in time means that one is not comparing like with like in quite significant ways: there is variation both in people's need for support and in the capacity of relatives to provide it (Finch, 1989, p. 81).

Finch's (1989) question was restricted to white families, but it is also relevant to Indian, and more specifically Sikh, families in the UK. Accordingly, her diagnosis of an important limitation in the research literature can also be applied to South Asians living in Britain:

...the most obvious limitation is that much of the available data concern relationships within households, rather than relationships between kin in different households (Finch, 1989, p.57).

However, relationships within the Sikh household are as under-researched as are relationships between kin in different households. The available research literature (see Modood, 1997 and Warren and Britton, 2003) tends to focus on the economic composition of households, but says far less about the character and quality of relationships which people had or have with one another. This study will attempt to fill the gap in the research literature and explore relationships between family members in the Sikh community. Moreover, as expressed earlier in the discussion of categorising South Asian groups, there has been a failure to distinguish differences between South Asian groups when discussing family structures, particularly as some South Asian

families differ acutely from one another. For example, Butt et al (2003) study of quality of life found differences in living patterns among South Asian groups.

Lastly, consideration needs to be given to the changing roles for Indian women and the impact this has had on family structures, the ageing process of first generation migrants and family values. This is not to imply that the roles of men within the South Asian family have not changed, or to say that men have not had a great impact on family structure. The focus of this study is on women, however.

Dramatic changes have taken place for Indian women. Firstly, women's domestic role has changed, particularly for first generation women where domesticity has become solitary. Within an extended household in India women would share and participate in childcare and household chores. In comparison, when women arrived in England they had to perform much of the household work for themselves. Further, Indian women were required, in many cases, to participate in waged work. This meant that wives were no longer totally economically dependent on their husbands and sons. Ballard (1977) and Ewen (1985) suggest that the availability of waged work for women significantly changed the balance of power within the family. This is particularly important for the Sikh family structure as women can no longer be full-time carers of the in-laws or maintain the extended family structure as traditional cultural practices expect them to. The resulting anxieties of ageing Sikh parents have been mentioned above and is one of the central issues of this study.

The educational achievements of many second generation Indian women further contributed to more independence from their families and partners (Bhachu, 1988). The trend towards conjugal households has meant that women often find themselves in sole charge of their own domestic establishment earlier than they might have done so in India. Again, this could have contributed to the perception of greater independence and freedom in decision making for women (Bhachu, 1991). On the other hand, women may find themselves with heavy responsibilities, having to cope with work inside and outside the home, especially if other women relatives are at a distance and the responsibilities of housework and childcare are not shared by women in an extended family network.

This section has briefly outlined some explanations for the perceived changes of family values in migrant South Asian communities. It has focused on values related to the authority of the elders, as well as the changing roles of women within the family. The following section moves on to explore further the different perspectives of the two generations of British South Asians, focussing on the second generation.

Second Generation

Research literature on second generation South Asians is explored in this section to situate the experiences, concerns and achievements of British born youths. It is important to note that literature on second generation South Asians is limited and often out of date. Consequently, there is even less research literature on second generation Sikhs.

Talbani and Hasanali's (2000) study on social and cultural experiences of adolescent South Asian females in Canada indicates that many second generation South Asians have very different cultural experiences from their parents, and many have limited encounters with their ancestral culture. Similar to Canadian second generation South Asians, the cultural values and beliefs of British second generation South Asians differ to those of first generation South Asians. The processes of migration, settlement, economic circumstances and links with the sending society have strongly shaped the belief systems of the first generation (Ballard, 1994). In contrast, the second generation has not encountered similar patterns or lived within the migratory or 'traditional' social environment of their parents (Anwar, 1998). There has been a shift in cultural values between the generations. This is partly reflected by a tendency among second generation Sikhs to live in a nuclear family instead of the extended family, as well as by a decline in the number of British born Sikhs speaking Punjabi (Modood et al., 1997). Additionally, beliefs and values surrounding 'arranged marriage' for Sikhs have modified over the years (Bhachu, 1985). Thus, perspectives on finance, family values, religion, and traditional practices of parents do not often coincide with the beliefs of second generation Sikhs (Ballard and Ballard, 1977).

However, it would be too simple to describe these changes as a 'loss' of South Asian cultural values and their 'replacement' by Western values. Ballard, for example,

suggests that second generation Sikhs are preserving a separate Punjabi ethnicity; thus, taking certain aspects of their Punjabi/Indian culture and their English culture and redefining themselves with an Indian, Punjabi, Indian-British identity. Ballard (1982) suggests:

Contact with the ethnic majority, it was thought, would soon precipitate thoroughgoing Anglicisation. Individualism and personal freedom would seem more attractive than the restrictions of traditional family obligations. However, ethnographic observation, as opposed to a priori ethnocentric speculation, is now beginning to reveal a very different picture (Ballard, 1982, p.195).

Ballard and Ballard (1977) claim that the second generation has a commitment to Punjabi social and moral values which remain intense 'even if they are rapidly adopting 'Western' material standards with the purchase of fitted carpets, colour televisions, and large cars' (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, p. 43). Modood et al. (1997) and Hall (1995) confirm that certain social and moral values have persisted. Second generation Sikhs, for example, listen to Bhangra, eat Punjabi food and often marry into other Sikh families. Beishon et al.'s (1998) research on ethnic minority families also reveals that respondents in the UK maintain frequent contact with siblings, uncles, aunts and parents indicating that some of the 'traditional' values and beliefs of the second generation have remained. As it will become apparent in this study, there are also a small number of orthodox or practising Sikhs, who have strengthened their 'religious', social and moral commitments. From the existing literature it emerges that many second generation Sikhs value the financial independence made possible by their educational advancement (Bhachu 1991 and Bhopal 2000) as well as the possibility of living away from home (Bhopal 1997), while remaining committed to the priority of the collective interest of the family and cherishing Punjabi culture.

One factor that could be expected to differ in its significance from the first to the second generation is the experience of racism. The assumption hereby would be that second generation South Asians have 'assimilated' more than their parents, leading to them experiencing less overt racism. However, this does not seem to be the case. Modood (1997) reveals from the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in Britain that ethnic minorities, both first and second generations, believe that there is increasing racial prejudice and discrimination.

Existing research on second generation South Asians in the UK, although some of it is quite dated, paints a complex picture of various influences contributing to the views, attitudes and behaviour of these young people. However, all too often attention by researchers and academics has been on British born South Asians, while parents' beliefs and values have often been perceived as static and non-negotiable.

In relation to second generation South Asians living in the UK much discussion has focused on the issue of arranged marriage. Thus, the following section brings together literature on arranged marriage. The focus is specifically on transnational marriage as some women in the study referred to brides from India, while some other respondents actually arrived in to the UK as a bride to a British born Sikh.

Arranged and Transnational Marriage

This section is based on Shaw (1994) and Ballard's (1994) research on arranged marriage, as well as Ballard's (2001) discussion of the significance of maintaining transnational ties through marriage of second generation South Asians. This section also touches upon the possibilities of why some families and British born South Asians travel to India to find a wife or daughter-in-law.

As mentioned in the section on ideological shifts and family values, arranged marriages provide a focal point to examine the relations between different generations and different sets of values. Even though the practice of arranged marriage continues for many second generation Sikhs, there has been a shift from viewing marriage as a match between two families, to a more individualist view of marriage between two people (Gardner and Shukur, 1994; Bhachu, 1985; Berthoud and Beishon, 1997).

Nevertheless, women are often aware of the responsibilities of becoming a daughter-in-law and a wife and the expectations put upon them once they are married (Wilson, 1978). Within the Indian community there are jokes and traditional Punjabi songs sung by women about marrying not only the husband but also the in-laws. Many second generation women are aware that residence after marriage is predominantly with the family of the groom. For example, Van der Veen (1972) suggests that once a woman

marries and resides with the in-laws the daughter-in-law holds a subordinate position within the family.

Central to the discussion of arranged marriage in the UK is that it is perceived as an 'alien' problem (Bhopal, 1997). Much stereotypical media and academic attention has been given to the discussion of 'forced marriage' and marriage against the wishes of young people (see Anwar, 1979). On the other hand, some researchers and academics claim that many second generation South Asians do not experience any difficulties in complying with their parent's beliefs and values of arranged marriage (Shaw, 1994; Ballard, 1994). Thus, it is important to note that many Sikhs still participate in arranged marriage even though the number has been declining over the years (Modood, 1997). This could be an indication that second generation Sikhs are moving away from their parents beliefs and values contrary to Ballard's (1994) and Shaw's (1994) discussion.

For the purposes of this study, it is necessary to consider transnational marriages as a special kind of arranged marriages. Transnational marriages relevant for this study involve a British born South Asian who has an arranged marriage to somebody from the Indian subcontinent, who then resides with the British partner in the UK. There has been a dramatic rise in the number of marriages in the international or transnational context (Piper and Roces, 2003). As part of an attempt to understand the increase in transnational marriages among South Asians, Ballard (2001) suggests that many transnational networks are based on reciprocities between individuals and families. He suggests that South Asians participate in the process of arranged marriage and transnational marriage, as it is a way to widen social networks.

From the British spouse's parents' point of view, the desire to find a daughter-in-law or son-in-law from India can be understood as an attempt to achieve trust and solidarity, because British born sons and daughters-in-law are often perceived as unruly and uncommitted to extended family values (Ballard 2001). On the other hand, Ballard goes on to argue, many British born children do not trust or find solidarity in transnational networks of arranged marriage. For example, among second generation youths there has been a decline of interest in transnational marriages to people from India (Raj, 2003). Many transnational matches have run into serious difficulty, 'not so much because they had been arranged, but because they had been badly arranged'

(Ballard, 2001, p.33). The efforts of the older generation were undermined because they failed to consider British born children's upbringing in a Western cultural context. Thus, for Ballard the British born child's upbringing had begun to transform many of their personal lifestyles and attitudes and their acquired spouses from the Punjab were not familiar with the broadly English character of their partners. In retrospect it is argued that Pakistanis still maintain strong transnational and extended family links, particularly in relation to the issue of marriage, whereas ties with extended family are weakening for Sikhs. Furthermore, many Pakistanis travel back to Pakistan to find a suitable partner for their children or for themselves (Shaw, 2001). The cycle of marriage in Pakistani communities perpetuates an inflow of migrants who are less educated than their counterparts in the UK – this in affect reflects their lower income, poorer housing, lower educational qualifications and reveals their greater transnational connections to the homeland, and class position, compared to Indians (Shaw, 2001).

The implications of such transnational marriages differ by gender. For a British born man who has married a 'goose of a wife' from the Punjab there is a 'relatively easy way out' (Ballard, 2001, p.33), particularly by relying on established Punjabi values which make it much easier for married men to still live a 'single lifestyle'. These Punjabi values and beliefs make life considerably more difficult for Indian Punjabi born women who have married British born Punjabi men, because they advocate tolerance and benevolence to their husbands and in-laws. On the other hand, a husband who has recently arrived from the Punjab 'may find that his confidence as a man and husband has been undermined, particularly when faced with the fact that his wife is more at ease in English contexts than himself' (Ballard, 2001, p.33).

Additionally, as some respondents interviewed for this study suggest, some men and in-laws residing in contemporary Britain wish to seek a 'traditional' daughter-in-law or wife from India because British Sikh women are 'too modern'. For some British Sikhs there is a need for greater trust, security and solidarity which traditional Indian born women can, supposedly, offer. On the other hand, some Indian brides are seen as 'too traditional' by some British born South Asians (Raj, 2003).

Finally, it should be noted that transnational marriages occur not only with people from India, but that transatlantic marriages between people from England, Canada and

America also take place. Raj (2003) suggests that a number of British-born South Asian women have married young men from Canada and America during the 1980s. While transatlantic marriages deserve a mention, the study does not explore the nature of transatlantic marriages, as none of the respondents had married partners from Canada and America.

The next and final section concludes this chapter by pointing out some of the limitations in the existing research literature on South Asian, and specifically Sikh, women.

Sikh Women and Limitations in Literature

Firstly, it is important to note that literature on Sikh women is limited in quantity and scope. More specifically, literature on first generation Sikh women is very limited and sparse. The major influential study on first generation South Asian women titled 'Finding a voice: Asian women in Britain' by Amrit Wilson dates back to 1978. In this study Wilson (1978) explores the migration process, isolation experienced by women on arrival, the family and domestic work inside and outside the home. Studies and research such as the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (1997) conducted by the Policy Studies Institute (PSI), as well as the Census (2001), reveal quantitative details of employment and earnings of first generation women. Qualitative studies have explored first generation women's participation in the labour market (Modood, 1997), the migration process (Wilson, 1978; Bhachu, 1985; Ballard, 1977) and more recently the ageing process (Butt et al., 2003). Academics and researchers have failed to explore the experiences and concerns of first generation women in contemporary society. Additionally, there has been a failure to seek an insight into the complexities of having and looking after children who are growing up in a Western society. Moreover, there has been limited research into the role of the daughter-in-law in the ageing process of first generation South Asian women (see Versa-Sanso, 1999 for discussion on daughters-in-law in general). This study attempts to fill some of these gaps in the existing literature by giving a voice to first generation women and explore the issues that are important to them in contemporary society.

Although literature on second generation women has emerged, the focus has often been on arranged marriage (Bhopal, 1997; 1999, Shaw, 1994; Ballard, 1994), economic activity and the domestic domain (Bhachu, 1988 and 1991; Brah 1987), 'cultural conflict' (Anwar, 1998) and identity formation (Brah, 1996; Hall, 1995; Ballard, 1997; Basit, 1997). Literature and research has also emerged regarding the educational achievements of Indian women (Modood, 1997; Census 2001; Bhopal, 1997; Shain, 2003). Additionally, Bhachu (1991) suggests that the existing literature on South Asian groups enforces its ethnicity as fixed rather than a fluid structure that changes over time and space. Often the literature on arranged marriage, for example, assumes that South Asian cultures have not changed and remain static and kinship groups and family members impose 'traditional' practices of arranged marriage. Thus, Sikh women are often portrayed as passive recipients uninfluenced by education, changing class structures and Britishness/Englishness. Importantly, their role as 'cultural entrepreneurs who are actively engaging with their cultural frameworks, whilst continuously transforming them, is one that is largely absent from the majority of the literature' (Bhachu, 1991, p. 103).

Since Bhachu's work was published in 1991, a depth of literature has emerged. However, the important thing to note here is that the literature has too often focused on second generation or 'young women' rather than first generation women. This study therefore attempts to explore experiences of first and second generation women, their interactions and the relations between them. This focus will provide some new insights – for example, the surprising observation that despite the current research literature's focus on arranged marriage, it was not an issue for the majority of the women in this study.

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the research and current literature on South Asians in the UK. Particularly relevant for this thesis are the PSI study by Modood et al. (1997) and Ballard's works on South Asians (e.g., 1977, 1982, 1990). The PSI study provides a broad overview of all South Asian groups and a wide range of issues (religion, housing, income, families, etc.), but does not specifically look at Sikh women. Ballard's work has more to say about the Sikh experience, but it is dated and

again does not focus on Sikh women. This literature review chapter therefore diagnoses a lack of recent research literature on Sikh women in the UK. The next chapter on patriarchy starts this thesis' task of filling this gap in the existing research literature.

Chapter Three

South Asian Women and Patriarchy

Introduction

One important theme emerging from the research is the patriarchal character of practices, expectations and values within the British Sikh community. This chapter therefore aims to explore the relevance of patriarchy for South Asian women and to identify how patriarchal forces shape women's lives.

The chapter begins by bringing together the discussions on the problems of defining patriarchy and why the concept of patriarchy is controversial within feminist theory. Developing hooks' (1984) work, Bhavnani (1997) extends the feminist discussion of patriarchy by arguing that white feminists have too often focused on the oppression of women and failed to recognise the differences of 'race', ethnicity, class and age. Thus, the chapter touches upon the debates of analysing the concepts of 'womanhood' and 'sisterhood' within feminism.

The chapter moves on to investigate the discussion on 'private' and 'public' patriarchy influenced by Walby (1990). Walby suggests that there has been a movement from a private to a public form of patriarchy. This view will be discussed at later stages in this thesis where Walby's distinction between public and private patriarchy is developed in relation to Sikh women and the Sikh community.

The position of South Asian women is further explored with the help of Gangrade's and Chander's (1991) focus on women as belonging to men in the South Asian family. The importance of sons within the South Asian community is investigated and the consequence of this for women is explored in relation to the notion of *izzat*. The family as a site of oppression for women is discussed from a Western perspective (Smart, 1995) sketching out that the 'family' constitutes a part of female oppression. This work is then critiqued by reference to hooks' (1984) discussion, which identifies that the family is a basis of solidarity and resistance to white racism. This is followed by an overview of the position of Asian women in contemporary

Britain, focusing on the outcome of educational attainment of Sikh women (Bhachu, 1991).

The next section explores the literature on paid work, with specific reference to Asian women's experiences. The chapter ends by exploring the notion of *izzat* and the importance of *izzat* in the Asian community in maintaining patriarchal structures. Throughout the exploration of British Sikh women's perception of family relations in this thesis, the notion of *izzat* is of great importance.

This study does not focus on 'race' and ethnicity per se. It does, however, acknowledge the role of 'race' and ethnicity alongside other forms of social divisions in the understanding of South Asian women's experiences. Solomos and Back (1996) suggest that one of the most controversial discussions of patriarchal structures has been that surrounding the question of 'whether feminists have overconcentrated on patriarchy, and neglected race and ethnicity as sources of women's oppression' (p. 13). This may be the case for white or Western feminists studying white communities, but nevertheless, there has been very limited discussion of South Asian patriarchal structures in the UK by British South Asian women. It is therefore significant for this study to explore patriarchy within the South Asian, and more specifically Sikh context. More specifically, it is important for this study to explore patriarchy as it attempts to map out the hierarchal and complex relationships between individuals within a group, which are often contained by traditional values and belief governing the behaviour of women.

Feminism and the Concept of Patriarchy

This section aims to give an overview of the roles that the concept of patriarchy has played in recent theorising. It outlines why the concept has become controversial within feminist theory and offers a sketch of the key debates within the field.

We may start by simply treating patriarchy as a system which oppresses women (Bhopal 1997; Johnson, 1997). Patriarchy is often described as an ideology, as 'a set of symbols and ideas that make up a culture embodied by everything from the content of everyday conversation to literature and film' (Johnson, 1997, p. 84). A

patriarchal sphere, as Marshment (1997) suggests, is one in which men who are publishers, editors, film directors or television producers produce the images that define women. Another way of characterising patriarchal societies is to say that within them, important norms and values signify the behaviour of individuals as either 'masculine' or 'feminine' to the disadvantage of women. Thus, Marshment (1997) suggests, for women to be shown 'proving' themselves by masculine values they are often perceived as 'dysfunctional', 'aggressive' and 'feminists'.

Rowbotham (1979) on the other hand suggests the term patriarchy has been used in a variety of ways. For example;

Patriarchy has been discussed as an ideology which arose out of men's power to exchange women between kinship groups; as a symbolic male principle; and as the power of the father (its literal meaning). It has been used to express men's control over women's sexuality and fertility; and to describe the institutional structure of male domination (Rowbotham, 1979, p. 970).

Millett (1970) emphasises the important role that political, social and economic institutions play in implementing and maintaining patriarchal values, and the contribution they make to the oppression of women:

...our society, like all historical civilizations, is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance – in short, every avenue of power within society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands (Millett, 1970, p. 25).

The concept of patriarchy has become controversial within feminist theory and its meaning is frequently unclear. Smart (1995), for example, suggests that the word 'patriarchy' implies a universal form of oppression, and more specifically a rigid system of male domination. Because of this universality, the concept invokes an essentialist, ahistoric analysis which is insensitive to the range of experiences of women of different cultures, classes and ethnicities (for example look at: Barrett, 1980; Rowbotham, 1981).

Smart (1995) argues that the use of the term 'patriarchy' can limit our understanding of the many ways in which societies construct and maintain gender relations. Consequently, the concept of patriarchy implies a structure which is fixed and does not incorporate the multiplicity of ways in which men and women have encountered each other (Rowbotham, 1979). Feminists have acknowledged that the word 'patriarchy' does not include how women might act to transform their status or position within a patriarchal structure, nor does it express a sense of how women have moved and shifted for a better position with the context of subordination (Smart 1995). Rowbotham (1979) similarly argues that the 'complexities of 'patriarchy' suggest a fatalistic submission which allows no space for the complexities of women's defiance' (p. 970).

As a consequence, Smart (1995) refrains from using the term 'patriarchy' and chooses to work with the concepts 'patriarchal relations' or 'patriarchal structures'. She suggests these concepts imply a more fluid system, 'containing numerous contradictions and employing varying mechanisms and strategies in the exercise of power' (p. 130). Walby (1990) on the other hand suggests that these criticisms are misplaced and that on the contrary, the concept and theory of patriarchy is 'essential to capture the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of different aspects of women's subordination' (p. 2). Moreover she moves on to argue that the concept of patriarchy can be developed in such a way as to take account of the different forms of gender inequality over time, class and ethnic group.

Some feminists have supplemented this general critique of the concept of patriarchy by proposing a broader application of the concept. Al-Hibri (1999), for example, defines patriarchy as a specific kind of hierarchical system in which control flows from the top. As a consequence of this definition, patriarchal systems are characterised by men oppressing not only women, but other men as well. This understanding of patriarchal systems can be extended to allow for multiple kinds of relationships between members of a community to count as patriarchal. The concept of patriarchy can then help to explain male-female relationships, but also incorporates the relations between women and women, men and men and, importantly, between adults and children. Most importantly for the present study, the concept can be used to illuminate relations between older women and younger

women in families. As it will emerge from the discussion of Sikh women in chapter seven, relationships between older women and younger women can be more than or just as oppressive as the kind of man – woman relations often described as ‘patriarchal’. Consequently, Rozario (2005) suggests that patriarchy in a South Asian community would not survive without the cooperation of women, partly because women stand to gain from the patriarchal structure. It will further become apparent in the discussion of Sikh families in chapter six that the oppressive relations at work cannot be fully understood if we look at just patriarchy. Patriarchal relations need also to be viewed in the light of the concept of *izzat*.

Public and Private Patriarchy

This section starts by extracting from Walby’s (1990) work the distinction between public and private patriarchy. It touches upon other forms of patriarchy, but highlights that the focus in this study is on private forms of patriarchy, and more specifically (in the case of South Asian women) the immediate and extended family.

In a much discussed hypothesis, Walby (1990) suggests that there have been changes in both the degree and form of patriarchy in Britain over the last century. The changes Walby outlines include aspects of gender relations such as the slight reduction in the wage gap between men and women and the closing of the gap in educational qualifications of young men and women. Walby’s analysis also focuses on a movement away from a private to a public form of patriarchy over the years. For Walby, public patriarchy is based in public sites such as employment and the state and it is a place where the state and the labour market shape women’s lives. Private patriarchy on the other hand is a place where men regulate (in) the home environment. Walby (1990) suggests that the ‘household does not cease to be a patriarchal structure in the public form, but it is no longer the chief site’ (p.24). She develops the argument, thus;

In private patriarchy the expropriation of women’s labour takes place primarily by individual patriarchs within the household, while in the public form it is a more collective appropriation. In private patriarchy the principle patriarchal strategy is exclusionary; in the public it is segregationist and subordinating (Walby, 1990, p. 24).

Broadly speaking Walby believes that there has been a movement from a private to a public form of patriarchy. While Walby's view is discussed, and related to some of the results of this thesis, in chapter eight, her distinction between public and private patriarchy is useful throughout this thesis. It provides two broad categories of how patriarchy can manifest itself in a society. Even though the focus of this study will be on the family, Walby's distinction also acknowledges other causes of women's oppression. For example, apart from situating Sikh women's experiences within the sphere of the nuclear and extended family, we also need to take into account the Sikh community, the labour market, the state and so forth.

The distinction between public and private forms of patriarchy is by no means the only useful distinction regarding patriarchy. It is, however, suitable for this study because the notion of private patriarchy allows for subsuming the extended family as well as the nuclear family (Walby herself does not consider the extended family), which is useful when discussing the notion of *izzat*. Walby (1990) develops the construct and introduces different ways of categorising patriarchy, treating it as composed of six overlapping and changing structures. These structures are: paid work, the household, the state, violence, sexuality, and culture. Additionally, Walby argues that these structures take on different forms in different cultures and at different times. Although these different elements are briefly mentioned throughout the thesis, the most important form of patriarchy for this study is in its private manifestation within the household and extended family.

In the case of South Asian women in the UK, patriarchal relations are also informed by 'race' and ethnicity (Gedalof, 1999). Mehrotra (1999) highlights the complexities of violence and control within extended Indian families:

Like individuals, families do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by systems of hierarchy that include not only gender but also race/ethnicity, class, age, and immigration status. Women are located at different positions within these hierarchies, so that the privileges of some women are based on the oppression or control of others, as is the case with women in extended Asian Indian families (Mehrotra, 1999, p. 637).

Public and private forms of patriarchy are interdependent and the distinction is often blurred. Wilson (1983) suggests that male violence against women is most common in situations of economic stress. For example, in times of high unemployment and financial constraints men at the bottom of the social ladder sometimes commit violence against their wives or the people nearest to them. This view is supported by Gelles (1972) who states that violence between husbands and wives is twice as high in blue-collar as in white collar-families.

When assessing violence or abuse within an extended family consideration should also be given to the possibility of extended family members ignoring the abuse or/and participating or encouraging the abuse. Fernandez (1997) states that it is not only the husband but also his family members, particularly the mother-in-law, who abuse either directly as an oppressor or indirectly as an instigator. To understand why women participate in the abuse of other women, Fernandez (1997) suggests that women's participation in the abuse arises from the interaction of 'gender and life cycle based hierarchies' which are prevalent in many Indian families.

Throughout this thesis, appeals to private patriarchy will usually be confined to discussion of the family and family relations. When South Asian families are considered, the concept of private patriarchy applies to extended families and its members and relations.

The 'family' has long been described by feminists as constituting a part of female oppression. Literature on gender which examines women's position within households and families has focused mainly on white women's experiences (Oakley, 1974; Finch, 1983; 1989). The family can be identified as a focal point at which a range of oppressive practices meet (Smart, 1995). Smart (1995) moves on to suggest that the family is both an ideological and economic site of oppression, which is protected from scrutiny by the very privacy that family life celebrates. Feminists have argued that the institution of the family constitutes one of the key sites where the subordination of women is secured (Brah, 1996). Brah (1996) moves on to suggest that 'patriarchal ideology constructs 'home' and the 'rightful' place for women' (p.76). Additionally, Gittins (1993) describes the family as an unequal

institution based on paternal authority. For Gittins patriarchy is both a 'gender and an age relationship' which is based on power (p.35).

The notion of power is essential in understanding families and relationships within families. At its simplest, power is a social relation between two agents (Scott, 2001). Lukes (1974) states that power is a 'contested concept' because wherever unequal relationships exist, no matter in which shape or form, they are also power relationships even if the actors involved do not realise them as such. Stacey and Price (1981) suggest that power does not have to be exerted (e.g., by issuing commands, enforcing rules, sanctioning), but can be applied 'covertly'. Possible ways in which power relations can be enforced and maintained include withholding knowledge, decisions or affection from others, and making sure that potentially controversial topics are not raised. Some of these mechanisms will be alluded to when respondents in this study talk about their perception of family relations.

British South Asian Women, Patriarchy and the Family

This section will look at issues of patriarchy and the family in the context of South Asian women. It starts by looking at the interplay between categories of gender and ethnicity.

One important contemporary challenge to feminism is based on the view that traditional feminism has tended to focus on the oppression of white women and has ignored differences of 'race', ethnicity, class and age. According to this line of thought, in order to develop a sophisticated and nuanced theoretical perspective it is necessary to understand the interconnections of 'race', ethnicity, class and sexuality, for it is this understanding that can allow categories of inequality to be engaged with (Bhavnani, 1997). Individuals are 'multiply constituted by gender, race, class, sexuality, nationality, age, ability, and other social experiences, identities, and phenomena that we live simultaneously rather separately' (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2005, p.49).

Additionally, imperialism and colonialism are central to the discussions of women's exploitation and oppression. If we are to consider 'race', ethnicity, class, sexuality,

capitalism and colonialism it becomes clear that all women cannot be subsumed into a singular unitary category of 'woman'. To write about a single feminism is to imply that all feminists have common interests, and these assumed common interests are seen as more important than the differences of interests among women (Bhavnani, 1997). Thus, the presumed homogeneity of 'sisterhood' is misguided and to certain extent it can be questioned whether it actually exists. Additionally, in the study of feminism we should deconstruct 'woman' as a category to allow space for minority feminists or women to redefine 'woman', womanhood and sisterhood. As Bhavnani suggests, the meanings of 'feminism' and 'woman' can only be usefully analysed with reference to their particular geographic, racialised, and historical settings.

Gangrade & Chander's (1991) research on Indian women shows that for the most part, women in Indian society are viewed and treated as inferior to men by both men and elderly women in the Indian community. Female children are not as highly valued as male children, and females are often viewed as economic and social burdens (Johnson and Johnson, 2001). Females are also considered a burden because of the dowry system (bride's parents pay a lump sum of money or give furniture and gold to the bridegroom's parents) (Wilson, 1978). Additionally, notions of *izzat* and honour (as explained later in this chapter) apply mainly to women. Often it is only women who can taint the *izzat* or honour of the family. Thus, women are perceived as possible contaminators of the family name (Johnson and Johnson, 2001). It is important to note that in traditional and contemporary Indian Sikh culture female children belong to their fathers and brothers until they are married, at which time they become the property of their husbands (Gangrade & Chander, 1991). Moreover, the role of the mother is often to socialise the daughter into respecting and obeying the notions of *izzat*, honour and her place in a gendered patriarchal society (Wilson, 1978). It is important to emphasise that women can contribute to maintaining patriarchal values just as much as men (for example in the role of a mother, or mother-in-law).

Nevertheless, in the case of South Asian families in the UK, the stereotype of South Asian women as oppressed creatures within the family unit who need rescuing from their degradation is misleading (Bhachu, 1991). Thus, it is important to note that for many South Asian women the family marks a sense of belonging and remains an

arena away from racism and discrimination experienced at the hands of the white community. Analogously, hooks (1984) demonstrates that the family is less significant in the oppression of black American women than for white American women. This is the case because the family is perceived as a basis of solidarity and resistance to white racism. For Indian women and in particular Sikh women, the 'family' remains an important unit for social organisation not only for first generation women but also second generation women. For example, Brah's (1979) study of Asian and white fifteen-year-old girls and boys and their parents, found that women often stressed the importance of the 'family' but, by doing this, they did not necessarily accept as legitimate the hierarchal organisation of the household, or the exercise of male power. Consequently, Jackson (1997) suggests:

patriarchal family structures may be oppressive for both white and black women, but families may also supply women with their closest and most supportive relationships, not least in relationships between female kin (Jackson, 1997, p.325).

This section has explored the interconnections of 'race', ethnicity, class, sexuality and colonialism in understanding women's experiences and oppression. It has also briefly highlighted the problem of a unitary category of 'women'. Additionally, it has sketched out Bhachu's (1991) and hooks' view that 'families as sites of oppression' need not fully apply to ethnic minority families, and more specifically South Asian families in the UK.

British Asian Women and Paid Work

Oakley (1974) suggests that housework is work like any other, even if it is not rewarded by money. hooks (1984), on the other hand, suggests that for ethnic minority women, or 'women of colour', waged work is less favourable compared to housework. Racist structures in the public sphere mean that they get worse jobs compared to white women. hooks suggests that while white women can regard paid work as a source of positive identity and material independence, for women of colour the waged work available is poorly paid and is often harsh manual work. hooks is therefore critical of feminists such as Friedan (1965), who suggests that paid work is a solution to the boredom of housework.

When assessing British South Asian women, hooks' (1984) analysis may be true of many first generation women, who have insufficient language skills, technical and educational qualifications. For second generation women, however, Bhachu (1991) states: 'contrary to the stereotype of Asian women, they actively engage with the British economy' (p.404). Second generation women, and in particular Indian, African Asian and Chinese women, have increasingly higher educational qualifications and are better qualified than both their white counterparts and first generation members of their community (Mason, 2000). Thus, in the conditions described by Bhachu (1991) and Mason (2000), there certainly is a potential for second generation Asian women to regard paid work as a source of positive identity, just like their white counterparts do. This is not to suggest that these women do not experience racism; many do (Modood 1997). Nevertheless, many second generation women view waged work in the labour market as a source of independence and a sphere where they negotiate and create new identities (Bhachu, 1990).

Some commentators, such as Bhachu (1988; 1991), suggest that South Asian women who participate in the labour market have the capability of reworking gendered hierarchies. Access to regular wage enables Asian women to achieve an independent economic identity and to enhance status (Elliot, 1996). When assessing this claim, it should be considered however that 'South Asian' by no means labels a homogeneous category. Participation in the labour markets differs for Indian, East African Asian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women (Mason, 2000). Thus, South Asian women are not a monolithic group, but come from diverse social, political and cultural backgrounds with differing beliefs and viewpoints (Khan, 1999; and Ramji, 2003). So, even though Pakistani and Bangladeshi women confront the same kind of economic pressures as Indian and Afro-Caribbean women, as well as white working class women, they are limited in their labour activities by Islamic norms which prescribe women's seclusion from unrelated men (Stone, 1983). Consequently, for some South Asian women the economic imperative is overridden by cultural norms.

More specifically, Bhachu (1985; 1988) suggests that in Sikh communities women's earnings have facilitated home ownership and the establishment of nuclear family households. Bhachu, concludes that as a result of Sikh women's economic activities

the household has become couple-focussed, rather than kin-focussed, as outlined in chapter two. Similarly, Elliot (1996) sees paid employment for women as a possible source of independence from both, family and husband:

...women have come to manage household expenditure and the gift exchange system before reaching seniority and the authority of elders, which had accrued from their command and productive resources, has been dented... paid employment makes it possible for women to be more assertive about their own areas of operation and personal rights, reduces the dominance of their husbands as key decisions-makers and controllers of economic resources and increases men's involvement in domestic tasks and childcare (Elliot, 1996, p. 53).

Bhachu suggests that as Sikh women have secured jobs in the labour market they have also been able to negotiate a power base from which they have exercised greater control over cultural norms. Thus, Bhachu suggests that the greater participation of Sikh women in the labour market indicates that patriarchal relations have declined among the Sikh community. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter eight. Additionally, Bhachu argues that the 'empowerment' of Sikh women has been aided, and still is, by Sikh religious teachings of gender equality. The empowerment of Sikh women, Bhachu suggests, is the product of the articulation of economic opportunity with 'liberal' Sikh cultural traditions. Bhachu's discussion on Sikh women contrasts and differs widely to the experiences of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women.

The disadvantaged position of British Pakistani and Bangladeshi women compared to Sikh women is partly caused by their absence from the formal economy and by working in family businesses and, in some cases, in factories (Shaw, 1988). Elliot (1996) suggests that employment in family businesses reproduces the dependence of domestic labour and operates in terms of male-defined goals or through private patriarchy, as illustrated by Walby (1990). Humm (1995) also implies that men, as a group, profit from women's oppression. According to this view, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sikh and white men in the UK profit from the subordination and oppression of their wives who work in family businesses.

However, it must be stressed that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women's lack of involvement in the labour market and restriction to working in family businesses is largely confined to first generation women, as a greater number of second generation women participate in the labour market (Modood, 1997). Some second generation women may have broken with tradition and obtained professional qualifications and/or take full-time employment outside of the Pakistani community. Webner (1988) suggests that Pakistani women are overwhelmingly confined to the domestic domain, but also states that male control over women's movements has lessened over time and that women are assertive and influential in family decision making. Shaw (1988) and Afshar (1989) both claim that breaches of tradition by Pakistani and Bangladeshi women can be a source of conflict and involve the subordination of career opportunities and result in arranged marriage for the women. At the same time, they emphasise that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women see it as natural to contribute their labour and income to the family. The women also normally take it for granted that they should subordinate their career aspirations to commitments to the extended kin group as well as to children and husbands (Elliot, 1996). However, it must not be assumed that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are passive victims of male domination. To the contrary, both Shaw and Afshar emphasise that many women actively accept their family obligations and are committed to their families and children.

Izzat, Honour and Respect

This section explores the role of the nuclear family, extended family and wider community in reinforcing notions of *izzat*. It must be noted that the literature available on *izzat* within South Asian communities is limited. What is available is presented in this discussion.

Within the context of South Asian culture patriarchy manifests itself mainly through the notion of *izzat*. The notion of *izzat*, which is embedded in constraining the behaviour and movement of South Asian women, is patriarchal in its application and character. Wilson (1978) summarises the nature of *izzat* in Sikh families in the Punjab, thus:

...*izzat* can...be translated as honour, self-respect and sometimes plain male ego. It is a quality basic to the emotional life of Punjab. It is essentially male but it is women's lives and actions which affect it most. A woman can have *izzat* but it is not her own – it is her husband's or father's. Her *izzat* is a reflection of the male pride of the family as a whole (Wilson, 1978, p. 5).

Throughout the life cycle of Indian women, *izzat* plays a pivotal role as they are often controlled by the rules, social mores, and values which impinge on them as a daughter, daughter-in-law, and wife (Wilson, 1978). The patriarchal ideal in many Indian communities is that a woman's duty is to serve her father, brothers, and husband for the entirety of her life (Johnson and Johnson, 2001). An important set of patriarchal rules, values and expectations ensuring that women act in accordance with this ideal is embedded in the notion of *izzat* or family honour; if a woman violates these rules or fails to fulfil these expectations, she is seen as bringing shame to the family. In Indian society, one's community and the approval of others are seen as very important aspects (Ballard, 1982) which in effect serve to police the behaviour of women.

Social status and prestige within the Sikh community is based upon distinctions such as wealth, education, and occupation. The extended family and respect for elders is bound within the context of *izzat*. *Izzat*, Ballard (1982) claims, is 'in its narrower sense... a matter of male pride' (p.185). *Izzat* and honour affects the family as a group, and not just individuals. This is a marked difference to Western families, where responsibility and shame lies largely on the individual. Further, responsibility for one's action within the South Asian family affects not only the immediate family but also the extended family. Uncles, aunts and grandparents will participate in the endorsement of *izzat* and family honour, particularly amongst the younger members of the family. Thus, family honour is a status possessed collectively. Family honour is central for marrying children into 'good' and 'respectable' families. Family honour is implemented by sanctions, restrictions, disciplinary and judgements with the aim of controlling female sexuality. Further, *izzat* 'is "upheld" or "ruined" in social transactions, markedly those involving unmarried daughters' (Hall, 1995, p. 252). Consequently, a family's honour and reputation is dependent on its ability to control the behaviour of its women, which in turn maintains and ensures the family's status in the community (Rozario, 1995).

Izzat depends upon its members' conformity to ideal norms of behaviour. The extended family not only 'ensures a high degree of social control over its younger members but it also emphasises a common family identity and thus a common status' (Robinson, 1986, p. 68). It is of paramount importance that younger family members uphold the *izzat* of the family. *Izzat* is regarded very much as a fragile commodity, which may be destroyed by a simple act. Thus, many Punjabis are constrained by the knowledge that they must not jeopardise the status and *izzat* of their family. Extended family members and emigrant villagers survey the behaviour of the younger members of the family to maintain honour and respect.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the dynamics of patriarchy which affect women in general and South Asian women more specifically. It started by examining the concept of patriarchy as used, discussed and refined in feminist research literature. It then adopted from Walby's (1990) discussion the distinction between public and private patriarchy and highlighted the significance of private patriarchy for this study. Unlike Walby's classification of private patriarchy, which is restricted to the nuclear family, this study widens the category of private patriarchy to include the extended family within the South Asian context. This chapter has also questioned the relevance of Walby's analysis of a movement from a private to a public form of patriarchy for Sikh women. Walby's discussion on private and public patriarchy is developed in chapter eight.

Patriarchy is a contested concept and, as outlined above, theorists attempt to conceptualise the term in numerous ways. Marshment (1997), for example, characterises a patriarchal society as one in which values and beliefs are determined by men and it is they who determine what behaviour is appropriate for women. To what extent it is only men, as Marshment (1997) suggests, who determine what behaviour is appropriate for women is discussed in the following chapters, where Sikh women's views of who they see as restricting their freedom will be presented.

Additionally, as Smart (1995) suggests, the term 'patriarchy' does not include or express how women act in order to achieve or move towards a better position within the subordination they are experiencing. This study, however, attempts to identify how women in the Sikh community shift their position within the structures of patriarchy to move towards a better position. Chapters five to eight will all be looking at how Sikh women perceive patriarchal structures within the family and community; chapter seven in particular will examine their direct criticisms of gender inequality.

Nevertheless, the chapters so far have highlighted the character of South Asian societies and more specifically the Sikh family and community as inherently patriarchal. The literature has revealed that South Asian societies are not only embedded in patriarchal structures, but also within notions of *izzat* or honour of the family and individual. hooks' (1984) analysis of the family highlights that for women of 'colour' the family does not necessarily constitute a place of female oppression and subordination, but rather the family is perceived by women of colour as a site of solidarity and resistance to white racism. hooks' observations are taken into account for this study, and chapter six will reveal if they are applicable to Sikh women.

This chapter, as well as the previous chapter, has highlighted the importance of gender equality within Sikhism. The principles of Sikhism state that no distinction should be made on the grounds of caste and gender. Additionally, as Jakobsh (2003) suggests, historically, many women have been attracted to message of emancipation advocated by the Sikh gurus. From the results of this study it will become apparent to what extent Sikh women in the UK are attracted to 'the message of emancipation' in the Granth Sahib.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to set out and consider the methodological aspects of the study. The chapter is organised into two parts. The first part provides the theoretical basis of the research. It begins by focusing on feminist methodology and the significance of conducting research from a feminist perspective. The chapter then moves on to discuss the grounded theory approach and explores, with close attention, the problems of grounded theory. This is followed by an examination of the tensions and overlaps between feminist methodology and grounded theory. The first part of the chapter concludes by suggesting that even though there are tensions between the two approaches, features of both can be appealed to in the context of this study.

The second part of the chapter explores interviews as the most suitable method of collecting data for this study. The advantages and disadvantages of different models of interviewing are explored, before the contentious issue of being an 'insider' is discussed, and the dilemmas of gaining access are examined. This is followed by a presentation of the method of data analysis and the techniques employed to code and sub-categorise data. Finally, ethical issues and strategies of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are investigated.

Feminist Methodology

This and the following section are devoted to two different, and seemingly contradictory, methodologies: feminist standpoint theory and what is commonly referred to as the 'grounded theory' approach. Both are firstly introduced as methodological strategies in their own right. Then, later on in this section, the two approaches are compared, contrasted, and ultimately made useful for the purposes of this study.

In line with this general organisation of the chapter, this and the following section are structured in parallel fashion. Firstly, the methodologies will be uncritically introduced and presented (feminist standpoint theory in this section, grounded theory in the next). Then each will be critically discussed and assessed with respect to the purposes of this study, making use of the relevant literature. This first section accordingly begins now with a summary of the feminist standpoint position.

Feminism as an intellectual movement has its origins in eighteenth century England. What is often referred to as 'the first wave of feminism' had a predominantly political agenda, seeking to achieve equality between the sexes by extending women's rights (Abbott and Wallace, 1993). Within this phase of feminism, the term feminism/feminist referred to women and men who campaigned for votes and access to education for women. The 'second wave' of feminism, from 1969 onwards, has many different strands and has had a significant impact on sociology. For example, within this phase of feminism, there have been feminist critiques of the male-centred nature of much sociological theory and an enormous growth in research on women's lives (Robinson and Richardson, 1997). Nevertheless, Robinson and Richardson (1997) suggest that there are many variants of feminist research which reflect different theoretical orientations and feminist agendas. However, the underlying shared purpose of feminism and feminists is to unpack issues of patriarchal relations and structures which affect women (Walby, 1990). Much contemporary feminist research seeks a greater understanding of how patriarchal relations have an impact on men as well as women.

When outlining the agenda of feminists with respect to epistemology, Longino (2002) distinguishes three areas of concern. According to her, feminist scholars have been 'addressing issues of professional structure and the experiences of women within that structure, issues of content, and issues of methodology' (Longino 2002, p. 94). This study can be understood as being 'feminist' in all three ways distinguished by Longino. Firstly, its author is a woman, asserting her place in the academic structure and adding to sociological discourse from a woman's point of view. Secondly, the subject of this study is Sikh women, which is as a research topic of feminist interest. And thirdly, as outlined in this chapter, the study employs a feminist methodology.

Even though the distinction is often blurred (Harding 1987), it is helpful to talk of both feminist epistemology and feminist methodologies. For the concern of this study it is sufficient to work with an understanding of epistemology as concerned with the nature, sources and limits of knowledge (Harding 1987). We will, however, be only concerned with sociological knowledge. A methodology, on the other hand, can be described as a theory and analysis of how research should be conducted; it also includes how 'the general structure of theory finds its application in particular scientific disciplines' (Harding, 1987, p. 3). According to another formulation, 'a methodology is, as its simplest, a set of linked procedures which are adopted because they specify how to go about reaching a particular kind of analytic conclusion or goal' (Stanley, 1997, p. 198). The root of methodology is concerned with the 'getting of knowledge' (Stanley, 1997).

With regards to epistemology, there is a degree of consensus among many feminists, which centres on the view that much mainstream research is based on a concept of knowledge that is inherently male centred (Purvis, 1985). From a feminist epistemological position, the form and content of existing knowledge is considered to be inadequate, because it was produced and is maintained by one sector of society that has held the position of 'knowers'; traditionally men, who decide which matters are worth knowing (Harding, 1987). Purvis (1985) develops the discussion and argues that knowledge which is produced by men is inadequate. This is, she argues, related to there being a lack of knowledge on the experiences of women and other excluded groups. Additionally, the knowledge that we have is distorted because it has been acquired from a male perspective:

...feminist research claims that 'mainstream' research operates within a male-centred paradigm where man and man's experiences are taken as the norm. Consequently within 'mainstream' research women tend to be hidden or marginalized or, if present at all, to be represented through the perspective of men (Purvis, 1985, p. 180).

These epistemological views have consequences for methodologies. In relation to feminist methodology Gelsthorpe (1992) highlights:

Feminists have expressed methodological preferences, some of which are more obviously in sympathy with feminist aims, but as within different disciplines, there has been no widely acknowledged consensus on methodology (Gelsthorpe, 1992, p. 217).

The debate about whether or not there is a distinctive feminist methodology is ongoing and often controversial. Sometimes the debate on feminist methodology is blurred by imprecise understandings and/or use of the terms method and methodology (Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise, 1990, Hammersley, 1992). For present purposes it is sufficient, however, to have an understanding of feminist concerns and methodologies that allow for distinguishing research that is, in some way or other, feminist (Purvis, 1985).

Within feminism, 'getting of knowledge' (Stanley 1997) from female respondents is the key to understanding their experiences. It is possible to identify the following two propositions within feminist methodology: firstly that feminist research must be grounded in the assumption that women generally experience subordination and secondly, that their research should focus on the condition of women in society. Consequently, women conducting research and 'getting of knowledge' of women in order to get a better understanding of their experiences leads us to a discussion on 'standpoint'.

The idea of insisting on an epistemological 'standpoint' is based on the claim that the researcher has characteristics, a history, gender, class, race and social attributes that enter the research interaction which can help to shape research projects and understand some phenomena (Olesen, 2000). Feminists have adopted the standpoint position in order to support the view that female researchers working from a woman's point of view understand women's position better than men (Olesen, 2000). According to this 'feminist standpoint', women, as a subordinated group, are in a better position to arrive at an adequate representation of social reality than men, who are too caught up in their project of control (Marshall, 1998).

Further, 'feminist standpoint' leads towards an understanding of society which incorporates 'reproduction, bodily work, and intimate relations – the concrete realities of women's everyday existence – rather than working with abstract notions

of isolated individuals making rational choices' (Marshall, 1998, p. 413).

Additionally, Harding (1991) suggests that 'we must insist on an objective location – women's lives – as the place from which feminist standpoint research should begin' (p. 123). Thus, standpoint feminists maintain that knowledge based on women's experiences is scientifically preferable because they 'originate in, and are tested against, a more complete and less distorted kind of social experience' (Harding, 1987, p. 184). Importantly, then Harding outlines, women's experiences, which are informed by feminist theory provide grounding for complete and less distorted knowledge claims than men's claims to knowledge. Standpoint feminists therefore claim that research that is directed by social values and political agendas 'can nevertheless produce empirically preferable results of research' (Harding, 1987, p. 185).

Broadly then, the study of feminism and feminist research produces knowledge from a feminist standpoint, which is sensitised to women's experiences and encounters of patriarchy. Thus, my standpoints as a woman researcher, a Sikh and a Punjabi, I am sensitised to the experiences of women I interviewed. Therefore, importantly, for this study, my standpoint position also highlights the importance of my gender and ethnic origin – a Sikh woman researcher exploring the experiences of first and second generation Sikh women. The position of a feminist researcher, who is sensitised to the experiences of the women she is interviewing, whilst conducting field work will be explored in greater detail later on in the chapter.

Feminist standpoint does not lead towards an understanding of all women in society. For example, not only is it the case that, as Purvis (1985) suggests, 'mainstream' research operates within a male-centred paradigm' (p.180), it also operates within a white/middleclass-centred paradigm. Consequently, the limited portrayal of black and Asian women in academic research and also their exclusion from some white feminist work is criticised by a growing body of black and Asian women writers (hooks, 1981; Carby, 1982; 1987). Thus, Carby (1987) suggests;

The black women's critique of history has not only involved us in coming to terms with 'absences'; we have also been outraged by the ways in which it has made us visible when it has chosen to see us. History has constructed our sexuality and our femininity as deviating

from those qualities with which white women, as the prize objects of the western world, have been endowed. We have also been defined in less than human terms (Carby, 1987, p. 64).

Focusing on the 'black standpoint', black feminist writers, such as Patricia Hill Collins (1990), argue that black women's standpoint is grounded in black women's material circumstances and political situation. Methodologically, this requires "an alternative epistemology whose 'criteria for substantiated knowledge' and 'methodological adequacy' will be compatible with the experiences and consciousness of black women" (O'Leary, 1997, p.62, cited in Olesen, 2000, p. 223). Olesen (2000) moves on to suggest that Collins (1990) and bell hooks' (1994) writings have shifted feminist thinking and research in the direction of more particularised knowledge and away from any sense of the universal.

Importantly, Collins (1986) suggests that black feminist scholars not only share experiences with black women, but black feminist scholars standpoint also adds to sociological discourse within the academic sphere by questioning and adding to more orthodox approaches within sociology. From a South Asian British feminist standpoint, this study also attempts to not only share the experiences of South Asian women, but to add to sociological discourse from a South Asian British feminist standpoint.

On the other hand, as a consequence of the multiple positions, selves and identities interplaying in the research process, which will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter, the subjectivity of the researcher, as well as that of the researched, has blurred epistemological boundaries. For example Komarovsky, (1998), highlights the worries surrounding subjectivity coming 'too close... to a total elimination of intersubjective validation of description and explanation' (cited in Olesen, 2000, p. 227). Komarovsky, therefore, questions the issue of validity, objectivity and reliability of the subjective research.

Focusing on objectivity and feminist standpoint position, 'objectivists claim that objectivity requires the elimination of all social values and interests from the research process and the results of research' (Harding, 1991, p.144). However, Harding (1991) argues that not all values and interests have 'bad' effects upon the

research process and results of research. For example, much scientific research has been set up and been driven by a set of interests and values of the researcher. She moves on to highlight that in a society which is structured by gender hierarchy, 'starting thought from women's lives' can actually increase the objectivity of the results of the research (p. 150). This is because observation and explanation question assumptions and practices that are perceived to be 'natural' or a given from the perspective of men. Therefore, within feminism some feminists suggest that they are committed to objectivity because they tell less partial and distorted stories about women and social relations. Additionally, Harding (1991) stresses that objectivity is claimed and achieved by feminists because they ground research in women's lives.

Harding (1991) points out that feminist standpoint theory allows for objectivity, but objectivity can only be achieved if researchers use their historical locations (for example, situating the research within a geographical and political context) as a 'resource for obtaining greater objectivity' (p. 163). Additionally, Harding also stresses the importance of reflexivity for obtaining greater objectivity. To achieve greater objectivity Harding suggests that the researcher should analyse his/her beliefs and behaviour throughout the research process. Other means to achieve objectivity, such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as standards against which research processes ought to be measured, are discussed at the end of this chapter. The issues of objectivity and feminist research are discussed throughout this chapter.

Qualitative Research and Grounded Theory

Qualitative researchers tend to practice an approach in which theory and empirical investigation are interwoven. For many qualitative researchers the development of theoretical ideas occurs during or at the end of field-work, unlike many quantitative researchers who begin with theory (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). On the other hand, feminist research, for example, begins often with a prior ideological standpoint or framework, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Nevertheless, the prior specification of a theory tends to be disfavoured, by many qualitative researchers, because of the possibility of introducing premature closure on the theoretical constructs which may emerge from the data (Shipman, 1997).

Within qualitative research it is possible to distinguish two approaches to how theory and investigation are linked: analytic induction and grounded theory. For example, Lindesmith (1952) describes analytic induction as follows:

The principle which governs the selection of cases to test a theory is that the chances of discovering a decisive negative case should be maximised. The investigator who has a working hypothesis concerning the data becomes aware of certain areas of critical importance. If his theory is false or negative, he knows that its weakness will be more clearly and quickly exposed if he proceeds to the investigation of those critical areas. This involves going out of one's way to look for negative evidence (Lindesmith, 1952, p.492; cited in Berg, 1998, p.240).

Analytic induction employs a systematic and exhaustive examination of a limited number of cases in order to provide generalisations. Stages of analytic induction are: defining the field; hypothesising an explanation; studying one case to see if it fits the facts; modifying the hypothesis or the definitions in the light of this; and reviewing further cases (Marshall, 1998). According to Cressey (1953), 'this procedure of examining cases, re-defining the phenomenon and reformulating the hypothesis is continued until a universal relationship is established' (cited in Marshall, 1998, p.19).

Nevertheless, the aim of this study is to seek an understanding of how the world looks to Sikh women in their everyday lives, in their environments and settings. This interpretive research is guided by the view that humans construct their own view of their world (Shipman, 1997). Thus, where a positivist approach can ignore the rich subjective human world, interpretive social researchers focus on it. Within interpretive research, grounded theory emerges as a suitable way of understanding Sikh women's experiences. This is because grounded theorists attempt to grasp people's experiences in as rigorous and detailed a manner as possible (Ryan & Bernard, 2000), which is what this study attempts to achieve of Sikh women's experiences.

Even though at first sight this feature of grounded theory – that it strives towards conducting research that is not based on, or influenced, by preconceptions, interests,

and biases – stands in clear tension to the principles of feminist standpoint theory outlined in the preceding section, grounded theory provides valuable tools and insights for this study in that knowledge and concepts that arise are ‘grounded’ or come from and emerge from the data. This is significant for this study, because as a Sikh female researcher who is studying Sikh women and has a ‘shared reality’ with the respondents, the concepts that emerge from the data could be the product of mine or the researcher’s prior categories and models. Grounded theory, therefore, attempts to be faithful to the respondents’ circumstances and the respondents’ interpretations of those circumstances as far as possible. Importantly, grounded theory makes the important point that theory does not come from the outside, but arises from the data itself.

Grounded theory can be defined as:

... a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 158).

One of the features of grounded theory is that analysis starts early, as soon as the first data have been collected (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Sandelowski (1995) suggests that when the transcripts are available, the researcher starts simply underlining key phrases when proof reading the scripts. Scripts are then scrutinised line by line to identify phenomena or trends within the data. These fragments of data which emerge from the scripts are then named by the researcher. The terms used to describe the data ought to reflect closely the language within the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This process of building categories out of the research data is called ‘coding’ and is discussed in relation to data collection and analysis later on in this chapter. Grounded theorists argue that repeating the process of coding (or commonly known by grounded theorists as the iterative procedure) helps to focus the researcher on the data. Additionally, once a category has been discovered grounded theorists suggest that it is important to re-examine the category, and then refine or modify the case in the procedure of a ‘succession of question-and-answer cycles’ (Huberman & Miles, 1998). For example, Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that such an approach to data analysis, as well as starting the process of building ideas inductively, keeps

the researcher focussed on the data and restricts the potential for imposing existing theories as briefly discussed above.

In terms of analysing and collecting data, Glaser & Strauss (1967) describe a set of systematic procedures that they term the 'constant comparative method'. A central feature of grounded theory is 'a general method of [constant] comparative analysis' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. viii). The constant comparative method is a procedure used during grounded theory research whereby newly gathered data are continually compared with previously collected data in order to refine the development of theoretical categories. The researchers constantly ask questions of the data they are collecting, beginning the process of suggesting and developing links between the codes in an attempt to develop larger, and more substantive categories. More specifically, the constant comparative method is a repetitive process which involves, at the same time, collecting and analysing data with the ultimate aim of generating a theory which is grounded in the context in which the inquiry takes place (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). The claim is that the constant comparative method – comparing data, developing codes from the data, and then moving on to the analysis of the data – is a more 'honest way' to present findings and analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). More specifically, the 'honest way' to present findings and analysis can be described in terms of attempting to curb the potential of imposing prior existing theories.

Another technique applied by grounded theorists consists of theoretical sampling in the research process. Broadly, theoretical sampling amounts to collecting more data to clarify ideas, which helps to fill out categories, discover variation within them and define gaps between them. More specifically it is described by Glaser and Strauss as:

...the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.45).

Theoretical sampling can take numerous forms; it could be the collection of data from a new situation or groups of new participants, it could be used to sharpen

interview questions, collecting data from previous participants or collecting data from similar situations (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Along the lines of the broad distinction between objectivism and constructivism in the social sciences, Charmaz (2000) distinguishes between two directions of grounded theory; objectivist and constructivist grounded theory. Objectivist grounded theorists such as Glaser (1978, 1992), who view sociology as actually or potentially a science, methodologically come close to traditional positivism, with the assumptions of an objective, external reality, and a neutral observer who discovers data, someone who outlines a reductionist inquiry of manageable research problems and who participates in objectivist rendering of data (Charmaz, 2000). On the other hand, constructivist grounded theory or constructionism can be defined as an approach which emphasizes the idea that society is actively and creatively produced by human beings, thus social worlds are interpretive nets woven by individuals and groups (Marshall, 1998). Further, in the methodological sense, constructivist grounded theory:

... celebrates firsthand knowledge of empirical worlds, takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism, and offers accessible methods for taking qualitative research into the twenty first century. Constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognises the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims towards interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, cited in Charmaz, 2000, p. 510).

Some qualitative researchers tend to support an approach in which theory and empirical investigation are interwoven. The prior specification or introduction of theory within qualitative research tends to be disfavoured because of the possibility of introducing an early bias on the issues to be investigated. This worry will be addressed later on in this chapter, when the principles of grounded theory are examined in relation to the feminist framework introduced earlier.

Further, the major difference between grounded theory and other approaches to qualitative research is that grounded theory places emphasis on theory development. Many grounded theory studies have been directed towards developing a substantive theory; however, higher-level 'general' theory is also possible (Charmaz, 2000).

Regardless of level of theory, Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that there is built into this style of 'extensive interrelated data collection and theoretical analysis an explicit mandate to strive toward verification of its resulting hypothesis' (p.161). Furthermore, grounded theory theorists believe that developing theory of great conceptual density (richness of concept development and relationships) acts as a check for the data. The importance of grounded theory for this study is that it places great emphasis to the everyday realities of the persons being studied. Only in this way, as Glaser & Strauss (1967) suggest, will the theory be closely related to the daily realities of the group, and so will be highly applicable to dealing with them.

Tensions, Contradictions and Overlaps between the Feminist Perspective and Grounded Theory

There are contradictions, tensions and strengths between the methodological and epistemological approaches of grounded theory and the feminist perspective, as discussed so far. The tensions, contradictions and strengths of combining these approaches are now explored in greater detail.

Contemporary trends of feminism and black movements have relied on the technique of grounded theorists to allow theory to emerge from the data (Stanley, 1997). Thus, a key impetus for feminism has been that women must have their own voices and these voices should emerge or be induced from the data. In order to avoid the danger of applying a pre-constructed, possibly masculinist, theory on a set of data, many feminists, such as Stanley (1997), subscribe to the principles of inductivism (based on the method of 'analytic induction', as described earlier in this chapter), which is similar to grounded theory in that theory is devised from the details of research. Thus inductivism and grounded theory share important characteristics distinguishing them from the deductivist model, which according to some positivist researchers carries considerable influence and power because the 'scientific method' is seen to produce objective, reliable, generalisable, scientific knowledge (Stanley, 1997). However, within much of feminist thinking, the claims of 'objective science' have been rejected because:

... they are clearly biased by masculinist assumptions and ways of working, and inductivism has been presented as a suitable feminist alternative because it grounds knowledge in 'experience': theory is derived from practice, rather than proceeding it (Stanley, 1997, p. 211).

Thus Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that the specific views of grounded theory have been either directly influenced or indirectly affected 'in terms of thinking through the different assumptions and emphases of alternative modes of analysis' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 164). More specifically, they argue that with the impact of contemporary and intellectual movements, ideas and concepts of these groups are 'entering analytically as conditions into the studies of grounded theory researchers' (p.165). Accordingly, grounded theorists' methodological stance is one of openness, and its central feature is that the researcher can respond to change in space and time – in other words, as conditions that affect behaviour change, 'they can be handled analytically, whether the conditions are in the form of ideas, ideologies, technologies, or new uses of space' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 165). Therefore, it is important for these methodologies to remain open to a range of questions, including questions of feminist concern, so that the discovery of important data is not obstructed or hindered by pre-formulated theories and hypotheses.

However, there is a tension between the ideals of grounded theory and the attempt to do research with a feminist agenda. The research in this study is sensitised to a Sikh feminist perspective. Feminists argue that women, with the experience of being exploited, are best able to research the exploitation. Accordingly, it has been argued that feminist social research should be based on women's experiences (Humm, 1995). The corresponding emphasis on the role of subjective experience in the research process, however, leads to a discussion and question of objectivity within the feminist research process. More specifically, within and outside feminist circles there is a debate on whether there 'can be objectivity in social research?' (Hammersley, 1992). Among some feminists there is a consensus that the idea of objectivity is a masculine concept, resulting in the researcher controlling the researched. Some feminists have suggested that this kind of control over what amount to 'objects of study' is a kind of exploitation, which must be avoided.

Objectivity, on the other hand, is an ideal for grounded theory. As such it is considered valuable for this study, which will strive towards objective knowledge, while being reflectively aware of its feminist standpoint and agenda. The attempt to keep objectivity as an ideal on board is partly motivated by worries related to the priority of subjective experiences. Making 'good' research dependent on 'subjective' experience, for example, can hinder or inhibit gaining knowledge from women to whom the researcher is not sensitised to. In the case of this study, for example, I may not be sensitised to the experiences of first generation women. Thus, being sensitised to the feminist standpoint can lead to the danger that the researcher will not be sensitised to the women she is not familiar with or disagrees with. For example, I as a second generation Sikh woman undertaking research on both first and second generation Sikh women I may unwittingly or unknowingly be sensitised and biased towards some women in the study and not others. Thus, the researcher may not be detached from the subject or the research, particularly in interpretive methodology, but the procedures through which research is produced can help to limit issues of objectivity, and bias. Therefore, employing ground theory techniques attempts to enable women's voices to be heard in their own terms as their narratives, or in Glaser and Strauss (1967) term, allow 'theoretical ideas' emerge from the data.

As discussed in relation to Harding's (1991) work, some feminists think that having a feminist agenda on the one hand, and striving towards objectivity on the other are perfectly compatible. Grounded theory provides one way of making sense of this compatibility. Using grounded theory techniques enables women's voices to be heard in terms of their own priorities. This is implemented through a rigorous general method of constant comparative analysis to achieve greater objectivity.

There remain tensions between grounded theory and the feminist standpoint. Whereas the feminist standpoint originates from a normative viewpoint, grounded theory emerges from a perspective of openness. These tensions manifested themselves throughout the research process for this study in that on the one hand I would like to be true to the understanding of patriarchy, and on the other hand do justice to the lived realities of my subjects, even though their world view may be very different from mine. For example some women I interviewed were sympathetic to patriarchal practices, which would have created tensions had I been solely

committed to a feminist standpoint. As a consequence of working within the framework of grounded theory, however, I was able to allow the data to speak for itself and to do justice to the lived experiences of the women, even where there were conflicting positions and interests.

The above statement – that grounded theory allows for ‘the data to speak for itself’ – may be, and has been, considered naive, because research never takes place in a vacuum. Researchers have their own political and academic agendas and experiences, partly determining which data is theoretically important and significant. Shipman (1997), for example, argues that even grounded theory research is always determined by such preconceptions:

...Glaser and Strauss seem to assume that an open-minded linking of data and theory is possible. But researchers of all people are likely to be saturated with theories that determine their perceptions. Hence these are likely to be confirmed or elaborated rather than grounded in observations (Shipman, 1997, p. 45).

Once Shipman’s critique of grounded theory is taken seriously – that the ideal of ‘letting the data speak for itself’ is strictly speaking unattainable – the possibility of supplementing grounded theory with feminism emerges. Shipman highlights that a reflective researcher who employs grounded theory techniques is aware, or should be aware, that the choice of research topic and pre-existing concepts will mould or affect the research. Within grounded theory the processes of selection, categorisation and development of themes does not take place in a vacuum. Pre-existing beliefs govern the process of research. Being explicit about one’s feminist agenda meets Shipman’s requirements. The feminist grounded theorist does not pretend that her research is taking place in a vacuum, because she is explicit about her own feminist commitments. Nevertheless, she is also, importantly, a grounded theorist, applying grounded theory techniques and thus reducing the chance that the results will be divorced from the actual data or situations that they are supposed to represent.

A feminist perspective focuses on understanding patriarchy and women’s experiences and thus enters the field with defined areas of investigation. Grounded theory on the other hand attempts through a general method of constant comparative

analysis to restrict the potential of imposing preconceived ideas or prejudices. Despite the tensions between the principles underlying the two methodologies, it is possible to subscribe to versions of both. The research conducted in this thesis is conducted by a Sikh woman, it is concerned with Sikh women's perspectives of the family, and it addresses relations, practices and values that are seen as patriarchal. It is explicitly feminist. However, once this general feminist framework is described and reflectively endorsed, it is possible and important to adhere to principles of grounded theory, for example in the design and interpretation of the interviews. The attempt is made to achieve a sensitive and appreciative approach, where sensitivity and appreciative research emerge through the understanding of patriarchal relations. Grounded theory techniques are incorporated in order to enable the data to emerge and to allow for the voices of women the researcher may not be sensitive to, or whose experiences she may not have recognised, as discussed above in the analysis of grounded theory. These attempts are helped by the reflective awareness of a feminist standpoint and the possibility that the researcher may have introduced biases by preconceptions.

In conclusion, the contradictions and ambivalences that have been discussed and that result from the combination of feminist and grounded theory perspectives are an important part of the difficulties a researcher has to contemplate to strive towards fair and objective research. I have attempted to use several methodological approaches to gain an insight from several different perspectives. This is in accordance with Shipman's (1997) summary of the numerous approaches taken by researchers: 'researchers tend to be pragmatic, may see the approaches as complementary and will take on board insights from the different approaches' (Shipman, 1997, p.18).

Methods: Sample and Background of Respondents

Starting with this section, the rest of this chapter deals with methods, setting out how the methodology outlined above was implemented in the field. This section begins with the traditional steps of the research process, starting with methods employed for the study, the problems encountered when entering the field, gaining access and give an overview of the 'insider' perspective. It then moves on to data collection and

ethical considerations, before issues of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability in the research process are explored. It begins by sketching out the number of respondents interviewed and highlighting their age, generation, occupation and educational background.

The goal in this research was to interview at least fifty people. However, as will be discussed later on in this chapter, it was difficult to obtain fifty women for the research because many women were reluctant to give an interview. Nevertheless, I managed to undertake thirty-nine interviews, which mostly lasted for an hour. A number of interviews only lasted between thirty and forty minutes, and two interviews were partly inaudible due to the interviews taking place in a gurdwara (Sikh place of worship). I interviewed nineteen first generation women and twenty second generation women (see table below). All of the first generation women were born in India and arrived in the 1960s and 1970s; they were aged between 40 and 65 years and many of them did not have any formal education beyond primary school. Only three first generation women held college and university qualifications. Consequently, many women had histories of full-time employment in manual labour and although some had retired, some still continued to work part-time.

Second generation women interviewed are all British born Sikhs and aged between 18 and 35 years. Their educational attainment levels differ. However, all the women are educated to college level and many are university educated. Three women strongly stress their religious orientations and emphasise that they practise the Sikh religion and have recently been baptised. Very importantly, by mere chance three interviews were conducted with women who had arrived, as brides, from India over the past two or three years. Additionally, two interviews were conducted with second generation women who have married Indian born men. Overall, all first generation women and the majority of second generation women are married and the socio-economic position of the women is similar: they are all now middle class. It is important to note that some of the women interviewed for this study worked in factories. However, in this case this does not imply any relevant class differences between the respondents, because all the factory workers occupied their own homes, lived in affluent areas of Leicester and often had more than two incomes per household; sons and daughters also contributed to the household income. As

discussed in the literature review, Ballard (2001) highlights that Sikhs have moved up the class ladder bringing with them middle class attributes such as living in affluent residential areas and occupying expensive cars and furniture. It can therefore be stated that the issue of class was not investigated, as many of the women interviewed came from similar socio-economic backgrounds and they did not discuss issues of poverty or wealth in their interviews.

Table: Details of Respondents

The following table highlights respondents' age, marital status, occupation and generation:

Name	Age	Generation	Personal Details	Occupation	Type of Family
Balbir	55	First	Married	Shop Worker	Extended
Baljeet	51	First	Married	Factory Worker	Nuclear
Bulwinder Kaur	40	First	Married	Shop Keeper	Nuclear
Dalveer Kaur	18	Second	Single	Student	Nuclear
Gurpreet	28	Second	Single	Bank Cashier	Nuclear
Hardeep Kaur	25	Indian born (expressed similar sentiments to second generation women)	Married	Part-time factory worker	Nuclear
Harjeet kaur	60	First	Married	Retired	Nuclear
Jagdeep Kaur	60	First	Married	Retired	Nuclear
Jasbir	51	First	Married	Housewife	Nuclear
Jasveen	26	Second	Married	Own Business	Nuclear
Jasveer	41	First	Married	Machinist	Nuclear
Jatinder	51	First	Married	Factory Worker	Nuclear
Kaljit	39	Second	Married	Part-Time Secretary	Nuclear
Kalwant	40	First	Married	Machinist	Nuclear
Kantah	54	First	Married	Helps the Elderly	Nuclear
Kaur	65	First	Married	Retired	Nuclear

Kelly	32	Second	Married	Bank Cashier	Extended
Kiran	33	Second	Married	Principal Clerk	Nuclear
Kiranjit Kaur	39	Second	Single	Social Worker	Divorced
Kirpal	34	Second	Married	Manager	Extended
Kulwinder	27	Second	Married	Shop Worker	Nuclear
Malkit Kaur	58	First	Married	Housewife	Nuclear
Manjit	28	Second	Single	Office Worker	Nuclear
Preetma	32	First	Single	IT Consultant	Nuclear
Ragbir	19	Second	Single	Student	Nuclear
Rajinder	35	Second	Married	Production Manager	Nuclear
Rajwant	21	Second	Single	Student	Nuclear
Rajwinder	46	First	Married	Team Leader	Nuclear
Rani	44	First	Married	Secretary	Extended
Ravinder Kaur	43	First	Married	Community Leader	Nuclear
Ringeed	34	Second	Married	Part-Time Health Worker	Nuclear
Sally	32	Second	Married	Housewife	Extended
Sandeep	32	Second	Married	Shop Owner	Nuclear
Sarbjit	50	First	Married	Factory Owner	Extended
Sarbjit Kaur	37	Second	Single	Social Worker	Living alone
Shelia	46	First	Married	Community Worker	Nuclear
Simee	21	Second	Single	Student	Nuclear
Surinder Kaur	52	First	Married	Housewife	Nuclear
Surjit	48	First	Married	Factory Worker	Nuclear

Throughout this study pseudonyms have been used in place of the respondents' names.

All of the women interviewed were either from Nottingham or from Leicester. Many of the women interviewed from Nottingham occupied professional jobs and some were students. The interviews at Nottingham took place at the homes of the respondents. In Leicester, interviews took place at a local gurdwara, some interviews were conducted at a factory where the respondents worked and some interviews took place at the homes of the women. The spectrum of areas in which the interviews were situated, the types of occupations women held, beliefs of the women and their wide age range are all part of an attempt to obtain a representative sample as possible of Sikh women. However, as indicated above, it is questionable whether

this study can be generalised to working class Sikh women or even Londoners/Southerners. Nevertheless, it must be noted, due to time and financial constraints, that the significance of this study or for qualitative researchers in general, is to seek samples that are 'information rich' and are less concerned with representativeness (Plummer, 2001, p. 133). The issue of how a sample was selected, how access was gained and the types of questions asked is discussed later on in this chapter (see the section on gaining access).

First Attempt of Entering the Field

Prior to the interviewing process I thought that it would be relatively 'easy' to gain access to the women I wanted to study – being an Asian woman and a Sikh I thought I would of course be in a better position than a white female or white/Sikh male researcher. It turned out, however, not to be the case. My first attempt of gaining access took place at Woolwich Gurdwara, South East London. Growing up in Erith (Kent) meant that I could not possibly attempt to conduct interviews at my local Gurdwara, as everybody knew my family and would not openly talk to me because of my background. Further, the problem of interviewing my 'aunties' at the local Gurdwara would bring into question issues of sampling, bias and problems of whether 'aunties' would give details of their experiences to me with the knowledge of who's granddaughter and daughter I was. Realising the negative consequences of conducting field work at the local Gurdwara I attempted to gain access to my subjects by visiting the Gurdwara in the next town. My aim was to gain rapport, inform them about my research and ask for an interview at a later date. This, however, proved disastrous. Firstly, having never visited a Gurdwara on my own I felt uncomfortable and conscious of being 'looked at', because it is unusual for a young woman, whose face is not familiar or who is not a local, to visit the Gurdwara without her parents, grandparents or siblings. I decided to outline my research to the woman priest; she was interested, but a little confused by my vagueness. She was, however, prepared to give me an interview at a later date. She recommended that I should also speak to the other women in the Gurdwara as they would be willing to speak to me. I felt encouraged by her support – at least I could drop or mention her name so that the women may speak to me, even though this can cause problems of snowballing. Speaking to the priest I recognised the problem of being vague about

my study and quickly realised that it would be difficult to convince the women of my research agenda. However, I was also aware of a dilemma with regards to formulating one's research agenda noted by Robson (1993):

Thus, it is the researcher's agenda that is important, and the access issue is essentially persuading people to let you in. If you are clear about your intentions, perhaps with a pretty tight, pre-structured, design then the task is probably easier initially, in that you can give them a good indication of what they are letting themselves in for. With a looser, more emergent design, there may be more difficulties as you are to some extent asking them to sign a 'blank cheque' as it is impossible to specify in advance exactly what you will do (Robson, 1993, p. 295).

Aware of these problems I tried to narrow down my research goals, while still attempting to remain as vague possible. I opted for asking after 'your experience of living in England'.

Sitting inside the Gurdwara and keeping a watchful eye on the women who were arriving, I often thought 'maybe I can interview her'. The women did not stay or listen to the prayers for too long and left too quickly without me being able to approach them. Or let's say I was taking too much time to build up my courage to approach them. I managed to speak to six women in the more-or-less empty Gurdwara without any luck. Two of the women were aged between thirty and thirty-five, three women were in their late forties/early fifties and one woman was at least in her late 60s.

All the women in the Gurdwara that I managed to speak to were suspicious of my activities. A problem that I encountered was that the older women could not grasp or understand what a researcher is or what I wanted from them. 'Just a conversation, I just want to speak to you bibi ji (grandmother, often used as a polite reference to an elderly lady), talk to you about your life in England', I answered. I further struggled with converting the word 'researcher' into Punjabi. 'Does the word 'researcher' actually exist in Punjabi', I asked myself. I could not believe that I had not thought about this before! At this point (only after speaking to the second woman in the Gurdwara) I felt I could not proceed without knowing the Punjabi word for a researcher. It was here that I left the Gurdwara to make a quick call to my dad. 'Dad, what is the Punjabi translation of 'research' and 'researcher'?' – 'Khauj', but many

people in the Punjabi speaking world may not grasp what it means, because it is often only used in academic circles', he went on to suggest. 'Oh, there is not a straightforward translation of the words 'researcher' and 'research' which everyone will understand – 'numee cheej labhade hai' – would be the simplest explanation' ('searching for new ideas/things'). I was concerned and a little distraught with the idea of how I could possibly explain to the women who didn't understand what a researcher or research meant that I was searching for ideas. I knew that they would ask me: 'What ideas?' How could I possibly answer if my aim was to follow the grounded theory approach? Additionally, I was sure that if I told them I was seeking a greater understanding of the experiences of women in England, the women would be wary and not trusting of my activities. This definitely proved to be the case.

After having called my dad, my attempts to speak to the remaining women in the Gurdwara still proved unsuccessful. When I explained to the younger women about my research, they were very dubious of my activities and I felt as if they did not trust me. They refused any further contact for an interview. The women that were aged between forty and fifty gave me a different response. These women were very interested in my family background. Once I had approached these women and explained my research interests they immediately proceeded to ask where I live, the names of my parents and grandparents, where my parents worked, the name of my village in the Punjab, and how many brothers and sisters I have.

I was, however, prepared for these questions – it is a 'ritual' or 'established procedure' that whenever one meets an 'aunty' it is guaranteed that she will ask your family details, where you live, the name of your village in the Punjab and your parents occupation – thus, these questions came as no surprise. As Oakley (1981, p.49) points out, in interviewing there is 'no intimacy without reciprocity'. Nevertheless, responding to these questions, extra politely like a respectable 'Indian girl', which I thought would have gone in my favour, actually did not result in any outcome. My constant 'haan ji aunty ji' and 'nahee ji aunty ji' ('yes' and 'no' in a very polite manner) prevailed to be an insufficient strategy. The women were very reluctant to offer any rapport other than to get information out of me, and they were suspicious of giving their name and contact details. They kept asking what I was doing and why, to which I continuously replied by naming my university, talking

vaguely about my research project, and, above all, filling them in with the story of my brothers', my parents' and my grandparents' lives. It turned out that they would be too busy with work and family commitments to arrange a meeting.

After the disastrous attempt inside the Gurdwara, with my morale at its lowest, conscious of the money in my parking meter running out and a little hunger creeping in, I plucked up the courage to pay a visit to the women in the langar hall (dining area) and the kitchen where women were preparing the food. I thought the best strategy would be to sit down with my food at a table full of women. Walking into the langar hall I noticed heads turning. I found myself wishing that my mum was with me. Queuing for the food resulted in another disaster; the women serving the food knew my mum and who I was. 'Where is your mum?' they asked, prompting others to inquire: 'Whose girl is this?', 'What are you doing on your own', and 'Why is she by herself?' I was overwhelmed with the bombardment of questions and worried that I would now have to give a speech to everybody present. I was quite sure that I would not be able to explain myself, resulting in them thinking – and reporting back to my aunties – that I am crazy. 'What is this research thing?', they would ask, and 'It is not studying, is it?'

I managed to give as little detail as possible and focused the discussion on my mum's busy lifestyle. 'How unfair', I complained to myself, 'I didn't even recognise these women. How could they possibly know who I am?' Plucking up the courage to sit with a group of women after the 'harassment', as I thought of it at the time, was a strenuous task. Gravitating towards a populated table of women enjoying their food I got many curious stares and no smiles. It was impossible to build a rapport; some women were eager to eat and leave, others were too busy with their children, and a few had their bodyguards (mother-in-laws, as described by my respondents) with them. I decided to 'call it a day' and nevertheless enjoy my food; the feast of saag, lentils, cauliflower curry, roti, yogurt, salad and rice pudding were very enjoyable, even though I was in a state of bewilderment by my failure to gain access to a group of women who I thought 'were my own', and by my mistaken assumption that gaining access would be a smooth and easy ride. Narayan (1998) summarises the problems of 'blending in';

Even if one can blend into a particular social group without the quest of fieldwork, the very nature of researching what to others is taken-for-granted reality creates an uneasy distance (Narayan, 1998, p. 182).

Further, after informing the women of issues of anonymity, I hoped that they would be more inclined to speak to me – yet again this proved not to be the case. Consequently, after being asked where my parents live and work and being situated as a 'local', far removed from my perception of what it means to be a local, some women may have assumed that news could spread quickly and were thus reluctant to speak to me. Thus, I travelled up north in the hope that I would not be a 'local' and not be recognised.

Second Attempt to Gain Access

After entering a cultural setting or environment where people recognised me, and after I had acknowledged the significance and importance of a 'gatekeeper' (a person with 'credibility' and suitable authority who is willing to give access to potential respondents), I decided to conduct my field work in Leicester and Nottingham, places where I had access to gatekeepers. I was fortunate to have extended family members in Nottingham who contacted a local social worker and asked her if she would be willing to help me with my research. Similarly in Leicester an extended family network enabled me to gain access to women at the local Gurdwara and neighbours in the Rushmead area. After my disastrous attempt to enter the field without gatekeepers I decided to use extended family networks to gain access. Buchanan et al. (1998) recommended using friends, relatives and contacts when attempting to gain access if all else has failed (cited in Robson, 1993). Although using family and friends is not always possible and can lead to sampling problems, Buchanan et al., argue that in real world enquiry, 'the contest between what is theoretically desirable and practically possible must be won by the practical' (Robson, 1993, p.296). Further, contacting the gatekeepers was very easy as they were more than willing to help. I thought that it would be important to discuss the purpose of the study with the gatekeepers, and outlined issues of anonymity as they would be the ones who would have initial contact with the women.

Field work in Nottingham turned out to be less problematic than field work in Leicester. I arrived, in Nottingham, at the social worker's home, around lunch time. Prior to my visit she had informed a few students of my research and invited them around. She had laid-on a feast for the students and me. Over lunch we talked about broad issues of the 'Indian culture' and the position of women in our society. Rather unenthusiastically and worried of their response, I asked the women if I could record the conversation, surprised by my question they all smiled and said yes. After starters, main course, dessert and Indian tea I got a chance to interview the women individually whilst sitting in the garden soaking up the sun – my experience of field work in Nottingham was working out very differently from my attempt at Woolwich Gurdwara.

After the smooth run of interviews I was given a piece of paper with several addresses. These addresses, I was told, would lead me to the women I would be interviewing next. The social worker, aware of the complexities of field work, tried to make the 'field work experience' as 'easy' as possible. She had contacted the women for me, prior to my visit, asking them to give me an interview and, after the interview, to give me a lift to the next house, as I had no other means of transport. Further, the social worker's awareness of 'snowballing' problems made sure that the respondents did not know of each another, were not friends or family. Shocking as this may sound, the day proceeded by me being driven to somebody's house, fed to the extreme, conducting the interview, and then driven again to the next respondent, fed, conducting the interview and then driven...until I had conducted all my interviews. Then I was taken to the train station. I thought that perhaps Nottingham 'is the place' to conduct field work!

Field work in Leicester, on the other hand, proved to be a little more problematic than Nottingham. Again, thanks to my extended family networks, gatekeepers were at my calling. Two gatekeepers, one a factory manager who allowed me to interview her machinists and a prominent community worker for the Asian community enabled me to gain access to women in the local gurdwara. I was overwhelmed with the number of women who wanted to give an interview at the factory, they were all very willing to come forward and talk about themselves and their experiences (even though they got paid per garment they made). I thought that this was perhaps related

to and perceived as having a break from machine work. I was extremely grateful for the generosity of the owners of the factory as the interviews had an impact on their production of garments and the number of garments sewn.

Field work at Leicester gurdwara proved complicated. Some close friends of the gatekeeper seemed reluctant to speak to me when first introduced. When I got introduced to the women in the gurdwara and explained my research they giggled and whispered to one another – this was a little unnerving. When the women were approached by the gatekeeper to be interviewed in a room separate to the langar hall (dining area) the women urged and pushed one another to go first and be the next to be interviewed. After this charade, surprisingly, the women were very keen to talk. Often, whilst the interviews were being conducted, children would run in to the room and run around until I asked them to leave - this some times had an impact on the flow of the conversation and the quality of recording was affected.

Thoughts on Gaining Access and Problems Encountered Being an ‘Insider’

There are clear practical advantages to this kind of ‘insider’ research. You won’t have to travel far. Generally you will have an intimate knowledge of the context of the study, not only as it is at present, but in a historical or development perspective... You will know how best to approach people... In general, you will already have in your head a great deal of information which it takes an outsider a long time to acquire (Robson, 1993, p. 298).

The above comment reflects the advantage of being an ‘insider’ and conducting ‘insider’ research. Unlike pursuing research from an ethnomethodological perspective where the research is conducted from a ‘naïve’ stand point and where there is substantial possibility that the researcher could be insensitive to the respondent and the respondent’s environment, the insider, on the other hand, is, often, sensitised to the respondent’s cultural values, beliefs and their environment (Robson, 1993).

An understanding of Indian women’s values and environment, it could be argued, could be difficult to attain for many white European researchers (Bhopal, 2001). Additionally, researching Indian women with whom I regularly identify by implicit

emotional understanding through years of association, share a language and participation in wider Punjabi culture allows me, as a researcher, to be sensitive to their environment and surroundings (Bhopal, 1997). Thus, naivety about the respondents' culture is limited compared to a white European researcher.

However, it is questionable to what extent anyone is an authentic insider. Being a British born Sikh from a 'modern' family background may perhaps mark one as 'inauthentic' when conducting field work on first generation Indian born women. Further, factors such as 'education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associated with insider or outsider status' (Narayan, 1998, p. 164). Consequently, to highlight the dilemmas invoked by the assumption that a 'native' researcher can represent an unproblematic and authentic insider's perspective, I now broadly outline the problems I encountered whilst occupying the insider's label.

There are many disadvantages of being an insider as my research revealed. Firstly, the hierarchical structure of the Asian community represented difficulties in the interviewing process – as older people have a higher status than younger people (Ballard, 2001). In reflection there was a constant pressure to be respectful, and the use of language had to be carefully selected as not to be disrespectful, rude or too outspoken. For example, the usage of 'ji' to end a word is very important as it implies a very respectful and formal way of speaking to elders – aunty ji, bibi ji, (grandmother) haan ji (yes). Further, the elders also questioned me and it would have been disrespectful if I did not answer their questions. Thus, age proved to be a factor contributing to the social differentiation between myself and first generation women I interviewed. As Bhopal (2001) suggests, 'our physical appearance can create a barrier' in the research process (p. 281).

Also at times I found it a daunting task to ask very sensitive and personal questions because it may have been perceived rude or disrespectful; for example asking a woman in her 40s why she does not have children (in a culture where children are very important to complete a family) was too sensitive to probe. Also, inquiring about domestic violence in a culture where it is hidden was just as problematic. As I was conducting my field work I wondered whether it would be easier for a middle

aged white woman to ask these questions. Secondly, women, particularly first generation women, were doubtful of my agenda and were often worried that the information that they disclose may be fed back into the community. Many women often sought confirmation that the discussion taking place would remain confidential (see Oakley (1981) for a discussion on 'woman-to woman' interviewing).

However, considering the complexity and diversity in the Sikh culture and among Sikh groups, even the most experienced of 'native' researchers cannot know everything about his or her society. Surprisingly, conducting research as a native opens up access to hidden stores of research materials, and as my research revealed the study lead to the discovery of unfamiliar aspects of my own society. I have learned, for example, a good deal about the experiences of migration, concerns of the ageing Sikh population and the experiences of women who arrive as brides from India than what my upbringing supplied.

Broadly, being an 'insider' can give feminist researchers access to inside knowledge, and enable a greater understanding of the experiences of the women interviewed (Olesen, 2000). On the other hand Patricia Zavella (1996), when researching a community that she belonged to, discovered that her Mexican background was not sufficient or beneficial in her study of Mexican women doing factory work (cited in Olesen, 2000, p. 227). My study encountered similar problems. Thus, the idea that a feminist researcher who shares attributes with her respondents' cultural background could/can have full access to women's knowledge is problematic. For example, as mentioned in my account of trying to gain access, some women were reluctant to disclose information to me, presumably in part because I was 'one of them'. They were afraid that the information they gave me would go back to community members. Thus, being too close and familiar with the subject matter there is a possibility that certain issues maybe overlooked.

Additionally, as Bhopal (2000) suggests, there is also a possibility that the respondents may be aware of my knowledge of the subject matter and that they may perceive it too obvious to discuss and reveal. This was particularly the case with the issue of arranged marriage, as not very many women discussed the issue. Thus, as Bhopal (2000) states 'when the researcher and the researched operate from shared

realities, there may be a tendency to take too much for granted' (p. 75). Collins (1986), for example, highlights that, unlike outsiders, researchers who are immersed in the culture may find it harder to detect patterns of beliefs and behaviour from the data. She identifies advantages of having an outsider status when conducting research, suggesting that the stranger brings to the research 'remoteness' and indifference that are important in achieving objectivity.

Consequently, while I affirm that that my identity as a woman, British, Sikh and a 'Southerner' was crucial for field experiences, I distance myself from the belief that 'women have a particular way of knowing and seeing the world' (Skeggs, 1995, p.16 cited in Narayan, 1998, p. 208). Experiences of individuals within a given group vary acutely. My experience – feelings and emotions – as I found out, was very unique when interviewing uneducated housewives for example. I could not empathise with these women as my experiences differed acutely. Importantly, however, accustomed to the culture and traditions of the Sikh community I had an insight in to the framework of Sikh women's lives and experiences.

Biographical/Life History Method

The interviews that provide the data for this study were conducted adhering to what can be called the 'biographical method' or 'life history' (Schwandt 1997; cited in Tierney, 2000). Life history or the biographical method can be defined as 'any retrospective account by the individual of his life in whole or part, in written or oral form, that has been elicited or promoted by another person' (Watson & Watson-Franke, 1985, cited in Tierney, 2000, p. 539). The biographical approach is a commentary on the individual's personal view of his/her own experiences as he/she understands them. Moreover, it attempts to define the growth of a person in a cultural milieu and to make theoretical sense of it (Dollard, 1935, cited in Tierney, 2000). The biographical approach 'signals the active inquiring presence of sociologists in constructing, rather than discovering, knowledge' (Stanley, 2003, p.41). Thus, the biography employs sociological perspectives, ideas, concepts, findings and analytical procedures to construct and understand narrative texts that tell some person's own history within the larger history of one's life.

Plummer (2001) distinguishes between two types of life stories/histories; long life stories and short life stories. Long life stories refer to full length accounts of a person's life, while short life stories refer to shorter accounts and snippets of a person's life. Shorter life stories are gathered through in-depth interviews in which the interviewer gives the interviewee 'gentle probes' in return for information (Plummer, 2001, p. 24). Because of time constraints and considerations of transferability, which are discussed later on in this chapter, shorter life stories were most suitable for this study.

The biographical or life history method has been chosen for the research conducted in the context of this study, asking the respondents to give accounts of their lives and their experiences throughout their life course. For example, for this study, Sikh women provided personal accounts of their lives; first generation women focused on the migration process, settlement in the UK and the changing structure of the Sikh community and family. Second generation women gave accounts of what they perceived as differences in values and beliefs between Sikh second generation women and first generation women, as well as talking more broadly about the Sikh men in their lives. Second generation women also gave personal accounts of married life and living with in-laws. The narratives of both first and second generation respondents represent an account of their experiences, parts of their life history.

As well as giving an account of respondents' lives through the life story/history and biographical approach, the autobiographical method has also played a role in situating the researcher/interviewer with respect to the research process. Broadly, 'my history' or 'my account' of my life has been partly expressed within the larger histories or accounts of the women interviewed, in particular second generation women. The importance of this interplay between the narratives provided by the respondents and the researcher's own autobiography is summarised by Merton (1988), who states that 'autobiographers are the ultimate participants in a dual participant-observer role, having privileged access – in some cases, monopolistic access – to their own inner experience' (Merton, 1988, p.18 cited in Stanley, 2003, p.43). Taking into consideration the 'dual participant-observer role' and access to one's own inner experience, the sociological autobiography can be described as a personal exercise (Stanley, 2003). Merton (1988) describes the interplay between

personal experience, the researched and sociological investigation also an 'interplay between one's sequences of status-sets and role-sets on the one hand and one's intellectual development on the other, with its succession of theoretical commitments, foci of scientific attention, planned or serendipitous choices of problems and choices of strategic research sites for their investigation (cited in Stanley, 2003, p. 43). Merton goes on to stress that

... full-fledged sociological autobiographers relate their intellectual development both to changing social and cognitive micro-environments close at hand and to the encompassing macro-environments provided by the larger society and culture (Merton, 1988, p. 19-20, cited in Stanley, 2003, p.43).

In line with Merton's (1988) comments, this study is explicit about the role of the researcher's own experiences in the research process. This is generally acknowledged in this chapter, where the methodology governing the research is outlined, and it is explicitly mentioned throughout the thesis wherever it seems appropriate. In this study's attempt to acquire situated knowledge from a Sikh feminist standpoint in relation to its Sikh female respondents, the biographical and autobiographical approaches overlap. As highlighted when discussing the relationship between grounded theory and feminist methodology, and as suggested by Stanley (1983), research is a process which occurs through the medium of a person. The researcher is always present in the research. To what extent 'being present' in the research, for example as a Sikh woman, has an impact on the objective validity of the knowledge attained has been discussed in relation to feminism and grounded theory. To what extent 'being present' in the research as 'being an insider' was beneficial (or detrimental) to the research process has been illustrated by my experience in the Woolwich gurdwara and discussed in the previous section on the insider status.

Biographical, autobiographical and life history texts are based on memory. Speakers, interviewees and researchers build memory from the shared perspectives of the present. For example, memories are recalled for reasons that are important to someone – the speaker, the interviewer – 'in large part because of present contextual definitions of what constitutes identity, society, and culture' (Tierney, 2000, p. 545).

Tierney (2000) develops the discussion suggesting that ideology and social and cultural frames help define how we see the past and construct its stories. A problem of this, and more specifically with the biographical/life history approach, is that the data is reliant upon the respondent's memory and the ideological and cultural agenda of the individual. As a consequence, memories which are significant to the respondent, at this moment in time, are discussed whilst pushing aside issues which may be relevant to the researcher. However, the life history approach, similar to that of feminist practices, gives groups and individuals who have been excluded from history a chance to have a voice and for groups to be redefined and redescribed.

Interviews

The life stories/histories of the respondents for this study have been accessed via interviews. In his characterisation of interviews, Robson (1993) states that 'the interview is a kind of conversation with a purpose' (p. 228). It provides a way of getting information, can grant the interviewer access to biographical facts as well as emotions and the motives behind people's actions. Often interviews facilitate rapport because they closely mirror everyday conversations as they are part of everyday life.

...interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 645).

Importantly, as Bhopal (2001) suggests, in many cases interviews do not in the first place serve the researcher to extract information, but allows women to articulate their own experiences and 'reflect upon the meaning of those experiences' (p. 282). This, from a feminist perspective, provides women with a 'picture' of how they understand themselves, their experiences and the world in which they live in.

Franklin (1997) distinguishes several kinds of interviews, of which the most relevant for the concerns of this study are the 'information extraction model' and the 'shared understanding model'. Traditionally, or more commonly, the interview is understood as a situation in which the interviewer extracts feelings, ideas, beliefs and knowledge from the interviewee. Franklin (1997, p. 101) terms this the '*information extraction model*.' According to this model, the interviewer attempts to (1) use a standardised

set of questions; (2) keep rapport with the respondent to a minimum (as the interviewer's response may 'bias' subsequent responses); (3) be friendly enough to extract information but not more so; (4) not to articulate own view in the research process as this may lead the respondent to say more. Franklin (1997) highlights that these procedures aim to achieve 'scientific objectivity'.

This type of 'traditional' interviewing is often contested by feminist (Franklin, 1997). Oakley (1981) suggests that this 'traditional model' of interviewing adheres to a masculine paradigm of how to conduct research. She indicates that this process of interviewing is a mechanical process of data collection. It reduces the 'interviewer to a question-asking and rapport-establishing role' and appeals to values of objectivity, 'science', hierarchy and detachment' (Oakley, 1981, p.38).

One difficulty or area of concern for feminists is the way the interview is conducted. Whereas, the 'traditional' or information extraction model emphasises extraction of information from the respondent without any or much involvement from the interviewee (keeping distance from the interviewee), critics of this approach argue that sensitivity and interaction with the interviewee is desirable in the interview situation. Oakley (1981) suggests that participation of the researcher in the interview is important because it establishes trust and facilitates reciprocity.

Another model of interviewing which Franklin (1997) describes is the *shared understanding model*. This model stands contrary to the information extraction model. This model attempts to encourage the interviewer to 'gain understanding of how the interviewee experiences aspects of her own life and/or the world of objects and other persons' (Franklin, 1997, p. 102). Importantly, for this model it is accepted that the interviewer's qualities such as sensitivity and personal experience are likely to affect what is said in the interview. Franklin states that this model recommends: (1) that the interview be semi-structured (not guided by a set of predetermined questions, but rather the interviewer should have a broad set of themes in mind that he/she can introduce to the interviewee); (2) the interviewer should come to the interview as 'open-minded' as possible; (3) the interviewer should clarify responses by asking questions, but should not risk damaging the interviewee's view of what he/she is discussing; (4) lastly, the interviewer interprets

while the interview is in process, thus, encouraging discussion and corrections (p. 103). The aim of this model is to obtain rich in-depth material which reflects the perception of his/her world. Thus, feminist researchers emphasise that this process of interviewing is geared towards an in-depth understanding of respondents' experiences (Reinharz, 1992). Additionally, Harding (1991) suggests that this type of interviewing can prompt narratives, perceptions and explanations that are richer than the information extraction model.

For this study Franklin's (1997) *shared understanding model* is considered the most suitable method, as it attempts to gain an in-depth and rich understanding of the women's experiences. Thus, semi-structured interviews were preferable to structured interviews because an open-ended, ethnographic, in-depth method of data collection provided greater breadth and depth of data. The problem with structured interviews, unlike semi-structured interviews is, for example, is that there is little flexibility in the way questions are asked or answered in the interview (Shipman, 1997).

Moreover:

structured interviews aim at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behaviour within preestablished categories, whereas unstructured interviews attempts to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing a priori categorisation that may limit the field of inquiry (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p.653).

The informal extraction model advocates a structured interview method, which identifies itself with a traditional positivistic approach to research and claims or aspires to values of objectivity and science (Franklin, 1997). The shared understanding model, on the other hand, is a person-centred account of women's experiences which considers the researchers social positioning in the research process, this approach is, therefore, deemed most suitable for this study.

Nevertheless, it should be acknowledge that there is a danger of bias when undertaking the shared understanding model (discussion on 'bias' has been highlighted earlier on in the chapter and will also be discussed later on in the chapter).

Data Collection and Analysis

Before the interviews began the respondents were asked if the conversations could be recorded. Many women were very comfortable with the tape recorder. Some women, however, were a little hesitant at first and questioned the purpose of recording the interview. After reasserting anonymity and explaining the purpose of the recorded interview (allowing me to listen to the interview again), the women were happy to be recorded. Some women, however, were reluctant to reveal their name on the tape. Throughout the interviewing process some problems of recording occurred – sometimes if the respondent lowered her voice it became inaudible due to the quality of the tape recorder and on my first interview I failed to remember the importance of pressing the record button!

The recorded material allowed me to produce transcriptions. The procedure of transcribing was a time consuming process, particularly, as I was translating some of the interviews from Punjabi to English. Therefore, I had to transcribe the data in Punjabi and then translate it word-to-word into English. The data was vast and overwhelming and it was difficult to structure and codify (Bell, 1999).

Once the transcriptions were complete it was possible to begin the analysis. Content analysis of written documents or transcriptions is a common technique used in examining qualitative data. Broadly, content analysis can be defined as ‘any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages’ (Holsti, 1968, p.608 cited in Berg, 1998, p.223). Further, the categories researchers use in content analysis can be determined inductively, deductively, or by some combination of both (Strauss, 1987). An inductive approach begins with researchers immersing themselves in the data in order to identify the themes that seem meaningful to the respondents’ narratives. In a deductive approach, researchers use some categorical scheme which has been influenced by a theoretical perspective, and the documents/data provide a mean for assessing the hypothesis (Strauss, 1987). Moreover, in order to present the perceptions of others, as this study seeks to achieve, a greater reliance upon induction is required. The development of inductive categories allows the researcher to relate or ground these categories to the data from which they derive (Bryman,

1988). From the dynamic interplay between experience, induction and deduction, Glaser and Strauss (1967) formulate their sketch of grounded theory and discovery of data. Thus:

To generate theory... we suggest as the best approach an initial, systematic discovery of the theory from the data of social research. Then one can be relatively sure that the theory will fit the work. And since categories are discovered by examination of the data, laymen involved in the area to which the theory applies usually be able to understand it, while sociologists who work in other areas will recognise an understandable theory linked with the data of a given area (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.2).

Another issue of importance when considering analysis of data is interpretation and editing of data. Some editing is inevitable (Plummer 2001). For example, in the interviews or short life stories of the respondents' excess talk, repetition, stammer and hesitations will have to be eliminated or edited. In this study, interpretation was placed in a commentary at the end of a respondent's narrative. This study attempts to allow the subjects to speak for themselves, but their narratives/voices were shaped and organised around themes. Some intervention is often necessary, 'to delete the (boring) repetition' and unnecessary verbal accounts of the respondents (Plummer, 2001, p. 180).

Coding, Categories and Emerging Themes

The initial stage when faced with an interview transcript, or with a set of notes describing observations, or some other qualitative material, is to develop a set of codes that both reflect the initial aims of the research project, and take into account any unexpected issues that have emerged during data collection (Seale and Kelly, 1998, p. 153).

This section sets out the framework of developing codes and themes for this study. It begins by giving a broad outline of thematic analysis and then moves on to describe the process of encoding qualitative research.

Narayan (1998) highlights that if a researcher conducts research on his/her community they create categories which are familiar or already know to them. Thus:

...those of us who study societies in which we have a preexisting experience absorb categories that rename and reframe what is already known. The reframing essentially involves locating vivid particulars within larger cultural patterns, sociological relations, and historical shifts (Narayan, 1998, p.182).

To overcome the 'pre-existing experience' and the implications of creating categories according to the researcher's prior knowledge, the method of thematic analysis was implemented. Thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative data. Boyatzis (1998) suggests that the encoding process entails an 'explicit code'; this may be a list of themes. For this study, as grounded theory suggests, I immersed myself into my research findings and identified themes that were emerging from the data. A theme can be defined as a 'simple sentence, a string of words with a subject and a predicate' (Berg, 1998, p.231). More specifically, and relevant for this study, Boyatzis (1998) highlights that a 'theme is a pattern found in the information that at minimum describes and organises the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon' (p. 4).

The main themes identified were patriarchy, community and the family. The headings of the emerging themes were placed in separate Microsoft Word documents. The data or the respondents' narratives were copied and pasted and placed under the relevant headings and themes which had emerged. Once the data was categorised and placed under broad themes or categories, a process of constant comparative method enabled me to produce and develop links between the codes in an attempt to develop more substantive categories. This process enabled sub-categories to be constructed for each major theme, for example, the sub-categories religion, control, and 'too modern' emerged from the broader theme of patriarchy. Thus, the sub-categories enabled breaking down of major themes which further disentangled the data. In short, I began with a wide opening, broad themes; narrowed the themes and often statements by offering backing (i.e. quotes from the women); and then went on to present a refined, tightly stated conclusion.

Furthermore, once the themes and categories were put in place, and often when deciding under which categories to put the data, I interrupted the coding process to write a theoretical note. Within the themes I found it useful to write a short synopsis

for each quote which enabled me to identify concepts and similar comments and patterns among the women. For example, when first and second generation women discussed issues of 'gossip' and 'policing of behaviour' they often referred to the wider Sikh community. This in turn created a new theme which was later turned into a chapter. I became aware of the connections between themes and categories and began to develop hypotheses about these links. Further, being aware of issues of patriarchy, family structures and the wider Sikh community I was able, alongside existing literature and research, to contest or verify the emerging relationships and categories. Similar to that of Glaser and Strauss the analysis of data for this study attempted to derive theory from the field work process, which was redefined and tested during field work and, importantly, gradually elaborated and developed towards the end of the analysis phase (Bryman, 1988, p.84).

Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability

This last section introduces concepts which help to evaluate the research process with respect to objectivity. This study recognises the following criteria and attempts to apply them: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. This section begins by sketching out concerns of bias and validity for feminist methodology and feminist standpoint.

The problems of how to manage bias, objectivity and validity in research still persist in contemporary writings of methodology in social sciences. Discussions of uneasiness about voice, the text, and ethical conduct have become just as important and widely discussed in feminist methodology and the biographical/life history approach (Stanley and Wise, 1983). A key question for many researchers, and in particular feminists, is how to make women's voices heard without exploiting or distorting their voices. Even though both researcher and respondent have an impact on the interview situation, it is, however, the researcher who remains in a powerful position to write up and document the accounts, thus the researcher usually has the final responsibility for the text. Lincoln (1997) develops the argument;

Merely letting the tape recorder run and presenting the respondent's voice does not overcome the problem of representation, because the

respondent's comments are already mediated when they are made in the interview... (Lincoln, 1997, cited in Oslen, 2000, p. 231).

When attempting to overcome this problem, it is important for researchers to 'articulate how, how not, and within what limits voices are framed and used' (Oslen, 2000). Further, it is also important for researchers to make clear and indicate their own position in relationship to the voices reflected. As stated in this chapter, my position as a researcher conducting research on women is from a Sikh feminist standpoint. Nevertheless, there are some problems with the feminist standpoint. For example, the issue of representation within feminist methodology is problematic as it is embedded with a preconception of patriarchy and patriarchal relations.

Additionally, as stated earlier, being sensitised to a feminist standpoint may lead to a danger of those women's voices that I am not sensitised to, such as first generation women, not being recognised and represented in the study. To overcome these dilemmas and to get a better representation of women's voices a methodological approach based on 'openness' was considered alongside feminist and biographical methodology. As discussed early grounded theory was considered and applied to make women's voices heard in terms of their own priorities.

As repeatedly stated, researchers collecting and analysing qualitative data have to take serious note of the potential for bias in the research process (Robson, 1993). As part of an attempt to overcome these biases this section will now explore a set of standards against which to measure research processes striving towards objective knowledge. These standards are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility involves firstly that the inquiry be carried out in such a way that the findings in all probability will be credible, and secondly, to demonstrate the creditability of the findings by having them approved and verified by those being studied, as well as by peers of the researcher. Further, creditability attempts to make certain that the respondent was accurately identified and portrayed (Robson, 1993). For this study this was achieved by peer debriefing and grounded theory techniques. Peer debriefing involved discussion of the research with other PhD students and academics, allowing colleagues and supervisors to read through the transcripts and

analyse the transcripts to assess and question the accuracy of the descriptions. Additionally, credibility is achieved by the constant comparative method within grounded theory. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, grounded theory allows for the constant comparison of data which teases out contradictory data and develops themes and categories. Hutchinson (1986) suggests that grounded theorists attempt to achieve credibility by searching for contradictory data and circumstances in the data. If the contradictory data does not fit what has already been found, it is not rejected, but contributes to the 'richness' of the theory development.

Another process to ensure credibility is for the researcher to immerse him or herself into the cultural site of the respondents (Shipman, 1997). This was achievable as an 'insider' into the Sikh community - listening to conversations, participating in community events and asking questions enabled me to test for misinformation and distortions that the respondents presented. Further, observing characteristics and conversations within the Sikh community allowed me to identify issues which were important to the community and focus and explore them in greater detail in the interviews.

Another contribution to the credibility of this research consists in the use of multiple methods to confirm, develop and, in some cases, reject the emerging findings. For example, a number of methods such as literature or data collected from a numerous different sources (journals, previous research), interviews, observation and life history are used to achieve credibility.

Transferability refers to how generalisable or transferable the findings are to a wider population. In this study, this is achieved by indicating how typical the findings are with respect to Sikh women, as well as how generally applicable they are in relation to other South Asian communities and the wider population. Grounded theorists argue that while a core theory can represent the population studied, it can also be applied to the wider population. Thus, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) put it:

it is... not the task to provide an index of transferability; it is his or her responsibility to provide the data base (of the research) that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers (p. 316).

In Lincoln and Guba's view this is done by providing a 'thick description' which specifies everything that a reader may need to know to understand the findings. 'Thick description' allows any reader interested in transferring the findings to have an appropriate and relevant base of information on which to make informed judgments.

A study that can prove that it is credible also indicates that it is dependable (Shipman, 1997). One strong indicator of the reliability of some research would be its replicability. The assumption hereby is that there is a single reality which if studied repeatedly will give the same results. However, replication, for this study is not achievable because it is concerned and deals with multiple realities and experiences of Sikh women and is not seeking to isolate any laws of human behaviour.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest where replicability is not achievable, researchers should think about dependability for the study of qualitative data. The aim here is not to allow researchers to repeat the research to get the same results, but to grasp the data collected, and make sense of it, that is, make sure the data is consistent and dependable. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest using an 'audit trail' to enhance dependability. An 'audit trail' involves describing in detail how data was collected, how the analysis proceeded, how themes and categories were derived and so forth. Thus, dependability rests upon the processes and examination of the enquiry and is achieved by outlining the research in a clear, systematic and well documented method. This is often achieved through, and is the purpose of, the methodology section in sociological research.

Another measure which may increase dependability is linked with establishing confirmability. Confirmability is achieved by showing the way in which interpretations have been arrived at in the inquiry. Thus, being explicit about the procedures a researcher has used in the research process enables judgements to be made about their findings. Confirmability was attained in this study by outlining, explicitly, the procedures of grounded theory, feminist methodology and the interviewing process. Taking grounded theory and the step-by-step procedure of

collecting data, analysis, constant comparative method and so forth leads to an 'audit trail' being established. As discussed above, Lincoln and Guba (1985) outline the importance of an 'audit trail' which enables the research process to be traced from the data to the final conclusion confirming and establishing the trustworthiness of the study. Moreover, Lincoln and Guba (1985) summarise and suggest that the strategies of credibility, transferability and dependability together form the basis of establishing confirmability.

Conclusion

This chapter sketches out the methodological standpoints of this study. This thesis will conduct research within a feminist framework, while being committed to a version of grounded theory. This chapter has teased out the strengths, weaknesses and contradictions which exist among these methodologies. The chapter also gives an overview of the methods employed for this study, an account of how access was gained to the respondents, and how interviews were conducted. In this chapter issues of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability were discussed and the problems of how to manage bias and objectivity were highlighted. The research results achieved by applying the methodology and methods outlined in this chapter will be presented in the following chapters.

Chapter Five

The Influence of the Sikh Community and Extended Family

Introduction

This chapter explores the role and impact of the Sikh community on individuals and their families. The respondents identify and discuss how the wider community 'polices' and influences their own, and other women's, behaviour and actions. For many women in this study the 'wider community' referred to the Sikh population in the UK and more specifically their 'local community', as opposed to immediate or extended family members.

The chapter begins by focusing on first generation women's views on the changing nature of the Sikh community since their arrival in the UK from India. Then it discusses first and second generation women's narratives on the pressures applied by the Sikh community and extended kin on women and their families. In relation to the 'pressure' applied by the Sikh community and extended family, the chapter goes on to express respondents' beliefs of a community which is governed by, and ridden with, gossip. Lastly, the chapter explores the relationship between gossip and respect.

'Changes' for First Generation Sikh Women

This section looks at how first generation women describe changes that have occurred since migration in the 1960s and 1970s. More specifically, women discuss 'how they lived' on arrival to the UK, and how living patterns and ties between people have altered over the years.

...when we arrived we needed each others help, we all had nothing. We found work for one another, shared our food, pots, cars and even our furniture (laughs). Things have changed, we all now have everything we don't need each others help no more... it's just like the

strong connections we all had before have slowly broken...My kids have moved away, we prefer to stay here close to the gurdwara and the shops (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, retired).

When we came into this country all the Punjabis helped one another. Families would live in the same house and save money, we all needed the support then... When I came to England we lived in an area with lots of other Punjabis, it was nice. About seven years ago we moved away. These days everybody has money and they have moved far away from one another (Jasbir, 51, Housewife).

There is no more love nowadays, not like before. We ate, danced, cooked and went to the gurdwara together, these days no one has the time. They all live too far... Yes, they have move away, bought big houses and big cars (laughs). I couldn't move, the gurdwara is close and so are the Indian shops, we are happy with our small house (laughs) (Sarbjit, 50).

For the respondents above, the 'intimate' familial/kinship connections have weakened due to a movement away from a time when support was needed. For the following respondent, differences in living patterns and lifestyles for second generation Sikhs have emerged through affluence and educational achievement:

...what has happened is that the second generation have got an education and different standard of living and want to move out to the nice areas... When we came we... in-laws, brothers and sisters, villagers... all lived close together so we could help each other. Also my generation have started to move to the rich and posh areas (laughs)... Things have changed very much compared to my generation, they (second generation) don't help each other the way we did (Harjeet Kaur, 52, Retired).

For the above respondents the movement to the suburbs or 'rich/posh' areas have been accompanied by education and, importantly, an increase in wealth. Thus, movement into middle class lifestyles have all pointed to geographical relocation. On the other hand some first generation Sikhs have preferred to stay in familiar surroundings residing close to a gurdwara and within walking distance of Indian food shops. Importantly, it should be acknowledged that for first generation Sikhs, the issue of living close to a gurdwara and Indian shops is far more important than for the second generation. This can be partly explained by a decline in traditional cultural practices and religion among second generation Sikhs (Modood, 1997).

Community and Extended Family Pressure on Women

This section sketches out the extent to which the community and extended family asserts pressure on women.

I think the wider community play a bigger role in putting pressures on individuals than their families do. Because your family will always know what you like...you will all have established your character. Whereas the wider community is constantly pressuring you to be a specific way... to be a certain way... Indians are so backwards, they just make me laugh... if I want to do something my parents say what will they (community) think? What will other people think? There's so much pressure from other people.

...the wider community is constantly pressuring you to be a specific way... to be a certain way. They want something to talk about for them for their local gossip...so that to me, the wider community are there to gossip. (Dalveer Kaur, 18, Student).

Dalveer expresses that not only does the 'wider community' pressure individuals to behave in a particular way; they also gossip ('gossip' will be explored in the next section). The following respondent agrees with Dalveer, while pointing out that the wider community asserts pressure not only on individuals, but also families:

...our community is just a joke (laughs). They put so much pressure on you and your family. If you don't behave in a certain way all hell breaks loose. ... it's like I wanted my hair really short, you know really short, like a boys cut, but could you imagine what other people would say? (laughs)... so, yeah, I think we have to think about what we do and how we behave in front of our community, but I don't think I care really in front of my parents (Simee, 21, student).

Whenever I go somewhere like the gurdwara or even shopping...if I see some of my mum's friends they keep saying aren't you getting married? Always, it's the same it's so pressuring and then they start saying it to my parents and then I feel really bad (Manjit, 28, Office Worker).

...the community puts pressure on families. If your children misbehave they will talk about you saying that you haven't done a good job or if you don't care for your family they judge you. They keep an eye on you and the family (Harjeet Kaur, 52, Retired).

The above quotes all illustrate that pressure is put upon individuals by the community. Additionally, there is a common theme emerging which suggests that there is interplay between parental support for their children, parental concerns that people 'might talk' and the controlling influence of 'the community' on both parents and their children. The quotes do not, however, specify whether the pressure is greater for men or women, or whether there are differences between the pressure exerted on first generation or second generation women. Hennink et al's (1999) study of young Asian girls suggests that the social behaviour of young Asian women is often guided by their parents and the expectations of the Asian community. Thus, Kiran perceives the expectations, stress and pressure she experiences from the community as gender specific:

I think women from our community experience more stress and pressure than men... especially in the Asian culture. I think they do. They expect you to do certain things like, you know you've got to cook for your husband day and night sort of thing. Well I don't, I don't wait up for my husband, if he's late. He's late, and I just put his dinner in the oven, he gets a bit himself. I think he understands that because we work as well full-time and we need a rest as well, so, like you know 7 hours of work and come home and do another 7 hours but that is what they expect you to do (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

Many Sikh women in contemporary society are involved in full time paid work, as discussed in the literature review. At the same time cultural expectations encourage women to fulfil their domestic tasks of 'looking after her children', 'looking after her husband' and 'caring for her in-laws'. The workload puts a mental and physical strain on women. Thus:

...they have to work as well... every woman has to work nowadays where in the older generation, like my mother, they never worked and I think it all gets together and gets too much because they have to do everything and if they don't do everything people begin to talk... I mean the community begins to talk (Sarbjit, 50, Factory Manager).

Another arena in which gossip emerges is related to a common cultural belief among the Sikh community that every family should have a son to be 'complete'. There is a desire for every family to have a boy, so that he can carry on the family name, look after his family and inherit the family wealth (Johnson and Johnson, 2001; Wilson,

1978). Sarbjit expresses the pressures, and her apprehensions of gossip, of not having a son in the family:

I've got 7 nieces, my brother has 7 daughters and there's my brother and myself. In our family we'd never seen a boy. And then I had 3 daughters... for both my mother-in-law and my mum I would've liked to have given them a grandson so the family would be complete and when I did have a son it was like we'd never experience this in all our family. And that kind of pressure you got from other people, I also did at times worry that people would talk about my family. I did get the pressure from outside of the family saying that you haven't got a son you know... we did get to a stage where you know some people just throw it into your face, but the family never did, but I think the people outside did (Sarbjit, 50, Factory Manager.)

Sarbjit makes a clear distinction between her supportive family and the community who apply pressure. The desire for a woman to give her mother-in-law and mother a grandson is deeply rooted within the Indian and Sikh culture partly due to the importance of inheritance, as discussed in the patriarchy literature review section. Sarbjit experienced pressure from the 'wider community' because she did not have a son and felt she had to satisfy her mother/mother-in-law. Furthermore, the comment 'when I did have a son it was like we'd never experience this in all our family' indicates the source of fulfilment of having a son and the family unit being complete. Moreover, there are some women who cannot have children and also face similar pressure from the community. The respondent below outlines the pressures she encountered for not having children within a ten year marriage:

When I got married and we were married for 10 years and then we had our twins and you'd go to functions and people would go, oh right aren't you having children, I think community does put a lot of pressure on you. They could say it in a subtle way... you know the older generation sort of are more forceful (Rajinder, 35, production manager)

The above quote illustrates, similar to the respondents above, that the wider community places pressure on individuals if they do not fulfil the expectations or act according to the cultural beliefs of the community. Nevertheless, the following respondents state that they experienced greater pressure from extended family members who lived abroad compared to individuals in their community in the UK.

Individuals put pressure on my parents 'why isn't she married look at her age' and my mum says 'children don't do as we say...we are not going to put pressure on them...what will happen will happen'. I would say it's mainly distant family and maybe the community... not immediate family that put pressure on even like... family in India and Canada (Kiranjit Kaur, 39, Social Worker).

In the case of this respondent, the issue that is seen as causing the wider community's and extended family's pressure on the respondent is marriage. The quote demonstrates the ties of the extended family and the role of extended family members in individual and family life.

Simee and Dalveer also highlight the role of extended family members:

My grandmother and my aunts and uncles have so much to say about what me, my sisters and brother gets up to. They are always asking 'why aren't they married, haven't they finished their studies' I mean what the hell has is got to do with them they bloody live in India (laughs)... if only they knew what we got up to (laughs) (Simee, 21, student).

Yeah my uncle always calls from America, he is always saying to my dad: 'what are the kids doing? Do you want to get them married in America?'... The one's from India are so nosy they also need to know everyone's business (Dalveer Kaur, 18, Student).

In the above cases the transnational extended family have an impact on individuals and their families. It could be argued, related to cheaper air travel and the explosion of discounted and competitive telephone communications in India, there has been a gradual increase of the vigilance of the transcontinental family on individuals and their families. Greater contact has in effect created an atmosphere of awareness of each other's lifestyles, and extended family members have a greater say in the lives of brothers, sisters, grandchildren, nieces, nephews and so forth.

The above quotes illustrate that the 'wider community' and transnational family play a role in asserting pressure on individuals and their families. The following sections focus more specifically on the mechanisms by which the 'wider community' asserts pressure and maintains vigilance over its members.

'The Gossip Community'

This section shows how gossip plays a role in maintaining notions of *izzat* and respect. It also indicates that women are at the forefront of maintaining *izzat* and are the bearers of gossip within the Sikh community.

...there is a lot of gossip in our culture. You are always watched by everyone and if you do something wrong or if your children do something wrong you know that everyone will be talking about it (laughs) (Kantah, 54, Helps the Elderly).

The dynamics of the community and the influence it has on individuals and their families is intertwined with the notion of 'izzat' and 'respect'. Notions of 'being respectful' and 'not bringing shame to the family' are embedded within the Sikh culture. Talbani and Hasanali (2000) suggest that there exists a core of unwritten rules that dictates how one behaves and interacts with elders and the opposite sex. Importantly, they suggest that the degree of control depends on the level of parents' conservatism and fear of people gossiping about their children and their family. Fear is important within the context of 'izzat' and 'gossip' as it effectively guides the behaviour of parents and how they reinforce traditional cultural practices on their children.

Hall (1995) highlights the social control asserted over women:

The watchful gaze of cousins, aunts, and others provides a powerful form of social control... and any boundary transgression is immediately noted and entered into the stream of gossip that circulates within the gurdwara communities (Hall, 1995, p. 253).

If a woman behaves in a way that violates the cultural beliefs, norms and expectations of her community, then she will often be perceived as 'showing no *izzat*' or 'bringing shame to the family' (Wilson, 1978). In the narrative quoted below, Harjeet illustrates the ties between gossip and *izzat*, and indicates the complex involvement of the wider community, the family and second generation women:

I think there is pressure, but it is mainly if you are a girl and you're seen by somebody else, then you must straight away come home. People will talk 'your girl was in the pub or club or something, she has no izzat', yes, and I think they (young women) feel pressured and ask for a little freedom... (Harjeet Kaur, 52, Retired).

Gossip...I think there is too much of that in our community. I think it's worse for girls than boys. There is so much pressure on girls, more than boys to be good and do what is expected of you (Ringeed, 34, part-time health worker).

...if boys go to the pub and get drunk it's alright, nobody bats an eyelid, but if girls go to the pub and get pissed everyone cannot stop talking about it. Its like, all the aunties in the gurdwara will be talking about it (Simee, 21, student).

Harjeet, Ringeed and Simee explicitly state that girls and their parents are subject to greater pressure from the wider community. 'People will talk' if a girl breaks the norms and acts against the values of the culture; thus they believe greater restrictions are placed on women than men. It is clear, then, that there are tight webs of gossip, centred on community and extended family networks, which impose constraints that are gender specific.

... if people gossip it is always about women and girls and guess what, it's the women that do all the gossiping' (laughs)... Parents and your brother don't want people to gossip about you, so they try and say don't do this and don't do that, especially the brothers... I think they are scared that I will get a bad name (Simee, 21, student).

The restrictions are imposed on women by patriarchal practices which are in place within the Sikh community. They are implemented, by men and women, via brothers, parents, grandparents, 'uncles' and 'aunties'.

Once my brother said to me I wasn't allowed to go out anymore because his friends had seen me in a pub... he just said 'you're not going out' (Simee, 21 student).

This narrative illustrates how gender-specific roles are related to, and maintained, by norms and values restricting what behaviour is acceptable for a woman. If a man is seen in a pub it is perceived as acceptable, because men are 'expected to go to the

pub'. Women on the other hand, if seen in the pub by members of the extended family, immediate family or the wider community, are perceived as shameless and dishonouring their family, as this research reveals. Again, this is related to the notion of *izzat* and respectability of the woman and her family.

...there are other guys and women out there, generally my dad's age where it's very much like the wife should sort of like stay at home and do the cooking and not really go out and it's all right for them to go to the pub and stuff. I do know quite a few men that are like that. I've seen younger men who are quite like that as well (Simee, 21, student).

It is not only men who express different standards for men and women; first generation women also play an important role in reinforcing gender stereotypes. Thus, Dalveer outlines her grandmother's hypocrisy:

...just say that if I go out she will not be happy about it. Because I am a girl. Whereas if I was a bloke she said it would be fine (Dalveer Kaur, 18, student).

The differences between a woman and man are strongly defined within the Sikh culture and across the generations. All the women in the interviews acknowledged the gender differences promoted by the Sikh culture, which were mirrored and reinforced by the Sikh community and familial kinship groups. On the other hand, Talbani and Hasanali's (2000) study revealed that women are challenging the unbalanced and unequal status of women. Parents are, however, often placed in a predicament when 'questioning' occurs:

The south Asian parents face a dilemma. If they allow boys to socialise freely, female members challenge this parental decision (Talbani and Hasanali, 2000, p.620).

'The dilemma faced by parents' was not discussed by first generation respondents. Second generation women, however, often stressed the different standards applied to men and women.

Furthermore, gossip not only exists amongst the wider community but also among extended family circles. Many parents are aware that certain behaviour from their

children could evoke 'gossip' from family members. As a consequence parents attempt to curb actions of children which may be considered 'unruly' and against the norm. The following respondent highlights the issue:

She wears what she wants, I don't care, that doesn't bother me, she goes out with her friends, not too much... Sometimes when she goes somewhere I do think what will people think... sometimes I have to say something (Jasbir, 51, housewife).

I don't mind how she dresses or what she wears. You do have to pull her up sometimes and say that you don't dress overly when you are going to your grandma's, especially my mother-in-law otherwise I will get it in the leg (laughs). But I think she understands that, that you cannot dress that way...you're asking for trouble really (Ravinder Kaur, 43, Community Worker).

Ravinder's comment is interesting as it highlights the pressure on parents as well as the individual. Thus, 'you're asking for trouble really' in this context implies 'being disrespectful', 'provoking reaction' and creating an issue for people to gossip. Further, the style, fashion, bodily gestures and language of young people in particular are constantly monitored and assessed in relation to traditional expected modes of behaviour (Hall, 1995). Consequently, traditional practices within the Sikh community reproduce and create cultural expectations for bodily gestures and dress. Appropriate dress and bodily gestures indicate manners, signs of respect and *izzat* between the generations and the sexes (Hall, 1995). However, what is problematic, for many young women, is that it is disrespectful to wear certain types of clothing amongst, or in front of, the older generations, whereas in the white community it is often not contested and mostly acceptable. Thus, everyday actions such as choosing one's clothes can highlight tensions between the western culture, where some clothes and styles may be acceptable, and Indian culture, where via notions such as 'dressing overly' it can become a source of gossip:

When I go out with my friends I wear what I want, short skirts and everything my parents don't say anything. I couldn't do that in front of my grandparents they would go mad. I try not to hang out were the aunties (Sikh women in the community) can see me. They wouldn't stop talking about me and probably think that I'm a slag or something (Gurpreet, 28, Bank Cashier).

Hall (1995) illustrates the consequences for Sikh girls who enter an 'English field':

The consequences for the girls who do enter this very English field, either with or without parental permission, if "seen," can be serious, both for them and for their family's name and honour. Within the Sikh communities in Leeds, people watch where unmarried teenagers go and what they do, and they gossip about those whose actions cross the line or go too far, transcending the boundaries of Sikh respectability and honour (Hall, 1995, p.257).

Both Ravinder and Jasbir illustrate that they are lenient, in allowing their daughters to wear particular types of clothing and socialise with friends in the evening. Gurpreet also makes it clear that she can wear certain types of clothing in front of her parents, but not in front of her grandparents and the 'wider community'. What is problematic is that it goes against the wider community's and extended family's belief of what your child should be doing and how she should be behaving. This puts pressure on parents, as they do not want people to 'gossip' about their children, as Jasbir and Ravinder suggest. This is particularly relevant to women because the patriarchal culture asserts that they should not socialise in the evening, drink and have male friends, as the second generation respondents suggest throughout this study. Parents are, as a consequence, often worried that their daughter and family will be labelled and gossiped about; thus, the *izzat* and honour of the family will come under threat. Thus, the following respondent outlines her apprehensions regarding her daughter being labelled:

...my daughter she doesn't do anything. She doesn't help in the kitchen, cook or clean. She cannot even cook her own food... she is a woman and what will people say if she cannot cook or if they see her not helping her mummy... when we were young we done everything for our mum so she didn't have to do anything... Girls these days are different no respect anymore (Jasbir, 51, housewife).

The above respondent illustrates, firstly, her apprehensions of people judging her daughter because she is not domesticated and secondly, that 'girls' are 'different' compared to her generation. This is important because in this study many respondents stated that the younger generation did not have any respect for their elders. The next section therefore moves on to present the respondents' narratives about the decline or lack of respect of second generation women.

Respect

This section explores issues of respect within the Sikh community, with particular focus on first generation women's perceptions of the decline or lack of respect on the part of second generation women.

The respondent below discusses the lack of respect amongst the younger generation:

...children don't have any respect no more... they don't look after their parents, don't speak properly, don't care if they ruin the family name and can be rude (laughs) (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

The following respondent, Jasveer, agrees with Jagdeep's beliefs, and moves on to illustrate her point with an example which compares the generations in relation to speaking up to parents or the mother-in-law:

...in my generation women would never speak up against our parents or mother-in-law...kids just answer you back these days, there is no longer any respect (Kalwant, 40, machinist).

Kaur expresses a similar sentiment:

Women, they do not have any respect, they don't care about their mothers-in-law like we did. Yes, no shame, no respect these women (Kaur, 65, Retired).

These respondents indicate that respect for the elderly and more specifically the mother-in-law is an important value within the Sikh culture, which has been lost among the younger generation and in particular by second generation women. The ethos of respect is emphasised and taught to the younger generation, particularly respect for the elderly (Ballard, 1982). If an individual is not 'respectful' he/she is reprimanded by the immediate family, wider community, extended family and the transnational family.

Some first generation respondents stated that the older generation had greater respect for their elders compared to the younger generation. There is, however, an exception to this belief. Some respondents state that young men and women born in India have

greater respect for their elders than their British born counterparts. The following respondents therefore compare women from India, who 'are more respectful' to the ones who are British born:

... we came from India, you were born here and in India it was like you never speak up to your mother-in-law. Nowadays girls, from here, don't have any manners, they just answer you back no matter what. We respected our elders you know. The respect is less. For the children these days they just think lets get our own house and move away 'it is not as if we are going to live with them'. For us we wanted to live together, I lived with my mother-in-law for 10 years and had 3 children. And for my husband it was an issue because for him he wanted to pay for his sister's wedding and then he thought that he wanted to buy his own house (Surinder Kaur, 52, Housewife).

Surinder contrasts the beliefs of first generation parents and second generation children. It is important to note that it is perceived as an asset, by some individuals within the Sikh community, if the daughter-in-law in contemporary society resides with her in-laws. Surinder's story demonstrates how things have changed, as paying for your sister's wedding would not typically be perceived as a duty in the Sikh community today, particularly among many British born second generation Sikhs.

The following respondents express similar sentiments to Surinder about the loss of respect among the younger generation of British born Sikh women:

... but the women from India I still think they have more respect than the young women in England. They don't answer back; they work hard and look after their families. They have respect (Kaur, 65, Retired).

Girls from India take more shit, that's why they get them from India (laughs). They don't speak up, they do as they are told. I think they (people from the British Sikh community) think the British borns are mouthy and the ones from India are more respectful. Yeah, I don't give shit, I say what I want when I want (laughs) (Gurpreet, 28, Bank Cashier).

The perception that a woman from India 'never stands up to her mother-in-law' and has greater respect compared to British born Sikh women is questionable. Societal structures in India indicate that greater respect for the elderly and mothers-in-law is

certainly not always the case, particularly in the cities. For example, Vera-Sanso (1999) suggests that in India daughters-in-law who live in the city often do not accept the demands and wishes of their mothers-in-law as they do in rural areas.

Nonetheless, some first generation Sikhs believe that there is 'less respect' due to the impact of living in England, and due to the values and beliefs that have been incorporated from western society.

...yes I would say there is less respect from the young generation. But I don't think it's their fault. I mean they have been born in this country of course they will be different more like what white people think (Jatinder, 51, Factory Worker).

Conclusion

The Sikh community and extended family networks in the UK play a significant role in setting up and reinforcing traditional cultural modes of behaviour. This chapter has identified that the 'watchful eye' of the community and extended family affects individuals and their families, and women in particular. It is experienced as pressure to conform and live within prescribed cultural norms and values.

First generation respondents emphasise differences in the Sikh community structure in contemporary society compared to the past. First generation women said that when they migrated the majority of Sikhs lived in particular geographical areas with other family members and kinship groups. Many women felt that in recent times, however, Sikhs have moved out of areas where other Sikhs resided and have moved into suburbs and affluent residential housing far away.

Additionally, many first generation women expressed discontent related to second generation women's decline or lack of respect towards their elders and in particular mothers-in-law. On the other hand, second generation women emphasised the impact of the 'wider community', as well as the extended (and sometimes specifically transnational) family on families and individuals. They also stressed that they are expected to behave differently to men, and would be reprimanded by members within the Sikh community and the extended family if they behaved outside the

permitted boundaries of what is acceptable for a Sikh woman. Additionally, the respondents from this study stated their discontent with the 'gossip culture' within the Sikh community. They stressed that the gossip was gender specific and applied mainly to women. The following chapter will explore the issues raised in this chapter in greater detail.

Chapter Six

Female Relationships within the Sikh Family

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the relationships and dynamics between members of the Sikh family in contemporary British society as seen through the eyes of the respondents. The chapter explores the expectations put upon Sikh women by family members and sets out women's narratives of living within a Sikh family. Interplay between individuals, extended family, in-laws and immediate family is discussed and the respondents identify how they deal with the expectations they face.

This chapter begins with narratives of respondents who believe that the Sikh family is 'breaking down' and that there has been a movement from an extended family unit to a nuclear family unit. The following sections move on to examine the relationships between Sikh women and the experiences and expectations of living in extended and nuclear family units. Because some of the women in the interviews discussed the contentious issue of transnational marriage, a section in this chapter is devoted to their perception of this issue. This chapter also highlights the experiences of women who have participated in transnational marriages.

'Breakdown of the Family'

Chapter two of this thesis presents research findings indicating that there is a move among the British Sikh community from extended to nuclear family units. As illustrated by Butt et al. (2003) and Berthoud and Beishon (1997), Indians are more likely to live in nuclear family units than their Pakistani counterparts. It is quite common for Sikh children, once married, to leave the parental home and set up a nuclear unit consisting of husband, wife and children.

The following discussion illuminates how first and second generation Sikh women perceive this changing nature of the Sikh family. The respondents describe patterns of

changing beliefs and values and the ever increasing movement towards individualised lifestyles and nuclear family units. In short, the respondents below describe what they believe is the 'breaking up of the family':

... it's breaking up of the family...especially for us the Sikhs, not Pakistanis though... Yes, for us, it's a major cause of stress because we are not, especially our older generation, is not geared towards that. Children leave them the emptiness, leaving the vacuum. This does cause a lot of stress whereas for the younger generation, it's just as important as they get their freedom. Its just understanding, you and children need to have that understanding (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

When I get old... all my children and daughters-in-law are at their jobs, some far away some here so who will look after us? They don't think we should say close to our parents, the young generation don't care like we did. Things have changed, family life has changed it is broken... It must be difficult for old people, who looks after them? They put them in homes and some old men and women get left alone in their homes. Well, when that age comes maybe I will start worrying about it (laughs) but I don't feel it yet (Kaur, 65, Retired).

In old age, first generation Sikhs expect to be cared for by their children, but differences in lifestyles of second generation Sikhs has meant that this is not happening as their parents have anticipated. First generation Sikhs express a general feeling of insecurity, worry about 'who will look after them in old age' and, as the above quotes suggest, raise concern about the movement towards nuclear family units. Jagdeep and Kaur further state that the older generation is not geared towards the break up of the family, because there is still a widespread belief among first generation Sikhs that their children will reside with them and care for them in old age. The following respondent also describes this 'breakdown of the family':

I do think compared to the past there has been a breakdown of the family. It's like, before the old generation used to live together in big families in one big house, these days children move away from their parents. Everyone lives alone with just their own family. Our strong family unit is slowly breaking down, probably because we live in this country (Rajinder, 35, production manager).

All the respondents above distinguish the 'older generation' from the 'younger generation', while attributing opposing values and dynamic differences in the choice of lifestyles to the two generations. Insofar as family values are seen as traditional, Jagdeep,

Kaur and Rajinder express sentiments similar to Buchignani's (1984) findings that while first generation immigrants are inclined to hold fast to traditional values, second generation immigrants seem to acculturate into the predominate culture of the larger society.

When respondents talk about differences between the values and lifestyles of first and second generation Sikhs, they often do so by invoking the concept of freedom. Jagdeep and the respondents below stress the importance of freedom for the younger generation, which suggests a cultural shift in values of 'the family'. Ideally and traditionally, the family is put before self-interest in many South Asian communities, as discussed in the literature review. The following respondent highlights self-interest:

I mean for us, like people our age we want our space and freedom. People my parents age they don't know the meaning of freedom and space. They never ask for it. When do we hear them saying 'I need time out' and 'I need my space' and things like that. But us we say it all the time. My god I need my space and time out (laughs) (Simee, 21, student).

The kind of 'freedom' mentioned by Simee is an individualised concept and traditionally not part of the ideology of the family in South Asian communities. The respondents suggest, however, that many second generation Sikhs apply the notions of personal space and freedom within the family structure. Because first generation Sikhs do not tend to express such views, this is perceived as a change and is often attributed to residency in a western environment:

I was born here so I would say I am a lot like white people... especially when it comes down to things like wanting my space, chilling out, picking up a book and just relaxing (Sandeep, 32, Shop Owner).

However, it is not just the fact that second generation Sikhs have adopted values such as personal freedom and independence from the cultural environment in which they have grown up that is seen as a reason for their more individualist beliefs and lifestyles.

Jasveer Kaur identifies non-ideological, practical reason for such changes, too:

...in this country they [British born Sikhs] have too much freedom, you can't force them to do the things that you want them to do. They can get money from the government and live their own lives. ...the children in India have to listen and do what their parents ask them to do...they can't move away because nobody will support them (Jasveer Kaur, 41, machinist).

These factors, changes in beliefs, lifestyles and values as well as different economic and social circumstances, are seen as contributing to a loss of control over the younger generation. This diminished control, which for Kantah manifests itself by the separations occurring amongst married couples, is seen as not only applying to British born Sikhs, but also from immigrants from India:

... it is difficult to control the younger generation... It is because they have too much freedom to do what they want, what can the parents say these days, they have no say. Even now husband and wife are separating even the ones (referring to women) who have come from India, they too want their freedom (Kantah, 54, Helps the Elderly).

People say the children from India keep the family strong that they want to live in a big family with their in-laws, but I am not so sure, they seem to be like children here, also wanting their freedom (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, retired).

There is a perception among the Sikh community that young people from India have greater respect for their elders compared to British born Sikhs. Hence, the respondents above dispute this perception and claim that both British born and Indian born are similar in desiring freedom.

While this section has focused on respondents' concerns about their families 'breaking up', and presented views attributing this 'breakdown' to second generation women aspiring to 'freedom' and 'space', the following section portrays the view of a number of second generation women who still reside in extended family units.

Living with In-Laws

Research presented in chapter two (Reed, 2003) analyses the impact of the in-laws on the lifestyles and choices of their daughters-in-law within extended family units. This section

discusses the experiences of women who live with their in-laws and examine how it affects them and their lifestyles.

The following respondents speak about the difficulties they experienced when residing with their in-laws.

In-laws ...Sometimes, I mean they've stopped saying it now but they used to go on and on, do this do that about the housework, as you probably know yourself. I mean I used to and I still do sometimes you know. But I do it when I want to do it not when I've been told to do it, you know what I mean? It can be stressful living with in-laws... it can be because obviously everyone's got their own way don't they and they do their things and I do mine. And I probably get on their nerves and same vice versa. It gets on my nerves cleaning up after them, you know. It can be stressful living with in-laws...it can be. It's like sometimes you want to do your own thing and you can't because you are there (Sally, 32, Housewife).

I mean it is right stressful. They've (in-laws) got such a big family, every weekend I have to be in the kitchen cooking for about fifty people. It is never ending. If you don't help people begin to talk 'why isn't she helping' people will think that I am a bad daughter-in-law. It's like if you live with your in-laws you have to think about everything you do because they are keeping a look out on my actions. It all gets too much sometimes, when I know I have to cook all weekend I just say that I am going to my parents or my sister's to get away from it all (laughs) (Kirpal, 34, manager).

When Sally and Kirpal outline their experiences of living with their in-laws they both emphasise the expectations the in-laws put upon them. However, they both admit that at times they partly reject these expectations and duties, Sally by contributing to the housework when she wants to, Kirpal by sometimes visiting her family when she becomes aware that she will be cooking all weekend.

The following respondent highlights similar sentiments:

Too much work and you don't have any privacy. We used to all live together in one house and we had to do everything time to time rushing, rushing all the time. If you are by yourself you can just think I will do it in a while or I will do it later after resting after work. Because we all lived together, some came home late and someone may leave early in the morning we had to wait up and stay up for whoever came late and wake up in the morning. And you have pressure because the workload increases in the house and you feel even more stressed, in a big family you feel it more especially if you live with the in-laws (Hardeep Kaur, 25, part-time factory worker).

As noted in the previous section, the discussion on 'wanting space' and 'wanting privacy' is, for many first generation respondents, about the second generation being born in England and wanting greater freedom compared to the older generation. Hardeep thus provides a slightly different perspective on the notions of personal space, freedom and privacy by contrasting them with the sheer load of housework that in-laws expect from their daughter-in-law. For Hardeep, this workload and the corresponding lack of privacy in the extended family contribute to the stress she felt. Kiran, below, describes her sister as being in a situation similar to Hardeep's:

I've got one sister that lives with her in-laws and I think she gets very stressed out because she has to adjust to their way of thinking when she got married. You know... like if you want to go anywhere, you've got to go for a reason, you can't go visiting for no reason. I think it's because of the in-laws. Because her father-in-law's a bit funny and he is really particular about the house, the house has got to be spotless, no dust anywhere, or have a mess, you know, you can't chill out sort of thing. He's always having a go. I think she gets that pressure as well (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

Umm, at that time it was very stressful and I think it's how I was brought up. In my parents' house we done things differently and when I got married they done things differently and that stressed me out. Especially my mother-in-law, she done things differently to me. I never liked the way they (in-laws) done things that stressed me a lot. But, uhh, not now, I think since we were in our own home...and also I think it's somehow worked out very nicely they're next door if they need us. So, actually they are very old now so I too am more or less happy with them...and umm, it's very good, the relationship now (Harjeet Kaur, 52, retired).

Daughters-in-law have to 'adjust to the way of thinking' of their in-laws, as Kiran states, because traditionally many women, once married, have to reside with their in-laws. A

woman enters a house where she is unfamiliar with the surroundings and the people she will be living with. Thus, as Kiran suggests, her sister had to adjust to a new household and become familiar with how 'they do things'. Additionally to getting used to a specific way of doing things, Kiran sees her sister as subjected to control, to the extent that she has to justify her actions to her in-laws, who seem to exercise power. Problems experienced by daughters-in-law who get married into families where the opinions of the in-laws differ markedly from their own are the subject of Bhopal's (1999) research.

Both Harjeet and Ravinder (below) at some point lived with their in-laws and have now moved into their own homes. Even though they live very close to their in-laws they are both much happier in their own homes in comparison with residing with the in-laws.

... we lived with them for 7 years, before that we were on our own. The idea was that when we moved... it was for the children's school and that we would sell our own property and buy one at this end of town. But my husband preferred it living there because there was no pressure on him, of having to go out and pay bills and about a year later he had lost his job as well. So for about a year he didn't have a job. He was trying various things. But he became too comfortable. He didn't like it, even when we had the money to move out he didn't want to move out – he was happy with his parents. His parents made it comfortable for him and I had a lot of conflict with them later that you need to push him. But they wouldn't push him because I think deep down they wanted him to stay there. And although I just moved across the road I wish I hadn't, (laughs) I wished I moved a bit further away... It did get me really down at times, I mean really down. (Ravinder Kaur, 43, Community Worker).

Ravinder's struggle with her in-laws and her husband can partly be explained by appeal to the traditional cultural expectation and pressure put upon men to stay with, and care for, their aged parents. Additionally, Arber's (1997) research indicates that marriage is beneficial to men and in particular men's mental well-being whilst being hazardous to women. Further, Reed (2003) found that living with the in-laws had a negative effect on women's emotional well-being and she found that the choices women made were often constrained by the in-laws, particularly choices over health. This is illustrated in Ravinder's narrative (as well as the narratives of other respondents in this section who discuss feelings of 'stress'). Ravinder's case, for example, supports Reed's and Arber's discussion of mental well-being, as she expressed her unhappiness with her husband and in-laws whilst stating that her husband was happy and comfortable in the marriage.

However, in some cases the daughter-in-law benefits because, for example, if the son is staying out late his parents as well as his wife question and restrict his behaviour. Thus:

When we got married my husband stayed out late with his friends drinking and coming home drunk... I think I was a little lucky that my mother-in-law and father-in-law would shout out him and tell him what he was doing was wrong (Sally, 32, housewife).

The following respondent highlights the pressure from her mother-in-law and father-in-law to include them in her nuclear family unit. This pressure is not only applied by her in-laws, but also her parents and siblings:

My mother-in-law had a stroke, I never had a particularly good relationship with my mother-in-law because I was quite threatening because I was outspoken and I did what I want. And when she had a stroke there was a lot of pressure within my family. My mother-in-law who was bed-ridden, incontinent, needed feeding through her stomach. She was totally dependent on people to care for her. And when I made the decision that I wasn't probably the best person to care for her I had a whole lot of pressure from my family because they were ashamed of me. I was supposed to be the dutiful daughter-in-law who would give up her job, give up her own life and bring her mother-in-law from the hospital and care for her and I tried very hard to explain to everybody that I was not a carer. I didn't particularly have a brilliant relationship with her so I wasn't the best person to care for her and my husband did understand. My father-in-law felt because I'm a woman and that was my mother-in-law it came down to me, I should be doing everything or nothing for her. That had a really bad impact on my own life and my own health. Because you have the guilt. I've got young children I'd been neglecting my own family, to look after my mother-in-law, giving up my own career and my only chances of having a nice life to care full-time, 24 hours round the clock. And my own family, my mum, dad and brothers and sister, put a lot of pressure on me. Not so much my husband's family, I think they did realise and I think his father did, because his father didn't want to be caring for her and I said that she was his wife it should be 50/50. ...the worse thing was that there wasn't any other daughter-in-laws who could share the caring... I was on medication for a while, because I couldn't sleep because I also had the guilt as well, because I had the guilt that I was doing something that wasn't looked upon as acceptably in society. Why shouldn't I want my own life? You know my duty lay as the daughter-in-law but then I kept saying yes, as a daughter-in-law but not as a carer because I'm not cut out to be a carer. But I think I came out of it stronger because I was strong enough to say no. And then when we did have a trial a couple of times

to see if I could look after, my husband realised that there was just no way. Because as well what did help was, my husband didn't want any part of the caring either. He made that quite clear. He worked long hours, he worked full-time and he said that it wasn't something that he was prepared to help with (Ringeed, 34, Part-time Health Worker).

Ringeed encountered much pressure from her own family because she didn't fulfil their expectation of the dutiful daughter-in-law. While, interestingly, Ringeed's husband did not want to care for his mother and supported his wife's decision, the pressure on Ringeed was exerted by her immediate family and father-in-law. Not only do women's in-laws expect them to be dutiful daughters-in-law, but so do their immediate family and extended family members. A woman's immediate family (parents and siblings) do not stop exerting pressure and confronting her with expectations once she gets married. This could be related to the woman's parents' worries that the in-laws and husband may reject their daughter if she doesn't fulfil her role sufficiently. For parents, rejection or a divorce would be a social taboo and would bring the family into shame amongst the extended family and community networks:

I think the problem is that parents of the daughter don't stick up for her when she is having problems. They think well maybe the in-laws or husband will reject their daughter and then they will have a divorced daughter and then who will marry her? (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, retired).

The following section examines whether these expectations are seen as less pressurising for women who live in nuclear family units.

Living in a nuclear family

The above section explored the pressures and strains women experience whilst living with their in-laws. This section will analyse the narratives of women who live in a nuclear family unit.

Firstly it is important to note that the ties of the extended family still remain strong, even once children move out of the family home. Thus:

We live alone, not with the in-laws even though at times it doesn't feel like it (laughs). I think it's our duty ...yeah we still have a lot to do

with them we give them money, I buy them furniture, decorate their house, she [mother-in-law] cooks for me, looks after the children that sort of thing... so we do see a lot of each other (Sandeep, 32, Shop Owner).

...we see them [in-laws] loads, all the time. It's just like living together, they eat here we eat over there or they give me food parcels (laughs). I pick up my mother-in-law and take her to the gurdwara, we take her to see the relatives... it can be stressful at times because they kind of expect that I will take them to the gurdwara and to see the relatives, it's like I can't say no, yeah really stressful at times (Rajinder, 35, Production Manager).

No, we don't live together, but it bloody feels like it! We give them our life and soul... oh, everything... cook, give them money, drive them around... (Jasveen, 26, Own Business).

We don't live with our in-laws, but let's just say it does seem as if we do. I do everything for them, us Indian women have to look after them. Take them shopping, clean and cook. Actually, there are certain things that they cook for me like saag, make me pickle and chutneys. I actually do more for them than my husband or any of the other daughters-in-law. It is hard work at times, but I am expected to do it. I wish my sisters-in-law would help out a little (Jasveer, 41, machinist).

My children come and see us, they look after us. My children are both very good. They will do things for us if we ask them. Well they have to don't they? (laughs) We are well and healthy yet so we don't actually need them very much (laughs). But we do see a lot of each other that's nice (Harjeet Kaur, 52, retired).

These narratives can be summarised as follows: First generation women say that they frequently see their children, and second generation women state that they are in regular contact with their in-laws, even though both groups live in nuclear family units. The second generation respondents, who spend time with, and care for, their in-laws, at times find it 'stressful' and 'hard work'.

The following respondent, Ringeed, who lives in a nuclear family unit, identifies similar sentiments as the above respondents, although she stresses greater expectations and pressures from her mother and siblings.

It's the family that's fulfilling expectations, not the community. I think it's being the dutiful daughter-in-law, daughter, wife, mother, yeah. I

think it's not difficult to fulfil the role of wife, I think daughter-in-law and daughter is difficult. An example is at the moment I'm, because as I said to you, I got married very, very young, and it's only recently that I've actually been able to get up and do things that I want to do for myself, not for my family and, I've taken, a lot of interest in secondary school where my children have been educated which is coincidentally the same school that I was educated at, so I decided a couple of years ago that I was going to start taking more an active interest and I was made a governor, a parent governor and I was quite happy with that and I really enjoyed the challenge and it's something that I found very interesting but, my own family, my mother finds it difficult and when she rings she says why isn't she at home in the evening. You are there at a meeting and I think she puts more pressure on my husband, my own mother, that I shouldn't be doing it and he should be stopping me rather than any body else. And I find that quite stressful. It's something they don't know anything about and they've never done and anything, it's like the unknown, and they find that very er, they don't like it. If you're not in the house, they think, if it's in the evening, they have a go, I have it all the time from my own mother. I mean if you had a mother-in-law that was saying this, you know it would cause sparks, like when your husband comes home from work you should be at home. And I'll often say, but he doesn't mind me going, you know, he's actually quite supportive. Oh, no but you should be at home, and you should be at home in the evenings with your children. So, even if you go out once, one evening a week, it's like very sort of disapproved and frowned upon that you are doing something worthwhile. And it's something that so many people outside value and er, your own family, it's like, that's even like, your brothers and sisters as well who think it wrong. It's like, what are you doing that for? Because it's not valued, because it's not a paid job, it's a volunteer thing. And I've actually tried to explain to them it's part of self-development skills and it, you know it's good for your own confidence and, you know, your own education, it's like; why are you so interested in that? And even if you try to talk about anything, politics, anything, it's like oh, no you shouldn't be interested in that. They just want you to be at home and look after the children and husband. (Ringeed, 34, part-time Health Worker).

Ringeed suggests that fulfilling the expectations that a 'dutiful' daughter, daughter-in-law and wife is confronted with is stressful and pressurising. Similarly to respondents cited in the preceding section, Ringeed emphasises the role of her own parents and siblings. She does not believe that husbands are 'the problem' or that 'they are controlling'. Ringeed's family are concerned that she is going against the norm of how she should behave as a mother, daughter and daughter-in-law. It is interesting that Ringeed's siblings, who are younger than her, also question her actions, beliefs, and even her interest in politics. Further, the issue of interacting with men outside the community is also a concern for

many Indian families, as this would bring dishonour and shame to the family. As described in chapter three, the notion of *izzat* is often invoked in this context.

Ringeed's statement, *'I mean if you had a mother-in-law that was saying this, you know it would cause sparks, like er, when your husband comes home from work you should be at home'* suggests that comments from the mother-in-law are often not tolerated by daughters-in-law, whereas certain comments by the mother are tolerated, but not necessarily accepted. Generally, daughters feel that they can speak back to their mothers, but simultaneously they are aware speaking up to the mother-in-law may be more problematic. The respondents below sketch out these complex relationships between mothers and their daughters on the one hand, and between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law on the other:

I could never say anything to them (in-laws) even though we don't live with them, especially to my mother-in-law just imagine if I told her where to go (laughs). It is frustrating at times you know when you can't saying anything. I can say what I want to my mum, she's cool...If I said something to her (mother-in-law) I think my husband wouldn't like it and she would go mad (laughs) (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

Even though my mother-in-law gives me grief, I could never say anything to her, even though at times I wish I could give her a good slap (laughs). Could you imagine if we lived together I would probably kill her... I say what I like to my mum; she knows what I am like (Rajinder, 35, production manager).

The respondents in this section have so far stated their experiences of living in a nuclear family unit and their maintenance of family ties with extended family members. The following respondents on the other hand believe that that many second generation women do not experience any pressure in contemporary society particularly as they live in a nuclear family unit.

There is not pressure...not now, not for this generation, they don't live with their families, they live with their partners, stress-free far away from their parents (laughs). I think its for me, I'm talking of my experience, I think there was always pressure, there was always pressure as a wife, as a mother, as a daughter-in-law, as a sister-in-law living in a big family house...Yes, I mean we couldn't afford the house, so we had to live with them and also my husband wanted to stick with his parents...it was stressful at times I was expected to do

everything...it was so much for me. Now they live next door actually, we bought the house for them. I still have to do everything (laughs) (Harjeet Kaur, 52, Retired).

I don't think that there is that much pressure for young women these days. I mean they don't have to worry about their in-laws, cook for them or look after them. They have it easy compared to us (laughs) (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

Both of the first generation respondents believe that there is not any 'pressure' on younger women compared to the older generation because they do not live in an extended family unit. However, this belief is contested by Rajinder's, Jasveer's and Ringeed's narratives above.

Additionally, even though a number of the respondents live in nuclear family units they still maintain an emotional and financial affiliation with their children and in-laws. Some women also perceive it to be a moral obligation to care for their in-laws. Other women such as Ringeed refuse to accept her 'moral obligation' to be a full-time carer for her ill mother-in-law.

Caring for the in-laws is not the only pressure and expectation women experience when living in a nuclear family unit. Expectations of how a daughter-in-law should raise her children and keep the household are also areas of where pressure is exerted, as can be seen from the following:

Stress, oh yes...huge (laughs). I have had too many expectations...from within the family, my in-laws. Out of all the six women I was the only one who choose not to work and not to send my children to nursery and I choose to stay at home. That did put a lot of pressure on me because, you know they (in-laws) would say 'you are giving in and you should be going out and doing this'. They were also saying 'it would be better for the children'. But I was saying 'well no, if I am going to have children I want to bring them up. I want to be there for the children.' And I am glad it was a joint decision made, me and my husband made the decision together, and I am really glad we stuck to it because my children really appreciate that. Now they say why are the children doing this doing that. (Ravinder Kaur, 43, Community Worker).

I get a lot of pressure from the in-laws on how to bring up my kids. Yeah, mother-in-law and sisters in-law. Should they not be doing this? I just let them get on with it (Kelly, 32, Bank Cashier).

Even though I don't live with my in-laws they still have their say about their grandchildren. Why are they not studying? Why didn't they do science or law? Have they gone out again? It does bother me sometimes I have to answer their questions and I know that they don't agree with what the kids do sometimes. It is always the women they say things to not their sons (laughs). I just think carry on have your say (Harjeet Kaur, 52, Retired).

In the family...yeah. In the community...quite frankly I don't care what they think. But there are pressures from the family. I find it probably more pressure from my in-laws than there is from my side of the family. Probably because, my side of the family we are bringing up the children in the same way. We all agree on the things we are doing and what we should allow children to do and that's happening independently. Whereas from my in-laws side everybody comes from...they've all been away to university so they are all bringing their own ideas. Pressure on me to see...whether I am a good mother to have pushed her that far...whether she gonna get good grades and whether she goes on to university. And I think my mother in-law did say once that 'Kiran, you have to do medicine as well' to my daughter. And I said sorry she is not going to do medicine...and she said why not...and I said it's what she wants to do it's not a question of what I want or what you want. As far as I am concerned I want her to have a career and I do want her to go to university but, if she then decides she doesn't to take that path, then fine, she doesn't have to. It's her decision. She has to get some form of education...

And we did have a lot of arguments over that. But there is an expectation...which will reflect on me that I didn't do a good job and that will reflect back on her. That's because your mother didn't do it so you didn't push her.

And we've got one of my nephews who didn't want to go to university, he didn't get the grades and that did reflect badly on the mother because she was having problems with her husband. And they blamed her for it. I don't agree with that... It does affect you a little bit but, it shouldn't effect you to the point where you completely fail especially when you usually you have done so well (Kaljit, 39, Part-time Secretary).

Kaljit's comments suggest that even if you live in a nuclear family unit the expectations and values of the in-laws impinge on the nuclear family and have to be contested and

fought over. There are double expectations and ideals, from both sides of the family, which puts women like Kaljit, Ravinder and Ringeed under strain. As Kaljit explains, this kind of pressure not only affects the mother in the family, but there is also pressure put upon the daughter – in the case of the respondent above, she is expected *'to do medicine as well'*.

Even though Ravinder resisted the pressure she felt the strain from her in-laws because they expected her to go out to work and send her children to nursery. Kelly and Harjeet are also questioned over their children's activities and the decisions they make for their children. Nevertheless, the respondents above dismissed or ignored the comments or pressure applied by the in-laws.

Further, a first generation woman sketches out her and her husband's obligation of preparing and paying for a family wedding even though they live in a nuclear family unit.

Because my father-in-law went to India my husband thought that he was a son and a brother it was his responsibility to look after his sisters and pay for their weddings. His children were never first, we always say look after your children first but for him it was always his sisters and brothers that came first. He thought he had to pay for the things because he was the eldest brother... But he had to, we had to otherwise his family would reject us and people would talk that the brother and son is in England cannot even send any money. I felt upset because I had to look after the children when they were young, they were only 1 year apart and I missed my mother and father a lot. It was all too much for me. I went to India after 14 years.... You know for your generation it is different they don't have the pressure to pay for their brothers and sisters weddings it's up to the parents they have to think of that. Younger generation just thinks of themselves (Surinder Kaur, 52, Housewife).

As Surinder suggests the responsibility of caring and paying for your sisters' and brothers' wedding is no longer a significant issue for second generation Sikhs – they are not expected to pay for the wedding. This contrasts with the expectations put on of first generation migrants when they arrived in the 1960s and 1970s. On the other hand, Surinder was not only dealing with the migration process, of feeling alone and missing family members in India, she was also dealing with and bringing up three children in an environment where her husband didn't play a significant role.

The respondents in this section have identified the complexities which evolve around the extended family, the immediate family and the individual. In the interviews many women mentioned and questioned the role of the extended family. It has become apparent from the discussions that the extended family is widely perceived as having a major influence on, and power over, individuals and their nuclear families. All the respondents describe the extended family as putting pressure, and thus having an impact, on their lives and lifestyles.

Further, the results indicate that many second generation couples prefer living within the nuclear family unit in contemporary society. This mirrors research findings presented in chapter two, stating that there is a trend among British Sikhs from extended to nuclear family households. Both first and second generation women claim to have experienced, at some point in their lives, 'difficulties' and 'pressures' living and interacting with in-laws and extended family members.

However, respondents differ with respect to how the trend from extended to nuclear family households affects the amount and type of control that in-laws have over their daughter-in-law. Whereas Harjeet and Jagdeep think that daughters-in-law today have escaped their duties towards their in-laws by moving out of the extended family household, all second generation respondents suggest a different picture. According to them, the expectations and pressure from in-laws and parents remain strongly felt, even if you do not live with them.

To recapitulate this and the previous section: Many women experience various types of pressure and strains while living in an extended family unit. Given that there is a trend or movement within the British Sikh community from extended to nuclear family units (see chapter two), one may expect the pressure on daughters-in-law to be perceived as decreasing. However, data collected from second generation women suggests a different picture. The respondents suggest that even though they live away from their in-laws, they often experience pressure and stress to fulfil the expectations put upon them. Many nuclear families have considerable interaction with their in-laws even though they reside within their own family unit. First and second generation women perceive the interactions between daughter-in-law and in-laws entirely differently. Whereas first

generation women tend to see the relationship as weakened, all second generation respondents perceive the relationship as pressurising, interfering, and often stressful.

Expectations of Daughters-in-law

This section explores the expectations that daughters-in-law face and draws from their narratives to identify issues that are important to them.

My mother-in-law expects me to wear an Indian suit, stay at home and stink of curry all day (laughs). She has this idea that I should run around her twenty-four seven. It's hard, you probably know, you have to go out and work and then come home and do the whole family thing even when you don't live with them...

I don't get on with my in-laws at all. They don't, they don't really acknowledge me... I have nothing to do with them. It was, I'd say that was a bit stressful. And we would have problems say when we went to see them in the middle of the week and then you didn't have any contact with until the weekend and you'd go there and there would be this atmosphere and it's like what have we done wrong. They expected us to go and see them more than we did. We haven't done anything wrong, and I did use to feel a bit stressed out about stuff like that, but live and let live I say (Rajinder, 35, production manager).

It is important to point out, as Rajinder does not mention it above, that she had a 'love marriage' and her immediate family and in-laws were against the marriage. Rajinder, after the interview, said that her in-laws disapproved of their son marrying her. Rajinder also mentioned that she had to live with her in-laws for a while before her and her husband found somewhere to live; 'it was a nightmare' she stressed. Below, respondents continue to express the expectations of mothers-in-law:

When I came here (England) I lived with my in-laws... my mother-in-law told me and my sisters-in-law what to do. We were expected to cook, clean and feed everyone. If we need money we had to ask my mother-in-law or my husband for it, sometimes he used to say ask mum (Hardeep Kaur, 25, Part-time Factory Worker).

I'm knackered when I get back from work and then the mother-in-law calls and gives me jobs to do. Pick me up, take me there, do this do that... it's never ending... It's too much sometimes, to be honest I don't do everything I need my space and time. I think they think that is our duty to do it (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

...but I find I can't approach my mother-in-law... I find her unapproachable. But because of that there were a lot of problems because we lived together. So in the end we moved out. But I had to take the initiative to move out' (Ravinder Kaur, 43, Community Worker).

I can't stand her. I don't speak to her, she is always having a go, I can't do anything right... I thought mothers-in-law were supposed to help, mine just gives me grief (Kulwinder, 27, Shop Worker).

It's like if they are around and I don't have the food ready in the evening my mother-in-law gets moody with me and doesn't speak to me... They (in-laws) expect me and my husband to give them all the money we make, that really gets to me. The more I think about it they really do expect a lot from me. Cook, clean, look after them, take them everywhere, be polite to all the guests otherwise you get into trouble... make them grandchildren (laughs). Sometimes you just try to ignore it otherwise it really does get too much I need my time out (Kelly, 32, Bank Cashier).

Some women have less pressure when they live in a nuclear family unit, but the expectations still remain of how a daughter-in-law should behave and act according to her prescribed role of 'dutiful daughter-in-law'. The respondents above have to balance domestication, career duties, participation in the labour market and partly fulfil the expectations of the in-laws. However, Rajinder and Kelly on occasions do not fulfil their expectations of a dutiful daughter-in-law and additionally participate in an individualised lifestyle of 'need time out' and 'need my space'.

Some of the respondents expressed discontent with their mothers-in-law because of the expectations and pressures put on them.

I think that in-laws can cause a lot of stress for us women, I think there's a lot of that; too much pressure and too many expectations for Indian women. And I think children as well are now causing problems... (Malkit Kaur, 58, Housewife).

...when they (in-laws) arrived, was there anyone to tell them what to do? ...you shouldn't do this, you should this, do it like this... who told them what to do? No one. Everyone was back in India' (Kelly, 32, Bank Cashier).

My mum or my mother-in-law, yeah both of them, they didn't have their mothers-in-law down their neck twenty-four-seven...us girls have to put up with some shit (laughs) (Gurpreet, 28, Bank Cashier).

It is important to note that when first generation women arrived in the late 1960s and 1970s many of them did not have any in-laws to care for. Berthoud and Beishon (1997) suggest that many members of ethnic minority groups migrated to Britain as adults and that many parents of these adults still live in the country of birth. Thus, the respondents above question whether their mothers and mothers-in-law had similar expectations and pressures put upon them because their mothers-in-law lived in India. However, as discussed earlier in the chapter, first generation women suggest that despite living away from their parents and in-laws, they faced expectations related to financial pressures and the obligation of paying for siblings' weddings.

Many women interviewed experience 'stress' or 'pressure' and question the cultural values and practices of the family. Even though many respondents felt dealing with this kind of pressure was difficult and frustrating at times, they often managed to create a sphere where they could negotiate and contest the expectations. Judging from the responses in the interviews, the women interviewed manage to do so while remaining acutely aware of what it means to be a good daughter-in-law and daughter. When analysing these responses, it is important to note that if women speak their mind, within the family and wider community, they are often ostracised and perceived as 'different', rebellious and disrespectful, as this chapter will move on to discuss.

This section has analysed second generation women's perspectives on the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. The following section looks at how first-generation women, in their role as mothers-in-law, see this relationship.

The perspective of the mothers-in-law

Among the first generation, there were quite a few who expressed discontent with their daughters-in-law. Below Surinder expresses the problems she encountered with her daughter-in-law and the differing attitudes and beliefs between them:

Yes, ok. Well, there was a little problem... like mixing in with other people. They have their own house now far away... You know, the way she has grown up in her house in her parents house, doing her own thing. Like not mixing in no matter how much love you give, it feels like ahh she is only my mother-in-law... I don't know, you give as much love as your own daughter and a person may change after many years not straight away, some do, whose attitude is good. The stubborn ones are harder and take longer to change (Surinder Kaur, 52, Housewife).

The above quote; 'not mixing in no matter how much love you give' encapsulates the complex dynamics between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. It also illustrates the important issue of the daughter-in-law 'mixing in' not only with other people, but with the family, specifically the in-laws, as the respondent suggests. The 'giving as much love' and hoping for the daughter-in-law to change is unrewarding for Surinder.

The respondent below discusses the problematic nature of her daughter-in-law's attitude and outlines a similar discontent as Surinder:

My daughter-in-law is ok, she is educated. She has just done a degree in Law and is now doing a job; they live in their own house. But she is not as soft as me (laughs) but she is ok especially if you compare with her with other people she is very nice. She is a bit funny because of her attitude. She has never said anything directly to me or started fighting with me or anything like that. But if I say do this or that she will never do it. She will make her face angry. It's just your attitude, it's not a big thing that this happens between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law it just happens... because a daughter and mother relationship is different and no matter how much love there is between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law there is still a small difference. The attitudes are different, she has come from another family, her personality is different, the other person's family can be different. It happens between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. It's not as if there is a lot of fighting or that we speak to each other raising our voices. My daughters are very close... and my son...

he always has to look where mummy and daddy are (Kaur, 65, Retired).

The comparison of daughters-in-law is common place as it reinforces what is a 'good daughter-in-law' and what it means to have a 'good daughter-in-law'. Thus, the ideal/good daughter-in-law would be one who lives with her in-laws; hence, Surinder states 'they have their own house now far away' and Kaur comments 'they have their own house'. There is an ideal type of what the daughter-in-law should be like; her role is determined by imposed expectations and modes of behaviour. Thus:

Daughters-in-law should, I think, live with their mother-in-law and father-in-law it is respectful. I think good daughters-in-law do that, the respectful ones anyway. We showed respect why can't they... I did expect my daughter-in-law to stay with me, look after me, do things together well, you know young people like to move away from their parents, but their home is far away from us (Malkit Kaur, 58, Housewife).

All the mothers-in-law above are 'dissatisfied' with their daughters-in-law and express a negative attitude towards them. Consequently, Ahmad (1996) argues that family relationships are not always harmonious. He moves on to suggest that within the South Asian sphere conflicts between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are legendary. Thus, the following respondent illustrates the conflict of interests between herself and her daughter-in-law:

I don't say anything to her no more, I am just making my head mad by saying things to her all the time. Why should I? She doesn't listen to me. She wastes so much food, she puts everything in the bin... She spends so much money on clothes only god knows. I found black bags full of clothes with the labels on. She brought a handbag for £300. We have worked so hard and now the children are just throwing the money away (Blabir, 55, Shop Worker).

Blabir illustrates the conflict of interests between herself and her daughter-in-law. Her comment concludes the analysis of first and second generation women's perception of the relationship between mother-in-laws and daughters-in-laws. However, even though the expectations of the in-laws have the most direct impact on the lives of married second generation Sikh women, there are other sources of pressure. As stated earlier in this

chapter, the women's own immediate family can exert pressure by expecting her to be a good wife 'dutiful' daughter-in-law. Now the analysis turns to the impact of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law on women's lives and lifestyles.

Sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law

Sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law play a significant role within the extended family network. However, their role has been an area which has been under-researched and consequently there remains a gap within the research literature on the South Asian family.

Kiran outlines the reality of everyday life and the role of her brother-in-law in her everyday actions and lifestyle.

I just think their way of thinking is totally different to what we think because you know, the way we, I mean I, I have the odd Martini or whatever to drink and things. I mean don't we all, all the girls from here (England) do. But Indian guys don't, you know, they think God she's drinking you know. I mean my husband doesn't mind really but you can tell there is sometimes conflict. Like, you know, my brother-in-law, if he found out I was drinking Martini or whatever and things like that he wouldn't like it. He wouldn't like it at all. Once he even told me what I was wearing was not right. I mean, I think he was trying to tell me it was not appropriate kind of thing (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

Differences are quite explicit for Kiran when comparing 'English' and 'Indian' cultures, as well as Sikhs born in the UK and from India. It would be disapproved of if in the western culture the brother-in-law told his sister-in-law what to do and how to behave, thereby, as in Kiran's case, restricting her behaviour. Furthermore, mothers-in-law have 'favourites', as the respondent below suggests, amongst their daughters-in-law, which leads to friction and comparisons between the women. Thus:

...when I got married I went home a lot to see my parents because obviously I missed them. But you know my sister-in-law kept saying to my husband and mother-in-law why does she keep going home she should stay with Sunny (the husband) and look after him. That really made me angry it was none of her business and my husband did begin to ask me questions... If I get my hair cut or wear something she

doesn't like she has to make a digging remark always (Gurpreet, 28, Bank Cashier).

If I don't look after my mother-in-law properly or what my sister-in-law thinks is proper, she gets in a right mood with me and calls my husband (laughs) (Sally, 32, Housewife).

The following respondent identifies favouritism among the daughters-in-law:

I think, there was issues, my sister-in-law's and I are about the same age, I'm the youngest out of all of them and I was always, I wasn't allowed to do what they were doing. You know it was OK for them to go out and wear jeans and do this and do that and I could never understand why there were a different set of rules for them and a different set for me.... I think they picked up on what my mother-in-law was doing and started to treat me differently too. They would go back and tell her (mother-in-law) things... Because my husband used to stick up for me. You know he'd get it in the neck as well (Rajinder, 35, Production manger).

Additionally, Rajinder, and her husband, who had a 'love marriage', live within a nuclear family household, rejecting the idea that you should reside with your in-laws. This could have been another dimension in which the mother-in-law was not happy with her daughter-in-law as the other daughters-in-law lived in the same house as their mother-in-law and father-in-law.

The above respondents illustrate that not only do mothers-in-law, parents and siblings play a role in the lives of the women interviewed; brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law also have an impact on the decisions and actions they take.

Having presented views of how married Sikh women in the UK generally cope with the expectations of both their own family as well as the family of their husband, the analysis will now turn to transnational marriages. Paying attention to transnational marriages is important in the present context, firstly because, as described in chapter two, although much less common than in Pakistani communities, transnational marriages amongst Sikhs are still quite frequent. Secondly, as it emerged during the process of interviewing, a few of the respondents in this study had participated in transnational marriages.

Transnational Marriage

This section presents Sikh women's views of why transnational marriages take place and why these marriages are sometimes seen as desirable by in-laws and husbands. The section also explores the narratives of women who have participated in transnational marriages.

The following respondents illustrate why people in the Sikh community participate in transnational marriages:

You know these days a lot of parents are aware that their daughters-in-law will not care for them, especially the ones from England... because they think the ones from India are more respectful and don't speak up that they should get a daughter-in-law from India, I think it is stupid (Surinder Kaur, 52, Housewife).

People go to India, why they go to India? Because most likely they want a good girl (laughs). It's because they (parents) have a son who is rebellious probably without a job and drinking too much so they think nobody will marry him here and they take him to India where they find the most beautiful wife for him. It happens you know quite a lot (Harjeet Kaur, 52, retired).

Yes, people think if their child is ill and has a problem with walking, disabled or something, or is too fat, too old they ship them off to India to get married to a hunk (laughs). It's quite frequent that this happens. It's like I had a friend who was a bit fat and she thought she would go to India and marry a guy and oh my god he is well fit. They (people in India) run at the chance of marrying someone from England (Kulwinder, 27, Shop Worker).

The respondents above suggest possible reasons why parents, single men and women may travel to India to get married or seek a partner for their child. Contrary to Ballard's work (2001; 1990), which suggests that unlike their British Pakistani counterparts British Sikhs have shifted their preference from marrying somebody from India to British based marriage, some British Sikhs continue to marry abroad, as the figures from the Home Office (2004) and the experiences of some respondents to this study suggest. Home Office (2004) figures indicate that a higher number of women from India participate in transnational marriage compared to Indian men. In 2004, 2,500 women arrived in the UK on the application basis of marriage compared to 995 men. Raj's (2003) discussion

illustrates that in England, men are often prepared to take a bride from India, while it is less likely that British South Asian women seek Indian partners.

Respondents to this study suggest that if someone is perceived as not desirable or unable to find a bride or groom in the UK, it is acceptable for them to marry someone from India. People in India often want to reside in the UK and are willing to marry off their child to someone from England, as it enables a gateway for financial security and settlement. What is at the core for Sikh families in the Punjab is that they are 'keen to secure a match with an NRI (Non Resident Indian) due to the possibility of subsequent family migration' (Walton-Roberts, 2004, p. 368). Further, Walton-Roberts (2004) draws upon her data and outlines cases of parents in India who push for marriage to an NRI even if it means the traditional cultural beliefs of marriage are not fulfilled. She provides evidence that there is a wide desire for marriage to an NRI even if it means the bride would be entering a relationship which offered less compatibility and security in terms of age and marital background. She moves on to highlight that the cultural values of arranged marriage are often pushed aside when parents are confronted with 'marriage abroad'; notions of 'marriage between two families' and 'marrying your child into a 'good' family' are diminished as the act of marriage to an NRI often becomes an unequal power balance. The family or individual from the west are perceived and are often aware that they are in a privileged position compared to the residents in India.

The following respondent illustrates why she was expected to go to India and participate in a transnational marriage:

I am the eldest. I was half way through my degree...that was the reason I was really angry. My mum didn't really understand...but, I wanted to learn, I wanted to study and I wanted to wait until I finished and stand on my own two feet and help my family out really. At the time I was very angry. It took me a long time to resolve my relationship with my mum. And with being the eldest I grew up with my dad being very ill. I brought up my brother and sisters and then my dad was very ill and my mum was the one that had to put up with it. Basically she had no time for herself, she didn't even have the time to raise her kids, I looked after everyone. If she had put him into an institution people in the community would've talked and gossiped. My mum really didn't know what to do...dealing with a man who is really way out there... a bit mad, not with it... and not having any support... everybody in the community thought he was way out there he has

major mental problems... I think that is why I had to marry someone from India – it was cheaper and my dad was ill. ...she thought it was the best thing, to allow me to have a life. And see me getting married and having someone around me. But, then thinking I will be a secure unit that could help her...so that sounds crazy...but...ehm I married a guy who was 20...he was from India. That's why I went back to India to see him, my grandparents arranged it. He was very different to what my mum had been told. She felt caught up in it...she did what she thought was the best thing at the time (Kiranjit Kaur, 39, Social Worker).

Kiranjit's story outlines the complexities of marriage, wealth and status within the Sikh community. Marriage of a British born to an Indian born is often the 'easier option', because a suitable match in India is often quickly identified, the cost of marriage in India is much lower than in the West, and often the status of the British family is not a concern for the Indian family. Culturally, one of the reasons why her mother and grandparents pushed for marriage was because there were many children to be wedded and because the father was terminally ill and could not, or could not be seen, to participate in the process. Additionally, it would lift the burden of a daughter being married. Consequently, because of the father's illness, culturally Kiranjit's family were not the ideal type or ideal family and this restricted their 'eligibility' of which family their daughter could be married into. If Kiranjit's mother had put her husband into a hospital it would have been a social taboo and condemned by the community.

Assessing Kiranjit's comments, the pressure and guilt she felt is apparent in her narrative. Even though she had different ideas and beliefs of what she wanted for herself, she gave up her studies and got married. Kiranjit clearly identifies the type of pressure she received from her family and the extended family. In Kiranjit's case, the importance and the role of the extended family was paramount as the grandparents and the mother took control and responsibility over her life. After I had stopped recording the interview the respondent disclosed the cultural complications between her husband and herself. Kiranjit and her husband experienced insurmountable differences in values and beliefs, and after one and half years they were divorced. A major issue for them was that the husband wanted to send money back to India for his family, while Kiranjit refused to send her income to his family. Kiranjit stopped speaking to her extended family and immediate family for many years after the divorce, 'rebellious against the culture' as she described it.

The respondent below remarks on what she sees as cultural difference between her husband, who was from India, and herself, who was born in the UK:

Just family life really. Er, going to work, coming home, cooking, trying to spend time with your son and you know sometimes you just can't do it. Especially when you've got a difference when your husband's from India and then being British and being brought up in a different way and they want you to do things differently to you... I would say it is quite hard being married to a guy from India different cultures and all that... it's like wearing certain clothes they expect you to be in an Indian suit all the time and speak Punjabi, do all the cooking and cleaning, it does stress me I just want to chill out and relax when I get home... I know we are Indians, but people from India are different to people like us (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

Kiran outlines that the pressure and stress is partly due to marrying an Indian born husband whose expectations and values differ from hers. The picture Kiran paints of her husband's expectations, and the reason she gives for his attitude (him being 'from India'), match the explanations respondents offer of both first and second generation men. Similarly to Kiran, many second generation respondents describe established family structures and individual men in some way or other as patriarchal. For second generation female Sikhs, marrying a spouse from India is often the outcome of an 'issue' within the family or with the individual. For example, after the interview Kiran stated that she came from a big family with four sisters and her father was concerned with wedding costs, particularly if all the daughters decided to marry British born Sikhs, as the wedding costs would be a great deal higher in the UK compared to India. Not only were financial costs an issue, she also stated that her sister was overweight and couldn't find a suitable match in the UK.

Apart from the respondents' generally having views and opinions of transnational marriages, seeing such arrangements as common and offering reasons for them, there was also a number of respondents who then moved on to highlight their personal experiences of marrying a transnational partner.

Families Reinforcing Patriarchal Practices with Domestic Violence – Hardeep’s and Jasbir’s Stories

This section explores two stories. The first is the narrative of a woman who arrived from India to marry a British born Sikh man. The second story is about a first generation woman who describes the influences of extended family members on the lives of individuals and their families. What both respondents have in common is that they experienced domestic violence in the awareness of extended family members.

Hardeep was born in India into a wealthy farming family, went to university and resided in affluent city dwellings with her family and siblings. She married a British Sikh man who was uneducated and, according to Hardeep, incredibly overweight and ugly. Hardeep’s interview reveals her expectations of coming to England and the pain and suffering she is experiencing in her current situation.

Hardeep tells how her mother-in-law and father-in-law dismissed the domestic violence she was subjected to by her husband, whilst they were all living under their household:

My mother-in-law and father-in-law knew what was happening, that this happens and that he (husband) is in the wrong, that when he has had a drink that he is in the wrong. But, even they cannot do anything, what can they do? (Hardeep Kaur, 25, Part-time Factory Worker).

What exactly could Hardeep’s in-laws do? They could not disown their own son, they could not ask the daughter-in-law to leave, and the in-laws could not encourage their son and daughter-in-law to separate, as it would bring shame and dishonour to the family. The wider community, extended family, in India and England, and cultural norms make it difficult for the couple to separate and or for the in-laws to acknowledge, encourage and accept the situation. Thus:

We can’t separate, people will talk. It will be shame on my family. The culture is like this, it doesn’t let you. It is different for you, you could separate you are born here and have family here you know how things work. Me, I have no one and don’t know what to do where to go... the in-law don’t want their son to be single they want me to put up with it (Hardeep Kaur, 25, Part-time Factory Worker).

It is important to consider the complex parent-son relationship within the Indian community. The son is often perceived as being superior to the daughter; this perception manifests itself from the traditional practices of inheritance as discussed in the literature review and in the chapter on Asian women and patriarchy. Thus, if we are to assess the above narrative, the parents have overlooked or dismissed the misconduct of their son as it may have a negative affect on the family. For example, the break up of the family would be disastrous for the family name and for their son.

Hardeep feels trapped within a cultural environment where she experiences contradictions between her own beliefs and values and those of her husband and traditional culture practices. Hardeep begins by describing growing up in an environment which was fuelled with domestic violence:

Violence, we didn't like it. It didn't look very nice. We thought what will people say? We were scared. We used to feel more sorry for our mum because at first we didn't understand and we were scared we didn't understand. We had this same problem back at home and now we also have the same problem here. If I could do anything in this world I would stop alcohol. The person who has experienced the problem they know what it is like... I would say that the fighting happens because of the alcohol, otherwise everything thing is ok, otherwise he is really nice and caring and he doesn't say anything to me. It's just when he has been drinking fighting begins (Hardeep Kaur, 25, Part-time Factory Worker).

From Hardeep's narratives the network of relationships between the husband, the extended family, community and culture reinforce domestic patriarchal relations: she indicates that domestic violence is 'hidden' and perceived as very much a taboo in the Sikh community.

The following comment illustrates that the emotional support which Hardeep requires from her family and in-laws is absent. There are implications for women, particularly women from India who do not have any family residing in the UK. The emotional support which the Indian family and extended family are typically expected to offer often falls short for daughters-in-law who arrive from India, because there is no established kinship network of which these women are part. Kinship networks are established on the basis of arranged marriage and a marriage between two families. Thus, to what extent

kinship networks are established and to what extent familial bonds have been developed between the two families from India and England is questionable. The dilution and unfamiliarity of kinship networks has led to the uncertainty and insecurity experienced by women arriving from India. Hardeep expresses the need to inform someone of her problem:

I do know that you can call the police... and I also know that the next day he will be fine. I would like some help from my family and my mother-in-law, but they cannot help, my family are in India you know... I think ask help from the family first. The girls here they know what to do they can call to ask for help from women's groups they can move away and know they can get money from the government. I don't know where else to go or what to do. Otherwise a person feels fine it's just sometimes a person gets depressed. You just feel that nobody is here, whom will you tell.

This feeling of isolation is closely related to the migration process and the fact that her family and social networks have not been established in the UK. Hardeep, an Indian woman who has arrived as a 'wife' in contemporary society has been affected acutely by isolation and the lack of support networks. Furthermore, Hardeep believes that British Sikh women have the knowledge of which options to take from the British system - women's organisations and welfare policy - when experiencing domestic violence. Women from India, on the other hand, negotiate within the institutions of culture and the wider community and as a last resort seek guidance from the law and women's organisations.

Hardeep stated in the interview that her sisters-in-law have also arrived from India and experience isolation and domestic violence. Thus:

They do also have to go through all the fighting and the problems. They also really miss their families in India. They live next door, I can hear them fighting sometimes. They do sometimes speak about it, not that much though. They say the same thing, when they have been drinking there is fighting and arguing.

Domestic violence is at the forefront of Hardeep's life, she considers suicide as a way out of her problems. Thus:

How do you feel when it happens?

(Hardeep starts crying)

Then I feel, I wish I was dead... like this... I just think in my mind over and over again that this happened. I say to myself that I should finish myself... all my problems will be solved, they will finish... Sometimes I get depressed and think why is my life like this?

Hardeep contemplates strategies to cope with her situation:

I can deal with it if he stops drinking or I have to change myself, I have to make myself strong... I have to say to him look this doesn't look good, it doesn't look nice what will people say? Or I have to make myself strong and think let him do what he wants to, why should I bother? Let him do what he wants, let him do what is on his mind I am not going to bother. Just stop bothering and learn how to ignore, start ignoring him, everything he says just start ignoring him. That's all a person can do, nothing else.

It is important to note that Hardeep is the one who is concerned with her husband's behaviour, what 'looks nice' in relation to the cultural norms of 'bringing shame' and the wider community's attitude, or stigmatisation, towards her and her family. Hardeep's words indicate that domestic violence is a cultural taboo, perhaps even more so for women than for men.

The above discussion has focused on Hardeep's narrative. The respondent below, a first generation migrant, outlines her relationship with her mother-in-law who is on holiday visiting her sons. The narrative illustrates the dynamic relationship between mother-in-law, son and daughter-in-law and how the mother-in-law reinforced domestic violence. Thus:

My mother-in-law came from India and my husband said to me for the period that my mother stays I want you to go and stay with your parents. It was because he never used his own brain, he only did what his mother told him, he only listened to her he never sorted anything out with me. She used to (mother-in-law) just make up lies that meant nothing at all. Mummy (mother-in-law) tells him (husband) and then he used to hit me. He used to hit me because she was lying. When she came from India, one day... my children were very small. My young girl slept with her grandma, she slept with her for one day and the second day and on the third day she said mummy I have slept with grandma for two days it is Durminder's turn. I said; 'my child wherever you want to sleep you can sleep anywhere you like'. There is

nothing wrong with this is there? And she said (mother-in-law) to my husband that the girl was sleeping with me and I didn't allow the girl to sleep with her. She lied, you know. And he then he started hitting me and beating me up. He beat me up and I called the police and they also gave the mother a warning because my husband was beating me and she was standing there watching and telling my husband 'hit her in the head so she will go mad and then we can send her to the mad people's hospital'... 'Because she doesn't go to her parents house well then she can go to the mad hospital'. They tried to send me to the mad people's hospital, I went to my doctors... they phoned the doctor and told him that I have gone mad. I went to the doctor by making an appointment and he asked me do you want your check up at the hospital or private? I thought that they can give the private hospital some money and they can do anything to me. So I went to the hospital, the general hospital and told them everything and they asked me do you need any help with your English and I said no I don't need any help. I told him (doctor) everything...I told him everything that this is the problem and then he said to me 'it is not your head that is mad it is your mother-in-laws and your husbands who are saying these things to you'. ...he has beaten me lots of times and she (mother-in-law) knows about it and tells him to do it more (Jasbir, 51, Housewife).

This is a very interesting narrative and description of the power relations and reinforcement of patriarchal practices. The expectation that Jasbir should move out of her home and give 'space' to her mother-in-law who will 'take over' questions her sense of belonging. Moreover, the mother-in-law arrived from India and asserted her presence, power and authority in her son's house. The respondent disclosed after the interview that her mother-in-law wanted financial support for herself and for her married daughters in India. She felt that her son was being hindered by his wife and that was why she was asked to leave the house and had experienced domestic violence.

Johnson & Johnson (2001) develop this discussion by suggesting that the role of the mother-in-law in domestic violence can take the form of 'encouragement and support of a son's desire to kill his wife, or it can escalate to the point where the mother-in-law physically participates in the killing of her daughter-in-law' (p.1062). Moreover, the impact and role of the extended family and the in-laws on the respondent further supports the importance given to family members outside the nuclear family.

Hardeep's and Jasbir's narratives describe the interrelations between domestic violence, the extended family and patriarchal beliefs. In their cases, domestic violence was dismissed or 'pushed aside' by family members. Importantly, both narratives revealed

that the structures of the family permitted violence to occur and reoccur. Certain dysfunctional behavioural patterns of men, which lead to and are exemplified by domestic violence, are often dismissed, not talked about, and tacitly assimilated to 'normal' behaviour by those members of the family who are aware of it.

Conclusion

In conclusion, many respondents of both age groups agree that in-laws, extended family and immediate family have a great impact on the lifestyles, decisions and actions of Sikh women in the UK. However, first and second generation women differ with respect to how they assess the impact of at least some of these family relations. First generation women tend to see the general movement within the British Sikh community from extended family households to nuclear family households as having substantially weakened ties between its members. Partly as a consequence of these changing household structures, second generation women are seen as having more freedom, gender equality and a higher standard of living than what first generation women remember from their own experiences as daughters, daughters-in-law, and wives. They are also seen as valuing personal freedom highly, which is perceived as a recent or 'modern' development.

These views of changes in family structures and the attitudes of younger women are accompanied by worries and fears. First generation women worry that their weakening impact or influence on younger women in the family, and especially their daughters-in-law, will ultimately be to their own disadvantage. The worries often directly concern care in old age. The weakening impact in turn is described as a decline of 'respect' from the younger generation.

Second generation women paint an entirely different picture. According to them, the changes in British Sikh household structures have, at least in the case of the relationships between daughters-in-law and their in-laws, not led to significantly weakened ties. Women who have never lived with their in-laws still emphasise their close and regular connection to their husband's family, as well as highlighting their in-laws' expectations and demands. Second generation daughters-in-law who have lived, or who are living, with their in-laws feel that their freedom is severely restricted, which in many cases is

described as leaving them feeling 'stressed'. Many of these women questioned the cultural practices and values that pressurised them to act in certain ways. In some cases they negotiated and discussed their problems with their husbands.

Respondents discussed several reasons why transnational marriages take place. The most common explanations offered hinged on British born women being 'too modern' and Indian brides' being 'traditional', 'dutiful' and 'respectful'. Additionally, respondents stated that if someone has a disability or is 'undesirable', together with his or her parents, is likely to find a partner in India.

The discussion on domestic violence is too small to be generalised from. However, the influence of extended family members in the practice of domestic violence, or the cover up of it, deserves a mention for further investigation and research. Furthermore, the respondents revealed that the influence of the Sikh community, as well as certain Sikh cultural values, enhanced the inequality expressed by family members. It is possible to bring this picture together with the discussion of the role of *izzat* in restricting women's behaviour, as well as the function of gossip in enforcing the norms justified by appeals to *izzat*, in the preceding chapter. Hardeep's and Jasbir's stories, as presented in the last section of this chapter, then support the second generation respondents' descriptions of many male-female as well as female-female family relations as strongly patriarchal. The following chapter will further explore these structures of patriarchy.

Chapter Seven

Patriarchy

Introduction

Many of the narratives cited throughout the previous two chapters indicate beliefs, values and practices that can be described, at times, as patriarchal. This chapter narrows the focus by analysing how respondents question such expectations or practices, and how they express criticism or hostility towards them.

Firstly, the chapter focuses on first and second generation women who employ Sikh teachings of equality to contest patriarchal structures and practices of the Sikh community. These women point out the contradictions between religion and culture. The respondents suggest that members of the Sikh community reinforce patriarchal relations rather than applying religious beliefs of gender and social equality.

Secondly, attention is drawn to issues of male power and control over women. The respondents' narratives are analysed with respect to different treatment of women and men, possible reasons for why men attempt to assert power and control over women, and the position of women in the Sikh community in general.

The chapter then moves on to discuss the role of women who reinforce patriarchal practices, based on the narratives of first generation women. This analysis of first generation women's beliefs partly elaborates on findings presented in the preceding chapter, where it emerged that contrary to the opinions of their daughters and daughters-in-law, many first generation Sikh women in the UK believe that patriarchal relations and structures are no longer in place or have become weaker. Finally, the chapter aims to tease out respondents' attitudes towards housework.

Sikh Religion

This section explores how the respondents question gender inequality, and attempt to achieve 'equality', through the practices and beliefs of the Sikh religion. More specifically, it focuses on the relationship between patriarchal practices and structures and Sikh religious teachings, which preach gender equality.

As discussed in chapter two, the teachings of the Sikh gurus, as written down in the Guru Granth Sahib (the Sikh holy book), are committed to gender equality. There are thus interesting tensions between the religious background views and values shared by many Sikhs, and the norms and practices shaping family life, which are often seen as being patriarchal.

Judging from the respondents in this study, religion is generally, of greater importance to first generation women than to the younger generation:

Yes, I pray, I would say I am religious. I pray every day. I also go to the gurdwara. Well, it brings me peace of mind. I pray for my family, my children and grandchildren. I even listen to the prayers on tape (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

I get up early, before anybody else in the house, and pray. I do it every morning and if I have time I try and do it in the evenings, but that's hard (laughs). I pray at the gurdwara as much as I can. I tell my children to pray, it will bring them peace and happiness, but they don't listen (Harjeet, 52, Retired).

We have to pray, our gurus have told us to pray and to go to the gurdwara and we should. It brings me calm. I pray twice a day ...my children don't pray, they should we all should (Kaur, 65, Retired).

Me and my cousins we just go to the gurdwara to meet each other and our friends and check out the Indian men, oh yeah and check out what everyone is wearing (laughs). I don't understand a word they (priests) say, they're a bunch of perverts anyway they're always checking out the women (laughs) (Gurpreet, 28, Bank Cashier).

We love going to the gurdwara it's like you meet all your friends there and you have a good laugh assessing the talent (laughs)... I don't get the prayers, I just don't understand them (Simee, 21, Student).

I go the gurdwara because my parents tell me to. It's alright, I see people there that I know so it's not too bad (Preetma, 32, IT Consultant).

Many first generation women say that they pray frequently or listen to religious prayers, even though many of them were not baptised as a Sikh. The majority of second generation women in this study place greater emphasis on the social aspects of visits to the Gurdwara. It is important to note that 'visits to the Gurdwara' for second generation women are not necessarily, motivated by religious beliefs. Rather it is described as a procedure which keeps the parents happy, and an occasion to socialise with friends.

Three second generation respondents, however, describe themselves as religious. Interestingly, all three mention gender equality as the primary reason for their attraction to Sikhism:

I came into Sikhi (Sikh religion) because I think Sikh women can empower themselves with its teachings... My family used to say to me you can't have any male friends or go out and I used to think our culture has different standards for men and women. It did start to get me down and I questioned it a lot... I think I used it as a tool to shut people up. I would use the teachings to argue with them. I would say that yeah I empower myself, and shut people up, with Sikhism. Again I would say that Sikh women empower themselves with Sikh...I think Sikhi has empowered Sikh women. There are processes where Sikh women are being empowered but I don't think it's enough...but we need to make women aware that Sikhi can empower (Dalveer, 18, Student).

Similarly to Dalveer, Sarbjit outlines what the Sikh religion has offered her and why she became a practising Sikh:

Sikhism gives you tools to develop yourself which is so, so important. For me Sikhi is about self development. It's fundamental for a lot of things... also a lot of counselling, education...it's very therapeutic. Helping people changing their lives. But more importantly it's about equality, about gender equality. As you probably know we don't have that in our culture... My personal experience of degradation of women, which made me turn to Sikhism. I wanted to challenge the

*negative attitude of people around me and the way they treated me.
(Sarbjit Kaur, 37, Social Worker).*

Sarbjit, after the interview, said that when she felt depressed she turned to the Sikh religion for answers, and found that Sikh religion gave her strength to help her to recover from the pressure she was experiencing after her divorce.

The third second generation respondent to describe herself as religious is 19 year old Ragbir:

...our culture is so sexist and Sikhi is about equality; gender and social equality. I decided to follow Sikhi and not the culture (Ragbir, 19, Student).

Ragbir and Dalveer have changed their appearance according to their interpretation of the Sikh teachings. In line with the 'five K's', the religious symbols characteristic of baptised Sikhs mentioned in chapter two, they began 'allowing hair to grow naturally', 'covering their head' and 'wearing the satar (female turban)'. They soon found that their family members disapproved of their 'radical change in identity'. Dalveer and Ragbir illustrate the problems they encountered:

I've got a moustache crawling across my face. I don't care. Because to me it's about the fact that people should look inside me and not the outside and Sikhi taught me that...I wear a satar and sometimes I wear a robe like the Sikh women fighters. My parents and grandmother are not happy with the way I look. I even get looks when I go to the gurdwara. I think they think who will marry her looking like that? (laughs) (Dalveer, 18, Student).

... my parents were not impressed with my satar and all that. They think I'm now too religious (laughs). It's quite mad considering they banged on about going to the gurdwara when we were young...not only do the older lot [older generation] give me looks, but people my generation are worse. They give me right stares, some even tell me that I look like a right mess. ...My mum sometimes has a heart to heart with me and tells me nobody will marry me looking like this (laughs) (Ragbir, 19, Student).

Women who have become practising Sikhs have stated that they use the teachings of the Sikh religion to challenge and achieve gender equality. However, it is

important to note that within the British Sikh community, religious symbols cannot be interpreted as indicating religious allegiance. Many second generation Sikh women in the UK, religious and non-religious, baptised and non-baptised, define themselves as 'Sikh' in the sense that they wear the steel bangle, the Kara. While the Kara, being part of the five K's, is compulsory for practising Sikhs (as discussed in the literature review), the majority of non practicing Sikhs also wear it, either to indicate membership to the community, or as a fashion accessory. All the women interviewed for this study, religious and non-religious, wore the Kara.

Not only do many second generation Sikh women who are not baptised or practising Sikhs wear the Kara, but have knowledge of at least some of the content of the Granth Sahib, particularly the teachings of gender equality. Some of the second-generation respondents who described themselves as not religious or practising Sikhs also use the principles of equality from the Granth Sahib to contest patriarchal relations:

*...when we were doing religious education, Sikh, man, men and women are equal. I mean, it's written in black and white but you don't see that in a lot of families...
(Rajinder, 35, Production Manager).*

What does it say in Sikhism? Come on, men and women should be treated equally in our culture, but does it happen? It's just a joke. We should follow the teachings of the Sikh gurus. I think everyone does the opposite to what the teachings say (Simee, 21, Student).

Our culture is not based on the principles of Sikhism; Sikhism is based on gender and social equality, where do you see that in our culture? Everyone treats women so differently opposite to our gurus teachings (laughs) (Preetma, 32, IT Consultant).

I sometimes fight with my grandmother and my parents about the differences between men and women... I always say that the Granth Sahib says the opposite... Yeah it does cause some friction and I do get stressed about it. ...you know they let my brother get away with murder. He can do what he likes, but if I want to go out they go mad and they say no (Rajwant, 21, Student).

My nuni (mothers mum) she's very...she believes in a lot of Indian values. She doesn't believe in the Sikh values, like gender equality. But the Indian system, Indian culture in terms of the Hindu caste, yeah she believes in that... I think the majority of Sikhs believe in the Indian values and not the Sikh values (Dalveer, 18, Student).

Summarising the respondents' appeals to the gender equality as stated in the Granth Sahib, it can be concluded that the respondents found a number of different ways of expressing a distinction that can be captured as follows: As a first approximation it can be seen as a distinction between religion and culture. Ragbir, for example, invokes this distinction when contrasting 'Sikhi' – a common label for the Sikh religion – and 'our culture'. Other ways of phrasing the distinction hinge on the original 'teachings of the Sikh gurus' (Simee) and what is 'written in black and white' (Rajinder) on the one hand, and how, in fact, 'everyone treats women' (Preetma), what you 'see in a lot of families' (Rajinder) or simply what 'everyone does' (Simee). These are not so much descriptions of a religion-culture difference, than appeals to a distinction between what is practised and what is preached. Dalveer interestingly phrases the same distinction in terms of Sikh and 'Indian' values, where 'Indian' primarily seems to imply values and practices related to the 'Hindu caste' system.

This section has shown that there are differences between first and second generation Sikh women's willingness to describe themselves as religious, and as participating in religious practices. While many second generation respondents perceive trips to the gurdwara as 'social events', first generation women place greater emphasis on 'prayers' and 'praying'. The section has also pointed out that many second generation respondents are familiar with the principles of gender equality as written down in the Sikh holy book, and that both baptised and non-baptised second generation Sikh women use these principles to question and criticise patriarchal practices in the Sikh community. All three baptised second generation Sikh women suggested that the principles of gender equality were an important reason for their baptism.

Power and Control

The following discussion focuses on the interviewees' experiences of 'being controlled'. Thus, the respondents describe that men assert power over women and as a consequence control their actions and their behaviour. Often this observation is illustrated with examples. Respondents suggest that the treatment of women is acutely different to that of men and they paint a picture of men feeling 'threatened' and 'insecure' if women go against the norms and values of the culture. The following respondents outline the control exercised by Sikh, or more generally Indian, men:

My in-laws said to me you have to have children, it doesn't look nice... It was like when we were living with them; if someone would ask me a question they would bloody answer it for me. It was like I had no control, no say, I had to get out as quick as possible. ...I would say my father-in-law was probably the worse... (Rajinder, 35, Production Manager).

I would say Indian men; whether it's stereotyping Indian men, it's the control and that can be your father, your brother or your husband. It can be a combination, it can be all or either and I think it is the control, and I think they feel threatened if you're not going along with what everybody else is doing in the community. I think that can bring a lot of unhappiness to a lot of women... well, I think with me, I think it was more of a case of my brothers and dad trying to control my actions. They put a lot of pressure on me and made me feel really guilty for my decision about not looking after my mother-in-law (Ringeed, 34, Part-time Health Worker).

Hardeep has a similar perspective to Ringeed and emphasises the issue of control and insecurity of men:

The treatment of women in our culture...Yes, it is true, especially in our culture it is like they don't treat them properly. If they want to go out they don't like to take the women out. Or if the wife's job is better than their husband's they don't like it, he starts to get jealous. If the wife has progress or she goes out they start to get jealous and don't like it. I wanted to start going to work, what can I do at home all day? I found a job and told my husband and he got really angry and I couldn't go. He said I didn't need to work and I should stay at home. ...He controls my life... (Hardeep Kaur, 25, Part-time Factory Worker).

The claim that the treatment of women often differs to that of men links up with the discussion of gender inequality in everyday practices and (family) life in the previous section. Hardeep also revealed that her husband often questioned her about her actions and decisions over the children. She went on to say that often the questioning would turn into verbal and physical abuse, with her being beaten. Hardeep described her husband as a young, overweight, 'unattractive', 'traditional' and uneducated man. This is in stark contrast to herself: an attractive, educated woman from a 'modern' background. It is important to note that Hardeep's husband had gone to India to find a bride. After describing her husband, Hardeep went on to state that *'that is probably why he went to India, to find a woman, because he couldn't find one here'*. This links her description of unequal treatment of men and women with the discussion of transnational marriages in the previous chapter, which will be further commented on in the conclusion of this thesis.

Hardeep elaborates that she is not the only woman whose life is controlled:

Yeah, I have seen within our community and families my mother, my mother-in-law, my sister-in-laws, we all have the same problem, the men are all the same they all control. My sisters-in-law have to tell their husbands where they go and why they are going. They even shout at us if the children are not ready. They (the men) don't listen and think about what we might be feeling or that we might have feelings.

Hardeep outlines what she perceives as a common problem of men controlling women in the family and the community. Many women in this study share Hardeep's view and suggest that men have control over women. Thus, Rajwinder, a first generation woman, supports Hardeep's belief that 'they don't listen':

I went into depression. I think there were personal problems with my husband and he wouldn't sort them out and he wouldn't listen to me and in the end I had to do it. ...I would say it was like he would always want me to do the things that he said. What he said went, I would say it was a case of that (Rajwinder Kaur, 46, Team Leader).

Rajwinder moves on to give an example of her father who was 'strict' and controlling:

Our community is definitely male dominated, very male dominated...I love my father very much but what he said and that was it and also his belief was that; while you are living with me I would like you to do as you are told, there are rules of the house and I would like you to abide by that but he always explained, so it was a lot easier. ... He said I couldn't cut my hair. There were no discussions, I could not cut my hair, simple as that. Yeah, I would say he controlled the girls in the house and my mum, but with my brother it was so different...

As some of the narratives in this and the previous chapter illustrate, parents and husbands are often inclined to be stricter and more protective towards wives and daughters because of the fear of women losing *izzat* and bring shame to the family.

Thus:

The man thinks he is in control, he controls his wife and his daughters... he didn't want me to work because he thought people would talk, look he is sending his wife out to work. I think they (men) think that it brings shame on them. If the man is in the wrong or doesn't have any control over the women they don't wish that they are told they are wrong, they try to hide it. They think they are always right and have the power. Even if their wife or sister is 100% right they don't wish to admit that they are right... no matter if it is your husband, brother, father no matter who, they wish that you should say to them that they in the right, and not the ladies (Baljeet, 51, Factory Worker).

This quote shows how the respondents see their decisions and comments as undervalued and not recognised. Some women's comments and decisions are not appreciated and valued within a patriarchal structure, as illustrated by comments such as 'they don't listen', 'they think they are always right' and 'to do as you are told'. Further, many respondents in this study suggest that the Indian culture is male dominated, and the narratives indicate that some families uphold patriarchal practices and structures. On the other hand, it is important to note that 'male domination' is not the only form of control; women assert power and control over other women, as highlighted, for example, in the discussion of the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law in the previous chapter, and elsewhere in this thesis. As illustrated in the literature review, when a woman reaches mother-in-law or grandparent status, she is often recognised as someone

with authority and power over the daughter-in-law and the household; also she is traditionally perceived as someone with great wisdom and respect.

Whereas the discussion above has focused on the experiences and perceptions of respondents who have encountered a form of control from men and in-laws, the following section explores first generation women's beliefs that second generation women are experiencing 'less control' and 'less patriarchy' over their lives.

'Double Standards'

The last chapter presented the important finding that first and second generation Sikh women in the UK differ fundamentally in their assessment of the impact of the in-laws on daughters-in-law's lives. Whereas first-generation women claim that their influence has weakened, second generation women see their in-laws as substantially interfering with their lives, even in cases where they do not share a household as traditionally would have been the case.

This section develops this discussion by generalising it to patriarchal practices, values and family relations in general, and hence by extending it to second generation Sikh men in the UK. Thus, this section explores the narratives of first generation women who believe that there is 'less patriarchy for second generation women'. Second generation narratives are also explored in relation to their discussions on 'double standards' held by men, parents and in-laws. The respondents' discussions of 'double standards' are illustrated by actions which are deemed acceptable for men and not for women.

The following respondent suggests that first generation men apply double standards to what women can and cannot do. She also states that many second generation men share the beliefs of first generation men. Thus:

With my dad, I think my dad is one in a million, he tends to take, he's very laid back and he takes things as it comes. He more or less lets everyone do what they like. But there are other guys out there, generally my dad's age where it's very much like the wife should sort of like stay at home and do the cooking and not really go out and it's

all right for them (the men) to go to the pub and stuff. I do know quite a few men that are like that. I've seen younger men who are quite like that as well (Preetma, 32, IT Consultant).

The respondent moves on to express her discontent with the attitudes of second generation men:

I think with the guys I have met they seem to be pretty controlling. They do want the traditional wife. They have to be at university to have a good time, but when they come home to get married they want someone whose, who will listen to them sort of thing and do what they say. I think there's a minority of guys out there where they don't have much control and let her do what she more or less wants to do and it's like equal opportunities, but nearly all the guys that I have met it is the case where they'd like you to do the cooking and stay at home and they are not too happy with you going out... It's like I meet this guy, we were thinking of marriage, and he told me I had to live with his parents, I shouldn't drink or go out too much, he would've liked me to have long hair, that sort of thing... ..we had told our parents that we liked each other and wanted to get married and everything like that. ...we had sex and then he thought I was a slag and decided not to get married, obviously my parents don't know any of this, like I said they want you to be traditional and at home cooking. See what I mean, a bunch of wankers. I'd say it's double standards be time (laughs)...

Some second generation women in the Sikh community suggest that first and second generation men assert double standards to reinforce traditional roles and expectations of women:

...I think the boys think we are too much for them... too modern or something... It's alright for them to shag around but we can't do it (laughs). Double standards, we can do this but you can't. That's what my brothers used to say to me, you can't go out because you're a girl, but they used to go out all the time. I'd call them too traditional... you know what, I think that's why they fly over to India and picked up a traditional girl... my brother was a right one, going out all the time, drinking, smoking pot and he went to India to get married... (Kirpal, 34, Manager).

My brother shagged around all the time. He had loads of girlfriends and went out all the time, but if I did it my parents and brother would go mad and my grandmother (Dalveer, 18, Student).

However, reinforcement of patriarchal processes not only prevails among men, but women also take part in the process of defining 'traditional' women's roles:

Some feel that girls are second...they take second place basically. I don't think my mum believes that, but I think people and my grandmother want her to believe it. Boys can do whatever they want but girls are always restricted. My parents have given us a lot of opportunities to do what we want that a lot of girls don't have (Dalveer Kaur, 18, Student).

My aunties, grandmother and mum are the worse they always say it is different for girls. Such double standards. It is ok for their sons and the men to do what they want, but if women want to do something the women kick up more of a fuss than the men. ...it's like when I got my hair cut all the women had something to say about it and had a go at me, the men didn't say a thing (Sally, 32, Housewife).

Throughout this thesis the respondents state that the culture and family permits boys greater freedom and opportunities compared to girls. The following examples illustrate a 'different standard' for men and women:

If people found out I was drinking they wouldn't like it. They wouldn't like it at all; it would be frowned upon, but you know if men do it its well done (laughs) (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

Yeah, I'd say it is different for us women. Its like if my mother-in-law knew I was drinking she would go mad... but it's alright if her son does it every weekend. (Rajinder, 35, Production Manager).

In this thesis respondents have made references to 'drinking alcohol' and highlighted that it is frowned upon if women drink. If a woman is drinking alcohol, disapproval and shock are still common reactions among first generation Sikhs and, as the respondents outline above, some second generation men. Thus, the issue of permissive drinking for men and the disapproval of women drinking alcohol has led some women to question the different standards for men and women.

Acknowledging the existence of differing standards for men and women among generations, the following respondent, on the other hand, describes the decline of control, by men, and greater equality among second generation Sikhs, thus:

I think today, for today's generation that control's gone. I think they are a lot less, you know, controlled. Yes, I would say men, from the younger generation have lost that control over women. I think girls these days speak up for themselves, whereas before, the older generation wouldn't do that. They would just accept and do it... Yeah there is more equality for this generation... (Rani, 44, Secretary).

The following respondents express similar beliefs to Rani on the changing nature of patriarchal control among the generations:

I think it's changing, it's slowly changing; it was a bit worse for my generation, but the younger generation are different, less controlling I would say (Harjeet Kaur, 52, Retired).

No men are not controlling, not now. But they used to be, the older generations. The ones from India yeah, but not the next generation. Like my son and my daughters' husband help and to be honest we don't even stop them. Like my husband he still does not help me. When I was sick he would make himself a cup of tea in the morning. Otherwise I would always wake up in the morning and make his tea. My husband even when he comes from work the roti has to be on the table. But, my son looks after my granddaughter and baths her and changes her nappy, previously nobody used to ever do this. I would say that this generation has changed. My husband's generation because of their background never do anything or help because in India the women do everything (Surinder, 52, Housewife).

Surinder believes that men born in India are more controlling than British born men.

...but I would say that the ones from India are more controlling than compared to the ones born here (Simee, 21, Student).

I think the ones from India are much more controlling. Men born here, there is more equality. I think it's more equal because of the youngsters these days. The division of labour was more distinct in the past, which is not now. I mean now, my sons quite happily are in the house, while his wife is out. Whereas my husband never did that. That sort of thing (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

The respondents above suggest that there is greater equality among second generation men and women compared to the inequality experienced by first generation women. If the distinction of the division of labour has become blurred,

as Jagdeep suggests, 'the blur' may have increased the burden for women. Research cited in chapter two suggests that many Indian women in the UK do waged work as well as household work, work outside the home as well as inside the home, as carers as well as childcare facilitators. The traditional division of labour meant that women stay at home, conduct household chores and care for family members, while men provide an income. However, second generation Sikh women participate in the labour market at much higher rates than first generation women and are also expected to work within the home and care for the children.

The following respondent says that first generation men prefer their women 'to be under their thumb' and makes a distinction between different ethnic minority women:

Yeah, you know that white women have control over their husbands. But in our culture, you know, men say that our women should be under our thumb, and that's still happening, but they should change their attitude. But, the ones that have been born here are totally changed, they are fine. You know, our ladies, the ones that are a little bit more educated and they can stand up for themselves... and the Pakistani ladies they are not educated and they suffer a lot... so many come into the shop, even the one that came in now her husband hits her... (Bulvinder Kaur, 40, Shop Keeper).

The first generation women above believe that there have been changes to the family, and in particular to the participation in domestic duties of second generation men. Thus, their perception is that the patriarchal structures have weakened for second generation women in the UK, that there is less control over second generation women and that there is greater equality among men and women. Second generation women, however, contest the view that they 'have greater power' or that there is greater equality. This will be explored later in the context of housework and household chores.

Rani's belief that 'girls speak up for themselves these days' is mirrored by other respondents' statements, however. Speaking up has led to consequential stigmas of being 'too modern' or 'too westernized'. Thus:

If I argue back with them they will think I am really bad and not respectful. A bad and too modern daughter-in-law, I suppose (laughs) (Sally, 32, Housewife).

As the previous chapter indicates, many first generation respondents suggest that 'the older generation would never speak up' to their elders or husbands in comparison with the younger generation. Many first generation women in this study, therefore, believe that second generation women have lost respect for their elders and become 'too modern'. The following section will highlight these issues of being and becoming 'too modern'.

'Too Modern'

The following respondent questions second generation women who want equal treatment to men and illustrates her disapproval of women who behave according to what she perceives as the 'English' value system:

The problem is that we have come with our men to the outside (to England). The way everybody lived in India that was the way it was, by coming outside, to England, all the girls think that the men are doing this why cannot we do it? Girls are losing the culture, the modern the good job ones by looking at English people are changing; this is what our people are thinking. The girls, the ones that are too modern are causing the main fighting in the houses. But, we are not going to become English. We will stay Indian. The Indian way we do things we will be better off, unless we become totally English, then why not leave everything Indian and lets become English, lets do everything they do and become like them and leave your culture, that's all I am saying (Jasveer, 41, Machinist).

Unlike the sentiments expressed by the above respondent, Yuval-Davis (1997) suggests that women nourish and also reproduce the traditions of nations and communities. Some statements by respondents in this study, who distinguish between 'the English culture' and 'the Indian culture' and in many cases 'look down' upon English values and beliefs. The respondents pay particular attention to white people's lack of responsibility towards their family members. Thus, the following respondents sketch out the differences in values of 'English' and 'Indian' people:

...what do white people give their children? Nothing. Not like us, we work so hard for our children. They don't care about their children, they kick them out when they get 18 (Jatinder, 51, Factory Worker).

White people are different to us. Look at their families compared to ours. We are strong, we look after each other. They look after their dogs and cats (laughs). ...our younger generation is also turning a bit like that. We can't change them... in certain ways I think our culture is better, for example, we do everything for our children (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

The following first generation respondents outline their disapproval of educated women's 'modern' behaviour:

Educated girls these days just want to go out like white girls. It's not what it used to be like; women looked after the house and children. I think it's going too far, losing that respect (Jasveer, 41, Machinist).

Traditionally women were at home, what is wrong with that? I was at home, my mother, my mother-in-law all at home. Girls just want freedom nowadays...especially the educated ones... (Kaur, 65, Retired).

Jasveer and Kaur refer to educated women whose behaviours and lifestyles are seen as challenging traditional cultural practices. Feminist analysis of the impact of education and employment on gender relations suggests that women's increasing professional achievements are challenging patriarchal family formations (Crompton, 1999). It is important to note, however, Crompton refers to 'white' women and occupational achievement. Even so, the discussion can be applied to second generation Indian women. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995) develop the discussion by claiming as women have established themselves and secured their rights as individuals, the nuclear family is weakening. Additionally, Bhopal's (1997) research on the relationship between marriage, education and employment in the lives of South Asian women concludes:

'Independent South Asian women become highly educated and enter the labour market, they no longer want to have arranged marriages, instead they want to co-habit with their partners (Bhopal, 1997, p.153).

Housework

Many respondents expressed their discomfort with the contentious issue of housework. A theme which is apparent throughout the discussion is that men expect women to fulfil all the household duties. Thus, the following respondents give a summary of the perceptions of Sikh men:

A man thinks a woman's place is in the kitchen. And when they come home they think the dinner should be laid out for them. Well my husband expects that (laughs) (Sally, 32, Housewife).

Men want us girls stuck in the kitchen and cooking all the time while they're in the pub knocking down the pints (Simee, 21, Student).

It's like the other day I got back from work, and I have to pick my son up from the nursery, I got home and fed him put him to sleep and then I started doing the housework. When my husband got home he started saying to me why isn't the food made. ...they expect you to do everything (Kiran, 33, Principal Clerk).

I think the position (of women) is ok but like always, she is kept low, she is always lower than men all the time. They (men) don't feel that she does all the work for her family, she does it for the family he doesn't feel anything. If she does the housework it means nothing, it doesn't mean anything to him. If he works for four or five hours he feels and everybody feels that I have been out to work. How about all the work the woman does at home that's not a bad thing. Even if she does more, they are not going to say that she goes out to work and does the house work. This is why men never help because they think she hasn't got any work that's why she has been laid down. The lady thinks well I have children if he doesn't do it I will have to do it, if he doesn't care then I will have to care for the house and make the food and work outside because otherwise you cannot survive. But men don't understand this issue. They don't even understand that the way they like to enjoy themselves so do women, like we also like to go out and about. We sit with our families together, women like this, with our husbands. If they go out, we also feel like going out as well. In the community the ladies position is down, it is not really good (Hardeep Kaur, 25, Housewife).

Note that according to some of the statements on transnational marriages presented in the preceding chapter, Indian-born Hardeep may have been sought as a bride precisely to fulfil the domestic and childcare duties. As discussed earlier in this and

previous chapters, some in-laws and men prefer 'traditional' wives from India to fulfil the traditional cultural roles of dutiful daughter-in-law and wife, because they perceive British Sikh women as failures in this sphere. Esara (2004) stimulates the discussion of 'double work' and migrant women:

The double burden of work inside and outside the home expands the roles of migrant women as wives and mothers, but at the same time it reinforces existing inequities within the conjugal relationship (Esara, 2004, p.199).

The following respondent illustrates the double burden of work inside and outside the home:

There is one thing for sure that the way our Indian husbands are they think that the lady's job is the lady's job and that she should do it. They think the work of the lady is for the lady and the men they go out. For example the lady has to work outside and she also has to come and make the roti and they don't like the fact that they have to help her. I think this is a problem. If the woman comes from working outside at the same time as her husband and the husband comes home washes his hands and face and starts to sit down and watch the TV and the poor lady goes into the kitchen. I don't like this. But my husband doesn't do anything else, he doesn't go out and he doesn't hang around with other women, which would also be a problem for some women. It's just this; he doesn't think that I have also come alongside him from work. He is ashamed. He would like to help in the kitchen but he thinks what his relatives will say that I am making tea for my wife or I am helping her. I don't think that we can change them. If you try to make changes and then you probably separate from one another. I don't think that we can change them. Some ladies' husbands are not educated, but my husband is a lawyer and he is educated and he understands, but still I cannot change him. Because his ideas are Indian and they will stay Indian. The cooking work is the lady's job and the husbands are not going to do it. I don't think that we can change them. If we try to change them I think it will cause fighting in the house. It is not worth it, this is why I have given up (Shelia, 46, Community).

Walby (1990) argues that women's domesticity is often a result of gender inequalities in waged work. In other words, Walby suggests that the fact that marriage binds many women into unequal relationships with men is not intrinsic to the personal relations per se, but is linked to wider socioeconomic structures, sanctioned by the power of the state. Against the view shared by some

commentators that families in Western societies move towards a symmetrical distribution of housework and paid work, Walby (1990) suggests that any marginal increase in symmetry in the family is due to women moving towards a male pattern of engagement with paid work and less housework, not, to any significant extent, to men moving towards patterns traditionally seen as 'female' and doing housework.

Shelia expresses sentiments similar to that of other respondents and stresses that men expect women to do all the housework, childcare, as well as to participate in the labour market. Shelia places emphasis on the issue that women have to do waged work and at the same time are expected to arrive home and 'have the roti ready'. Additionally, similar to Bulvinder's discussion in the 'double standards' section, Shelia makes the distinction between the values of educated men and women. Bulvinder believes that educated women can stand up for themselves unlike non-educated women whereas, Shelia comments, even though her husband is educated and understanding of issues of patriarchal relations he is not willing to change his behaviour. Hence, there is a perception among both women that education has or should have an impact on behaviour, awareness and reflection on issues of equality and greater assertiveness to make modifications to one's behaviour.

The following respondent also outlines the double burden of domestic duties and paid work outside the home:

Let me tell you that husbands think that a lady's job is a lady's job. This means for the wife the double amount of work. Firstly, going out to work and then housework and looking after the children. And if I say something and then there is fighting. For example I have a child and I cannot even separate you know. Well, it depends on the husband yeah? And the child wishes that mummy and daddy stay together yeah? So, you have to think of everything (Hardeep, 25, Part-time Factory Worker).

It is important to point out that it is not only men who expect women to fulfil roles. As emphasised in the preceding chapter, women, and in particular first generation women and mothers-in-law, reinforce similar values and standards. Further, the perception of Sikh women cooking and cleaning is also reinforced by the

expectation that it is the daughter-in-law's duty to cook, clean and care for the children and her in-laws, thus:

Girls, daughters-in-law, they used to look after their in-laws, do all the work, look after the house, care for the children, mother and father-in-law... now things have changed too much. Kids don't want to live with their parents... Yes, daughters-in-law should look after their in-laws. They do in India why can't they here? ...I think they should cook, clean and feed us. We did why can't they? ...my daughter-in-law doesn't do anything to help us we do everything; she could come over and bring some food or help with the cleaning. When my son got married I did expect that my daughter-in-law will be nice and help me (Kaur, 65, Retired).

It would be nice if our daughters-in-law did a little more for us these days (laughs). A lot was expected from us and we gave a lot. It is different in today's society (Jagdeep Kaur, 60, Retired).

In summary, women tell of the 'double workload' of participating in the labour market and conducting all the household chores. Respondents observe a lack of willingness to help on part of their husbands, as well as a lack of sympathy and understanding. They further claim that the belief that women take care of domestic duties is still widespread within the Sikh community and exists among many second generation men. While the economic circumstances of the family and educational achievements (as discussed in the literature review) encourage women to participate in the labour market, they are still expected to conform to traditional cultural practices that they recognise as unfair and that can be characterised as patriarchal. The prevalence and power of such expectations as described by the respondents to this study can be used to challenge research findings like Ramji's (2003), who says of British born Gujarati women in Britain:

Their direct relationship with the labour market as wage-earners has led to an increase in their powers of negotiation, an ability to make choices and to increase their influence in the domestic domain (Ramji, 2003, p.237).

The discussion of the relationship between the labour market and the domestic domain will be developed in the concluding chapter.

Conclusion

From the interviews it emerges that patriarchal structures and practices remain within the Sikh community, even though some first generation women believe that this is not the case. First generation women express the opinion that unlike first generation men, second generation men participate in household work.

Accordingly, they state there is greater equality between second generation women and men than between themselves and first generation men. However, many second generation women dispute this claim, insisting that they are expected to fulfil their traditional roles and expectations of domestic and childcare duties.

This chapter has also reinforced the findings presented in the previous chapter that women often participate in the process of defining women's roles and behaviour. Because these roles and behaviours are recognisably patriarchal, it can be concluded that Sikh women see other Sikh women as playing an important part in maintaining and reinforcing patriarchal practices and values. This is particularly noticeable in respondents' comments in this and the previous chapter on relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law.

Some second generation women in the study appealed to the religious principles of the Granth Sahib to contest the gender inequality they experienced within the Sikh community. Compared to second generation women, first generation women did not use the Granth Sahib, as a tool, to challenge inequality. First generation women practiced Sikhism because of the 'peace of mind' and 'calm' it brought to them.

The majority of housework in British Sikh households is still conducted by women, according to the respondents. Indeed, very few second generation women revealed that their husbands help with the childcare and domestic duties. The main discontent women voiced in relation to housework was the issue of having to participate in the labour market, care for the children and conduct household chores often without the help of their partners.

Some women stated that education made a difference to second generation Sikh women, with educated women being in a better position to challenge their partners

than non educated women. This comment reflects the belief of first generation Sikh women that second generation women do not experience 'control' by their partners because they are British born and have an education. This, however, is, for the most part, rejected by second generation women.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This chapter presents the conclusions of the study. Chapters two, three and four have set up its theoretical and methodological framework and chapters five, six and seven have presented the narratives of the respondents. This chapter brings the findings together, interprets them with respect to the questions and concerns set out in chapters two, three and four, and thus relates them to important questions about the position of women within Sikh families and communities in the UK. The chapter summarises how first and second generation Sikh women in the UK describe their relationships with members of their immediate, extended and in some cases transcontinental families, as well as with the wider community. The focus is on whether there are differences between the perspectives of first and second generation women, especially with respect to patriarchal values and practices.

This chapter begins by questioning the appropriateness of the categories of first and second generation women particularly in relation to a group of women who have arrived recently as transnational brides. Then the influence of the community on individuals and their families is discussed. The chapter then moves on to assess respondents' claims of the weakening of the Sikh family, especially in relation to discussions of first generation women's concerns about ageing and residing without their children. Implications for women who reside in extended or nuclear families are also teased out. Finally, the chapter relates the respondents' narratives to the discussions of patriarchal practices and structures within the Sikh family and Sikh community.

Before this chapter moves on to discuss the conclusions of this study, it is important to point out and explore why the issue of 'arranged marriage' was not discussed by the respondents. This was unexpected, as women were asked to speak freely about the issues which were important to them. A possible explanation of why the women did not bring up the topic of arranged marriage is that within the Sikh community, the issue is 'internalised'. Even in British Sikh communities, the institution of

arranged marriage is so much part of the cultural and social framework that interviewees may not have perceived it as a potential subject of discussing, questioning or evaluating. Further, asking the respondents to outline their personal experiences and issues that are important to them may have prevented interviewees from bringing up what they consider a 'broad' or 'general' topic. Arranged marriage, for many Sikh women, is a feature of their everyday lives and shared by everybody around them. Consequently, when asked to discuss their personal experiences and what is important to them, the issue of arranged marriage is 'sidelined', especially when asked by a female Sikh interviewer. The tacit assumption may just have been that a Sikh researcher is, of course, aware of the importance of arranged marriage. Thus, it could be the case that Sikh women would have spoken about the issue of arranged marriage to a white interviewer as 'it would be the obvious topic of conversation'.

The Categories of 'First' and 'Second' Generation

My sample of interviewees constitutes a group of Sikh women in Britain who represent first and second generation women. Women who worked in factories, held managerial positions, studying at university, secretaries, retired and religious women were interviewed in an attempt to obtain as broad a sample as possible. Further, the age of women ranged from 18 to 65. All first generation respondents migrated from India, and all second generation respondents were British born. Additionally, a number of Indian born women, who had recently married British born Sikh men, were interviewed. To what extent the sample of Indian born women who married British Sikh men is representative and portrays the experience of women arriving from India is unclear. There is thus a need for further investigation of this category of women, as illustrated later on in this chapter. It must also be noted that the study focused on mostly middle class Sikhs and, thus, does not represent very poor or very rich Sikhs.

The theoretical appropriateness of the categories of first and second generation Sikh women needs to be investigated. When analysing and categorising the data, the boundaries of first generation women have become blurred. If, as it is the case in the research literature, the difference between first and second generation South Asians

is based only on the country of birth, then not only women who arrived in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s are labelled as first generation women, but also women now in their 20s and early 30s who arrived recently to marry British born Sikhs. The experiences, expectations and beliefs of first generation migrants from the 1960s and 1970s often differ acutely from that of first generation migrants arriving in contemporary society. For research that focuses, like the present study, on experiences of family and community expectations, it might not be appropriate to classify women who have recently arrived from India under the same category as the women who entered Britain in the 1960s and 1970s; in many respects they share relevant experiences with their British born Sikh counterparts.

Thus, there is greater need not only to clarify the first generation category, but also to conduct more research into the experiences of brides arriving from India and to assess the development of 'transnational marriages'. At present research has focused mainly on Pakistani transnational brides (Shaw, 2001). However, Shaw's analysis cannot be applied to Sikh transnational brides from India as marriage patterns, rituals and cultural and religious beliefs differ between the groups. Additionally, the data collected for this study has provided no confirmation of Ballard's (2001) explanation of Sikh transnational marriages, based on the need to expand kinship networks. Instead, respondents often suggest an alternative explanation, which is partly mirrored by Walton-Roberts (2004). According to the findings presented in chapter five, transnational marriages are seen as motivated by culturally embedded, traditional gender roles. Punjabi-born women are perceived as desirable daughters-in-law, because they are 'traditional' and more likely to be respectful to their in-laws. The disappointment and stress on the side of the transnational bride that can be a consequence of such expectations, as described by respondents to this study, needs to be researched further, especially because the lack of a supporting family network in Britain which isolates women and makes them vulnerable to verbal and physical domestic abuse.

'Surveillance'

Both first and second generation women in the study emphasise the importance of the Sikh community in maintaining control and checks on individuals and their

families. The respondents highlighted that the community's 'surveillance' is gender specific and affects women more than men. The majority of Sikh women argued that they received greater pressure from the community compared to their brothers and male cousins. This pressure to conform to certain ways of behaving is seen as applying on various levels: apart from the direct pressure on the individual respondent exerted by members of the immediate and extended family, as well as the wider community, the respondents also stressed the significance of 'indirect' pressure exerted on their immediate family by the extended family and often by the wider community. Hence the extended family and the wider community contribute to the 'surveillance' of women's behaviours by exerting pressure on their immediate families, which is facilitated by the importance of the notion of *izzat*.

This pressure to conform – to be 'respectful' and 'dutiful' – and the corresponding 'surveillance' are often seen as maintained by the threat of gossip as a kind of sanction. Many respondents stated, for example, that if a girl was seen out of the house with boys, this would cause a problem for the girl, because it would create rumours and give her a 'bad name'. Other occasions for gossip often mentioned by respondents are not having any children or 'having a drink', as exemplified by my experience as follows:

At my brother Rajvinder's wedding in 2001, I picked up a few bottles of wine from the bar and had a drink with my female cousins. I soon realised the damage caused by my actions, and it was a 'traumatic' experience not only for me but also for my parents. The 'trauma' of being observed by my parent's friends, extended family networks in India, Canada and America (thanks to the camera man) has lasted up until this day. After the wedding, the wedding film was sent to relatives abroad. When the calls of congratulations poured in, they were accompanied by questions of 'does Harpreet drink?' More recently, upon arrival to my village in India, one of the first questions members of the family asked was 'do you drink?'

Thus, it could be argued that some of the gossip is accentuated or created to reprimand those who step outside the traditional practices of the culture, as Hall (1995) points out:

When people watch and gossip, they impose a set of moral, physical, and behavioural constraints that serve as a powerful form of social control – a conservative force for social and cultural reproduction – and one that bridges the boundaries of the individual family unit (Hall, 1995, p.258).

Interestingly, the respondents in this study suggest that women, and in particular first generation women, are just as involved in the practice of disciplinary gossiping as men, if not more.

Although women interviewed for this study have repeatedly singled out gossip as playing a crucial role in censoring the behaviour of individuals within the community, this is not the only social role gossip plays. Insofar as gossiping can be described as an act of sharing some secret, or at least not common, knowledge, opinion or view, it can be seen as having a cohesive force within the community. The importance of the role of gossip within the British Sikh community, as suggested by the respondents to this study, may thus be explained by a need to maintain both social cohesion and moral boundaries within a community that is perceived as weakening. This view is confirmed by the fact that some of the family members that are described as prone to disciplinary gossiping – first generation women – do indeed express the view that western influence has weakened Sikh cultural beliefs, affected the younger generation's beliefs and values and eroded traditional practices.

Gossip, however, is not the only force that monitors the behaviour of women within the British Sikh community; traditional Punjabi proverbs also help to reinforce the norms of how women should behave according to cultural practices. Enforcement of cultural, traditional and patriarchal practices is often tied in with the notions of *izzat* and honouring the 'family name'. Women's behaviour is often controlled through continuous reminders of maintaining '*izzat*' – 'staining your father's turban', 'your grandfather/father has a full head of white hair' and 'don't ruin the family name' – which enforces how women should or should not behave. Both gossip and proverbs are closely tied to the notion of *izzat*. *Izzat* – individual and family honour – is still an important part of the Sikh culture. Enforced by threats of gossip, appeals to *izzat* still serve to curb the behaviour of individuals, families and especially women. The

research suggests that the patriarchal values and practices are reinforced and maintained by the fear of gossip and rumours within the community. This is illustrated by Ringeed's case, where she was expected to conform to the traditional expectation of a 'dutiful daughter-in-law'. Her parents and siblings feared that people within the community would gossip and her husband may disown or divorce her if she did not fulfil her obligations to care for her sick mother-in-law. Parents fear that if their daughter does not live up to the expectations of a 'good daughter-in-law' she may be disowned and become a divorcee.

Households within the Sikh Community

Research literature presented in chapter two of this thesis holds that among the Indian, and more specifically Sikh, communities in the UK there has been a move from larger, multigenerational households to smaller households based on the nuclear family (Bhat and Dhruvarajan, 2001; Modood et al, 1997). This is, for example, what Butt et al (2003) suggest in their research on quality of life and social support:

...taken as a whole Asians tended to live in larger households. However, multigenerational living patterns were stronger among Asian Bangladeshi and Asian Pakistani participants. Asian Indians showed greater similarities with their white counterparts in that they were more likely to live with just their spouse or with their spouse and children under the age of 18 (Butt et al, 2003).

Interestingly, the present study has shown that the perceptions of these changes of living patterns within the British Sikh community differ vastly. Whereas first generation women tend to draw on the consequences of this process for Sikh family and community life, second generation respondents downplay the significance of these developments, stressing that family relations and the corresponding expectations, ties and pressure they experience are still strong. In what follows, firstly the views of the second generation respondents are summarised, then attention will be given to the concerns of first generation women.

The difference between how first and second generation Sikh women in the UK assess changes to the household structure is most evident when focussing on the

relation between daughters-in-law and their mothers-in-law. Second generation women who reside with their in-laws place emphasis on 'having space' and 'having time for oneself', while voicing discontent with 'being looked over the shoulder by the in-laws'. Interestingly, though, it is not only daughters-in-law who reside with their in-laws who often feel stressed and pressurised, but also second generation women who live in nuclear households away from their in-laws raise similar concerns and opinions. Daughters-in-law who live in nuclear units often still experience pressures from the in-laws, as well as sometimes experiencing pressure from their parents and siblings, to fulfil their traditional role of daughter-in-law. Thus, the pressure and expectation experienced is not just confined to women who live with their in-laws but also to daughters-in-law who reside close-by or in neighbouring towns. For example, respondents who lived in nuclear households stated that their in-laws intervened in their family matters and decisions that they made. These respondents also stated that they gave money, went shopping, cooked and visited extended family members with their in-laws.

Although young women tend to speak of their parents-in-law as interfering with their lives in particularly stressful ways, it is by no means only the parents-in-law that are seen as exerting pressure. Sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law are seen as having an impact on married women who arrive into the in-laws' household. The way a respondent speaks and behaves is often constrained not only in front of the mother/father-in-law but also in front of brothers/sisters-in-law: this is common not only for the first generation but also among the second generation.

Thus it emerged from the findings that even though many second generation women live within nuclear households they still participate in many extended family activities and experience pressure from various members of the extended family, most notably their in-laws and parents. Consequently, it is important to note that even though many British Sikh parents and children live in separate households it does not mean that they form 'nuclear units' each encompassing individual lifestyles, maintaining separate finances or cooking and shopping for one unit. The complex relations among family members remain intact. Emotional, financial, culinary and moral ties between members of extended family often continue to be of central importance, even though the extended family does not live in one household

(more will be said later on in the chapter on how these remaining complex family ties bind second generation women to the private sphere where patriarchal practices and structures interplay).

On the other hand, the first generation respondents in this study paint a very different picture. The majority of mothers feel that they 'suffer a loss' when children move out of the parental home. First generation women regularly express the belief that second generation women are not fulfilling their roles as 'dutiful' daughters-in-law, some of them comparing their own memories of caring for their in-laws with the lack of care provided by their daughters-in-law and second generation women in general. Their unhappiness about what they perceive as behaviour that is a consequence of second generation women being 'too modern' is often accompanied by worries that their children will not care for them in old age.

In the study both first and second generation women identified that as a consequence of second generation women being perceived as 'too modern' some first generation Sikhs and some second generation men are seeking wives from India. This is supported by Piper and Roces (2003) research that there has been a dramatic increase in transnational marriages, as well as statistics present by the Home Office (2004) which suggests that there are a higher number of Indian women entering the UK as brides compared to Indian men (Home Office, 2004, p. 4). Some first generation women believe that women from India have 'greater respect' and do not speak up to their elders partly because brides from India are seen as 'traditional', easier to control and more willing to live in an extended family unit. Nevertheless, the number of women interviewed for this study that had recently arrived from India as brides is too small, particularly if a generalisation is to be made about their experiences and the circumstances that they live in. However, the study suggests that further investigation is required into the lives of women who arrive from India as transnational brides.

The difference in perspective between first and second generation women extends to their respective views of the attitudes of second generation Sikh men. There is a perception among first generation women that second generation men often participate in household chores equally with their female counterparts. Most second

generation women in this study, however, contradict this claim, believing that many second generation men reinforce traditional gender divisions of domesticity. Additionally, many first generation women consider it impossible to 'change' first generation men or 'make them help' with household chores – 'it would cause too much conflict' as one respondent stated. The study revealed a high proportion of women still continue to do the bulk of housework and feel responsible for childcare duties and care for the elderly. The majority of respondents, first and second generation, express that they are not happy with the unequal distribution of household work. Additionally, the respondents questioned the expectations put upon them, as women, to complete 'their' jobs.

In conclusion it can be said that first and second generation women have very different views on the changing structure of households in the Sikh community. Whereas the younger generation perceives the movement into a nuclear household as being very similar to living in an extended family unit, their mothers and mothers-in-law see traditional family structures and responsibilities under threat. First generation respondents perceive this movement as 'leaving the emptiness' and 'being alone.'

The importance of a 'dutiful' daughter-in-law for many first generation Sikh women in the UK, as illustrated by the significance of obtaining a 'traditional' wife/daughter-in-law from India, is closely related to the issue of ageing. Many first generation respondents are worried about who will care for them in old age, because, as some respondents say, 'my children live too far away' and 'my children have their own lives'.

As the first generation of the Sikh migrant population in the UK is reaching the age of retirement they are questioning their place in the extended family. As part of this process, first generation women find themselves reevaluating traditional customs and values related to the position and authority of the elderly in family life. As the narratives of second generation women confirm, it is indeed the case that some second generation women cannot, or are unwilling to, cope with caring for their in-laws in old age. This opens an important arena of debate as it leaves elderly Sikhs questioning who will care for them in old age.

The majority of first generation women in the study state that there is a need for resources/community organised activities for the elderly in the Sikh community. Many elderly Sikhs participated in activities organised by their local gurdwara but they identified these events as being too infrequent and too short.

Questioning Patriarchal Practices: Second Generation Women

Importantly, the study revealed that many second generation women challenge the existing patriarchal practices in the community by referring explicitly to the gender equality prescribed in the Sikh scriptures. Because many second generation women challenged patriarchal beliefs and practice with the teachings from the Granth Sahib one would expect them to be religious, this emerged not to be the case. For example, most second generation women stated that they only visited the gurdwara to 'see friends' or because their parents or in-laws had asked them too. Additionally, many respondents stated that they 'couldn't understand a word' of the prayers and did not pray when at home. Thus, the study revealed that even though many second generation women strongly adhere to the principles of gender equality in Sikhism most of them do not, on the other hand, classify themselves as 'religious' and they perceive visits to the gurdwara as mere social events. Unlike second generation women, the majority of first generation women can be described as religious as most of them frequently prayed and visited the gurdwara.

Within the second generation category three Sikh respondents challenged patriarchal beliefs and practices of their family members by becoming baptised practicing Sikhs. In response they encountered many disagreements with their immediate family and extended family members. The Sikh women who had become practising Sikhs decide to wear the turban, not to remove bodily hair and to visibly wear the five Ks. Even though the number of respondents in this study may not qualify for a generalisation, the data suggested that some of these women experience difficulties with their parents and members of the community because of their religious commitments. The reasons for these difficulties, according to the respondents, lie in their willingness to question their parents on gender inequality, and also in their change of appearance.

Similarly to Alexander's (2002) discussion on generational conflict, this study also reveals that there is not widespread generational conflict among first and second generation Sikhs. Respondents in this study suggest that 'generational conflict' is based on a misconception of Asian communities, and that the white British community is as much characterised by 'generational conflict' as Sikh families are. It is, however, interesting to note that second generation baptised Sikh women characterised their family relations in terms of conflict.

In the process of conducting this study it emerged that there is limited data available related to women who have become practising Sikhs. Further research is required to grasp a better understand of this group of women and to explore why they become religious and why their parents disagree with their religious orientations.

Izzat and Patriarchy

Chapter two has presented research literature which highlights that the notion of *izzat* is still important within the Sikh community (Wilson, 1978; Ballard, 1982; Hall, 1995). The results of this study confirm this view. Many of the expectations that second generation respondents have described as restricting their lives hinge on notions related to the honour of the family.

Second generation respondents in this study describe *izzat* as impinging on women's lives in many more ways than it does on men's. For example, behaviour that has been described as acceptable in the case of men, but as tarnishing the family honour in the case of women, include drinking alcohol, being seen with a man and going to pubs, bars and clubs. Respondents revealed, behaviour that is expected of women, but not so much of men, mostly relates to household duties and caring for the in-laws. Thus not only do second generation Sikh women in the UK highlight family honour as playing an important part in shaping and justifying the expectations they face, they also stress that the kind of family honour in place within the Sikh community is inherently unequal, sexist and patriarchal.

An important result of this study is that *izzat*, despite its patriarchal character, is also upheld by the women in the family. First generation Sikh women are not only described as upholding traditional, culturally embedded patriarchal beliefs and expectations by second generation respondents; first generation women also, when asked about their families, referred to their daughters-in-law as being 'educated' and 'wanting to do her own thing', 'being different, but better than other daughters-in-law', and 'wanting her own house when it is not necessary'. Behaviour that is seen as violating *izzat*, such as drinking and going to pubs as outlined above, is attributed to second generation women becoming 'too modern', 'too English', 'wanting to be like their English counterparts' and 'having no *izzat*'.

Thus, as this study has found, both expectations and the threat of gossip resulting from behaviour that is seen as violating patriarchal norms are to a large extent also upheld by women. According to respondents, some first generation women reinforce patriarchal values and beliefs as well as traditional gendered roles, by insisting on what behaviour they expect from their daughters-in-law and second generation women more generally. This kind of reinforcement of patriarchy is particularly evident in Jasbir's case, in which a mother-in-law told her son to beat Jasbir because she refused to do as she was told (chapter six).

Cases like Jasbir's stand in urgent need of further investigation. Even though in this study the small number of respondents suffering from domestic violence does not allow for generalisation, their narratives nevertheless provide directions for further research. Some respondents in this study state that parents-in-law and brothers/sisters-in-law were aware of domestic violence taking place. Jasbir's story, in which her mother-in-law not only failed to prevent or even acknowledge the violence, but actively endorsed it as a means to enforce behavioural norms, represents an extreme instance of a family which failed to acknowledge violence between their son and daughter-in-law. As Smart (1995) suggests the family is, in part, a site of oppression, which is protected from scrutiny. Domestic violence is a taboo in the Sikh community and requires further investigation, particularly in the light of the present findings, according to which family members who are aware of violence taking place fail to act.

Sikh Families in the UK and Private Patriarchy

In chapter three of this thesis Walby (1990) claims that, firstly, there is a movement from private to public patriarchy. Secondly, she states that whereas private patriarchy tends to hinge on individual patriarchs within the household, public patriarchy is manifested collectively in places such as the work place. Whereas the distinction between private and public patriarchy itself may be useful in many ways, Walby's characterisation of the different character of private and public patriarchy can be contested on the basis of this study's findings. Within Sikh families in the UK it is not individual patriarchs who assert patriarchal practices. Instead patriarchal practices, beliefs and values are maintained by a complex web of expectations, which are justified by their relation to the honour of the family, and which are enforced by the constant threat of gossip and notions of *izzat*. These 'complex web of expectations' are not only maintained by individual patriarchs in the private sphere, but they are also maintained by a combination of extended family members in the UK, the transnational family and the Sikh community. This in turn confirms findings by Robinson (1986), who states that within South Asian communities, extended family and nuclear family all collectively play a crucial role in controlling women's behaviour in order to maintain the *izzat* of the family. Thus, brothers, father, mother, uncles and aunts all assert patriarchal values in order to maintain the *izzat* of the family. Second generation respondents do not see this kind of patriarchal control as having substantially weakened. Consequently, feminists have argued that the private sphere remains a key site where the subordination of women is maintained and secured (Brah, 1996), this study supports this claim in relation to the findings of this thesis.

Developing and adding to Walby's (1990) discussion of private and public patriarchy, it can be concluded that private patriarchal practices still remain a major site of oppression for many Sikh women in the UK. Respondents in this study strongly expressed that the family is a site where they encountered gender inequality. They also described the family, as well as the Sikh community, as a place where they had to modify their behaviour according to notions of *izzat* and 'how women should behave'. As Rozario (1995) suggests, the threat of being seen and labelled as

'too modern', as 'having no shame' or as being a 'bad' girl helps maintain patriarchal structures that are embedded in South Asian culture.

Unlike Walby, Bhopal (1997) claims that 'Muslim women experience an intense form of private patriarchy, followed by Sikh and Hindu women' (p. 148). Bhopal goes on to suggest that 'traditional' women experience private forms of patriarchy whereas 'independent' women experience public forms of patriarchy. Bhachu (1991) develops the discussion and suggests that second generation women's direct relationship to the labour market has led 'both to an increase in their powers of consumption according to their own choices, and to an increase in their influence in the domestic domain' (Bhachu, 1991, p.401). Again mirroring Bhachu's discussion of the link between education and empowerment, Bhopal's (2000) study of South Asian women in East London indicates that women with high levels of education reject some of their traditional cultural practices, whereas women with lower educational qualifications are more willing to accept traditional cultural practices.

By considering not only the narratives of second generation Sikh women, but also first generation women, as well as women who arrived as brides from India, this study somewhat weakens Bhopal's and Bhachu's findings. Taking into account views of all women from this study – independent, educated, professionals, managers, factory workers, religious and non religious – it can be concluded that the Sikh household remains a chief site where patriarchal relations are played out, reinforced and modified among all generations and among men and women. Although many second generation women question these patriarchal relations and practices, they do confirm their existence and power over the lives of individuals as well as families.

This is not, of course, to argue that patriarchal practices and beliefs do not exist in the public sphere; they do, and ethnic minority women are doubly disadvantaged because of their 'race' and gender. But it is to say that the trends from extended towards nuclear households and the fact that many second generation Sikh women are well educated and participate in the labour market does not necessarily suggest that they have reached 'equality' or that they have moved to a sphere of public patriarchy. As expressed in this study, and other studies, women still conduct the

majority, if not all, of childcare duties, care of the elderly and household chores (Esara, 2004). It is evident from this study that even if women are well educated, participate in the labour market or live in a nuclear family unit, members of the extended family still have a considerable say and influence over women's lives and lifestyles. Most first generation women suggest that there is less 'control' asserted over second generation women, many second generation women disagree with this position and insist that patriarchal beliefs and values remain embedded within the Sikh community and family life. A substantial number of narratives of second generation women suggest that it is not necessarily their husbands that assert power and control over their lives, but it is their in-laws, particularly their mother-in-law, and members of the Sikh community.

Concluding remarks

Amrit Wilson's (1978) study on Asian women in Britain, *Finding a Voice*, explores the experiences of women who had been subjected to enormous change through the process of immigration and marriage. Additionally, her study investigated the experiences of racism and work inside and outside of the home.

Twenty six years later, the present study provides us with an in-depth understanding about important issues and concerns for Sikh women living in the UK. The study not only focuses on first generation migrant experiences, but also outlines and explores issues which are important to second generation women. It further attempts to present and analyse views of first generation women that go beyond 'the migrant experience', of 25-30 years ago, and assesses what is important for them in contemporary society.

This thesis presents a picture of the relationships between Sikh women, their experiences of living in a family and more generally their perceptions of the role of the Sikh community. The academic work provides a framework for academics and researchers to understand the Sikh community and women's experiences in greater detail. It also highlights awareness for researchers to develop the thesis in hitherto neglected areas such as ageing, transnational marriage, domestic violence and in particular Sikh men's experiences. It is, however, still my responsibility or

obligation to transmit the findings of this thesis to the people or community that I have investigated.

Bibliography

Abbott, P. & Wallace, C. (1993) *An Introduction to Sociology*. London; New York: Routledge.

Afshar, H. (1989) 'Gender Roles and the Moral Economy of Kin among Pakistani Women in West Yorkshire', *New Community*. Vol. 15, pp. 211 – 225.

Ahmad, W. I. U. (1996) 'Family obligations and Social Change among Asian Communities', in Ahmad, W. I. U. & Atkin, K. (eds), *'Race' and community care*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ahmad, B. (1990) *Black Perspectives in Social Work*. Birmingham: Venture Press.

Alexander, C. (2002) 'Beyond Black: Re-thinking the Colour/Culture Divide', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 25, No. 4. pp. 552 – 571.

Al-Hibri, A. Y. (1999) 'Is western Patriarchal Feminism Good for Third World/Minority Women?' in Cohen, J. & Howard, M. & Nussbaum, M. C. (eds), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Alsayyad, N. (2001) *Hybrid Urbansism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Anwar, M (1998) *Between Cultures: Continuity and Change in the Lives of Young Asians*. London: Routledge.

Anwar, M. (1979) *The Myth of Return*. London: Heinemann.

Arber, S. (1997) 'Comparing Inequalities in Women's and Men's Health in Britain in the 1990's', *Social Science and Medicine*. Vol. 44, p. 773-788.

Back, L. & Solomos, J. (eds), (2000) *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*. London; New York: Routledge.

Ballard, R. (2001) *The Impact of Kinship on the Economic Dynamics of Transnational Networks: Reflections on Some South Asian developments*. Workshop on Transnational Migration, Princeton University.
www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/ 06/06/03

Ballard, R. (1996) 'Islam and the Construction of Europe' in Shadid, W. & Van Koningsveld, P. S. (eds), *Muslims in the Margin: Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe*. Netherlands: Kampen.

Ballard, R. (1994) *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*. London: Hurst and Co.

Ballard, R. (1990) 'Migration and Kinship: The Differential effect of Marriage Rules on the Processes of Punjabi Migration to Britain' in Clarke, C. & Peach, C & Vertovec, S. (eds), *South Asians Overseas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ballard, R. (1982) 'South Asian Families: Structure and Process', in Rapoport, R & Fogarty, M. P. & Rapoport, R. (eds), *Families in Britain*. London: Routledge.

Ballard, R. & Ballard, C. (1977) 'The Sikhs: The Development of South Asian Settlements in Britain', in Watson, J. L. (ed), *Between Two Cultures*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barrett, M (1980) *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*. London: Verso.

Basit, T. N. (1997) *Eastern Values; Western Milieu. Identities and Aspirations of Adolescent British Muslim Girls*. Aldershop: Ashgate Publishing.

Beck, W. & van der Maesen, L. & Walker, A. (1997) (eds), *The Social Quality of Europe*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

- Beck, U. & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1995) *The Normal Chaos of Love*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beckerlegge, G. (2001) *The World Religions*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge.
- Bell, J. (1999) *Your Research Project*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Berg, B. (1998) *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. 3rd Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Beishon, S. & Modood, T. & Virdee, S. (1998) *Ethnic Minority Families*. London: Policy Studies Institute.
- Berthoud, R. & Beishon, S. (1997) 'People, Families and Households' in Modood, T. & Berthoud, R. et al., *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. London: Policy Studies Institute.
- Bhachu, P. (1995) 'New Cultural Forms and Transnational South Asian Women: Culture, Class, and Consumption among British South Asian Women in the Diaspora', in Veer, P. V. D. (eds), *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia.
- Bhachu, P. (1991) 'Culture, Ethnicity and Class among Punjabi Sikh Women in 1990s Britain', *New Community*. Vol. 17 (3), pp. 401 – 412.
- Bhachu, P. (1988) 'Apni Marzi Kardhi_ Home and Work: Sikh Women in Britain', in Westwood, S. & Bhachu, P. (eds), *Enterprising Women: Ethnicity, Economy and Gender Relations*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Bhachu, P. (1985) *Twice Migrants: East African Sikh Settlers in Britain*. London: Tavistock.

Bhat, A. K. & Dhruvarajan, R. (2001) 'Ageing in India: Drifting Intergenerational Relations, Challenges and Options', *Ageing and Society*. Vol. 21 (5), pp. 621-640.

Bhavnani, K. (1997) 'Women's Studies and its Interconnections with 'Race', Ethnicity and Sexuality', in Robinson, V. & Richardson, D. (eds), *Introducing Women's Studies*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Bhopal, K. (2001) 'Researching South Asian Women: Issues of Sameness and Difference in the Research Process', *Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 10 (3), pp. 279 – 286.

Bhopal, K. (2000) 'Gender, 'Race' and Power in the Research Process: South Asian Women in East London', in Truman, C. & Mertens, D. M. & Humphries, B (eds), *Research and Inequality*. London: UCL Press.

Bhopal, K. (2000) 'South Asian Women in East London: The Impact of Education', *The European Journal of Women's Studies*. Vol. 7, pp. 35 – 52.

Bhopal, K. (1999) 'South Asian Women and Arranged Marriages in East London', in Barot, R. & Bradley, H. & Fenton, S. (eds), *Ethnicity, Gender and Social Change*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Bhopal, K. (1997) *Gender, 'Race' and Patriarchy: A Study of South Asian Women*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998) *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code development*. London: Sage.

Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora*. London: Routledge.

Brah, A. (1987) 'Women of South Asian Origin in Britain: Issues and Concerns', *South Asia*. Vol. 7 (1), pp. 39 – 53.

Brah, A (1979) *Inter-generational and Inter-ethnic Perceptions: A Comparative Study of South Asian and English Adolescents and their Parents in Southhall, West London*. PhD thesis, University of Bristol.

Brown, M. S. (2000) 'Religion and Economic Activity in the South Asian Population', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 23, (6) pp. 1035 – 1061.

Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Buchignani, N. & Indra, D. (1985) *Continuous journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Butt, J. & Moriarty, J. & Brockmann M. & Sin, C. H. & Fisher (2003) *Quality of Life and Social Support Among Older People from Different Ethnic Groups*. Research Findings: 23. ESRC Growing Older Programme.

Carby, H. (1987) 'Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood', in Arnot, M. & Weiner, G. (eds), *Gender and the Politics of Schooling*. London: Hutchinson.

Carby, H. (1982) 'White Women Listen! Black feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood', in CCCS (eds), *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*. London: Hutchinson.

Charmaz, K. (2000) 'Grounded Theory', in Denzin, N. K & Lincoln, Y. S. Eds, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications.

Clarke, C. & Peach, C. & Vertovec, S. (1990) *South Asians Overseas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Collins, P. H. (1986) 'Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought'. *Social Problems*. Vol. 33, pp. 14 – 32.

Crompton, R. (1999) *Restructuring Gender Relations and Employment: The decline of the Male Breadwinner*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Department of Social Security (1996) *Family Resource Survey, Great Britain 1995 – 1996*. London: HMSO.
- Elliot, F. R. (1996) *Gender, Family and Society*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- Esara, P. (2004) 'Women will Keep the Household. The Mediations of Work and Family by Female Labor Migrants in Bangkok', *Critical Asian Studies*. Vol. 36 (2), pp. 199 – 216.
- Ewen, E. (1985) *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollar: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side 1890-1925*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Fernandez, M. (1997) 'Domestic Violence by Extended Family Members in India: Interplay of Gender and Generation', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Vol. 12, pp. 433 – 455.
- Finch, J. (1989) *Family obligations and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Finch, J. (1983) *Married to the Job*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Fontana, A. & Frey, J. H. (2000) 'The Interview: From Structured Questions to Negotiated text'. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Franklin, B. M. (1997) 'Making Sense: Interviewing and Narrative Representation'. In Gergen, M. M. & Davis, N. S. (eds), *Toward a New Psychology of Gender. A Reader*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Friedan, B. (1965) *The Feminine Mystique*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Gangrade, K. D. & Chander, H. (1991) 'The Dowry System in India', in Sewell, S. & Kelly, A. (eds), *Social Problems in the Asia Pacific region*. Brisbane: Boolarong.

Gardner, K. & Shukur, A. (1994) 'I'm Bengali, I'm Asian and I'm Living Here: The Changing Identities of British Bengalis', in Ballard, R. (eds), *Des Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*. London: Hurst.

Gedalof, I. (1999) *Against Purity: Rethinking Identity with Indian and Western Feminism*. London: Routledge.

Gelles, R. J. (1972) *The Violent Home*. London: Sage.

Gelsthorpe, L. (1992) 'On Feminist Methodology', *Sociology*. Vol. 26, (2), pp. 213 – 218.

Gittins, D. (1993) *The Family in Question: Changing Households and Familiar Ideologies*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Glaser, B. (1992) *Emergence vs Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. (1978) *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Hall, K. (1995) 'There's a Time to Act English and a Time to Act Indian: The politics of Identity among British-Sikh Teenagers', in Stephens, S. (eds), *Children and the Politics of Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hall, S. (1980) Race Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance, in UNESCO (ed), *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO.

Hammersley, M. (1992) 'On Feminist Methodology', *Sociology*. Vol. 26 (2), pp. 187 – 206.

Harding, S. (1991) *Whose Science, Whose Knowledge?* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Harding, S. (1987) 'Is there a Feminist Method?' in Harding, S. (ed) *Feminism and Methodology*. Bloomington; Milton Keynes: Open University Press: Indiana University Press.

Hareven, T. K. (2000) *Families, History and Social Change: Life-course and Cross-cultural Perspective*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Harriss-White, B. (2001) 'A note on Male Governance of South Indian Family Businesses and its Implication for Women', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 8, (1), pp. 89 – 96.

Hennink, M. & Diamond, I. & Cooper, P. (1999) 'Young Asian Women and Relationships: Traditional or Transitional?' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 22, (5), pp. 867 – 891.

Hockey, J. & James, A. (2003) *Social Identities Across the Life Course*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

hooks, b. (1984) *Feminist Theory: From Margins to Centre*. Boston: South End Press.

hooks, b. (1981) *Aint I a Woman?* London: South End Press.

Huberman, M. A. & Miles, M. B. (1998) 'Data Management and Analysis Methods', in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. London: Sage Publications.

Humm, M. (1995) *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory*. 2nd Edition. London; New York: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hutchinson, J. & Smith, A. D. (1996) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hutchinson, S. (1986) 'Grounded Theory: The Method', in Munhall, P. & Oiler, C. (eds), *Nursing Research: A Qualitative Perspective*. London: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Jackson, S (1997) 'Women, Marriage and Family Relationships', in Robinson, V. & Richardson, D. (eds), *Introducing Women Studies*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Jagger, G & Wright, C (1999) *Changing Family Values*. London: Routledge.

Jakobsh, D. R. (2003) *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

John, P. N. (1969) *Indian Workers' Association in Great Britain*. London: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, A. G. (1997) *The Gender Knot: Unraveling our Patriarchal Legacy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Johnson, P. S. & Johnson, J. A. (2001) 'The Oppression of Women in India', *Violence Against Women*. Vol. 7 (9), pp. 1051 – 1068.

Kalra, V. (2000) *From Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks: Experience of Migration, Labour and Social Change*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Khan, S. (1999) *A Glimpse through Purdah; Asian Women - the Myth and the Reality*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Kolmar, W. K. & Bartkowski, F. (2005) *Feminist Theory: A Reader*. 2nd Edition. Boston: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

Leonard, D. and M. Speakman (1986) 'Women in the Family: Companions or Caretakers?' in Beechy, V. and Whitelegg, E. (eds), *Women in Britain Today*. London: Open University Press.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. London: Sage.

Longino, H. E. (2002) 'Essential Tensions – Phase Two: Feminist, Philosophical, and Social Studies of Science', in Antony, L. M. & Witt, C. E. (eds), *A Mind of One's Own: Feminist Essays on Reason and Objectivity*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Westview Press.

Lukes, S. (1974) *Power: A Radical View*. London: Macmillan Press.

Lyles, M. R. & Carter, J. H (1982) 'Myths and Strengths of the Black Family. A Historical and Sociological Contribution to Family Therapy', *Journal of the National Medical Association*. Vol. 74 (11), pp. 1119 – 1123.

Mahmood, C. & Brady, S. (2000) *The Guru's Gift*. California; London; Toronto: Mayfield Publishing.

Malik, K. (1996) *The Meaning of Race*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Mason, D. (2000) *Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mason, D. (1994) 'On the Dangers of Disconnecting Race and Racism', *Sociology*. Vol. 28 (4), pp. 845 – 858.

Marshall, G. (1998) *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Marshment, M. (1997) 'Representation of Women in Contemporary Culture', in Robinson, V. & Richardson, D. (eds), *Introducing Women's Studies*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

McLeod, W. H. (1999) *Sikhs and Sikhism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

McLeod, W. H. (1976) *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Mehrotra, M. (1999) 'The Social Construction of Wife Abuse: Experiences of Asian Indian Women in the United States', *Violence Against Women*. Vol. 5 (6), pp. 619 – 640.

Miles, R. (1993) *Racism After 'Race Relations'*. London: Routledge.

Miles, R. (1989) *Racism*. London: Routledge.

Miller, R. L. (2000) *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*. London: Sage Publications.

Millett, K. (1970) *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday.

Modood, T. (1997) *Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Modood, T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S., & Beishon, S. (1997) *Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Modood, T. & Beishon, S. & Virdee, S. (1994) *Changing Ethnic Identities*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Moore, H. (1988) *Feminism and Anthropology*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Basil Blackwell.

Narayan, K. (1998) 'How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist?' in Thapan, M., Eds, *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Nasser, N. (2003) 'South Asian Ethnoscapes: The Changing Cultural Landscapes of British Cities', *Global Built Environment Review*. Vol. 3 (2), pp. 26-39.

Oakley, A. (1981) 'Interviewing women: A Contradiction in Terms', in Roberts, H. (ed.), *Doing Feminist Research*. New York; London: Routledge.

Oakley, A. (1974) *The Sociology of Housework*. London: Martin Robertson.

Okely, J. (1992) 'Anthropology and Autobiography: Participatory Experience and Embodied Knowledge', in Okely, J. & Callaway, H. (eds), *Anthropology & Autobiography*. London: Routledge.

Olesen, V. L. (2000) 'Feminisms and Qualitative Research At and Into the Millennium', in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications.

Owen, D. (1994) *South Asian People in Great Britain*. Coventry: Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations: University of Warwick.

Owusu-Bempah, K. & Howitt, D. (2000) *Psychology beyond Western Perspectives*. Leicester: The British Psychological Society.

Pettigrew, J. (1972) 'Some Observations on the Social System of the Sikh Jats', *New Community*. Vol. 1, pp. 354-64.

Pilkington, A. (2003) *Racial Disadvantage and Ethnic Diversity in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Piper, N. & Roces, M. (eds), (2003) 'Introduction: Marriage and Migration in an Age of Globalisation', *Wife or Worker? Asian women and Migration*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Plummer, K. (2001) *Documents of life 2*. London: Sage

Portes, A. (1996) *The New Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Purvis, J. (1985) 'Reflections upon doing Historical Documentary Research from a Feminist Perspective', in Burgess, R. (ed), *Strategies of Educational Research*. London: Falmer.

Raj, D. (2003) *Where are you from? Middle-class Migrants in the Modern world*. California; London: University of California Press.

Ramji, H. (2003) 'Engendering Diasporic Identities', in Puwar, N. & Raghuram, P. (eds), *South Asian Women in the Diaspora*. Oxford: Berg.

Rapaport, R. & Fogarty, M. P. & Rapoport, R. (1982) (eds), *Families in Britain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Reed, K. (2003) *Worlds of Health: Exploring the Health Choices of British Asian Mothers*. London: Praeger.

Reinharz, S. (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rex, J. (1986) *Race and Ethnicity*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Robinson, L. (1995) *Psychology for Social Workers*. London: Routledge.

Robinson, V. (1986) *Transients, Settlers and Refugees: Asians in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Robinson, V. (1990) 'Boom and Gloom: the Success and Failure of South Asians in Britain', in Clarke, C. & Peach, C. & Vertovec, S. (eds), *South Asians Overseas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, V. & Richardson, D. (eds), (1997) *Introducing Women's Studies*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

- Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rowbotham S. (1979) 'The Trouble with Patriarchy', *The New Statesman*. Vol. 98, December 21/28, pp. 970 – 971.
- Rozario, S. (2005) *Building Solidarity against Patriarchy*. Rural Livelihoods Program. Dhaka: CARE.
- Ryan, G. & Bernard, H. R. (2000) 'Data Management and Analysis Methods' in Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds), *Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edition. London; New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Sandelowshi, M. (1995) 'Sample Size in Qualitative Research', *Research in Nursing and Health*. Vol. 18, pp. 179 – 183.
- Scott, J. (2001) *Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Seale, C. & Kelly, M. (1998) 'Coding and Analysing Data', in Seale, C. (ed) *Researching Society and culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Shain, F. (2003) *The Schooling of Asian Girls*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.
- Shanker, R. (1994) 'Women in Sikhism', in Sharma, A. (ed), *Religion and Women*. Albany: Sunny Press.
- Shaw, A. (2001) 'Kinship, Cultural Preference and Immigration: Consanguineous Marriage among British Pakistanis', *Royal Anthropological Institute*. Vol. 7, pp. 315-334.
- Shaw, A. (1994) 'The Pakistani Community in Oxford', in Ballard, R. (ed) *Des Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*. London: Hurst.
- Shaw, A. (1988) *A Pakistani Community in Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Shipman, M. (1997) *The Limitations Of Social Research*. 4th Edition. London: Longman.

Smart, C. (1995) *Legal regulation or male control? Law, Crime and Sexuality*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Smith, M. P. & Guarnizo (1998) *Transnationalism From Below*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Smith, M. (1986) 'Pluralism, Race and Ethnicity in selected African Countries' in Rex, J. and Mason, D. (eds), *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solomos, J. (2003) *Race and Racism in Britain*. 3rd Edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Solomos, J. & Back, L. (1996) *Racism and Society*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Stacey, M. & Price, M. (1981) *Women, Power, and Politics*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Stanley, L. (2003) 'On auto/biography in Sociology', *Sociology*. Vol. 27 (1), pp. 41-52.

Stanley, L. (1997) 'Methodology Matters', in Robinson, V. & Richardson, D. (eds), *Introducing Women's Studies*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Stanley, L. (1992) *The auto/biographical I: The theory and Practice of Feminist auto/biography*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Stanley, L. & Wise, S. (1983) *Breaking out Again: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research*. London: Routledge.

Stanley, L. & Wise, S. (1990) 'Method, Methodology and Epistemology in Feminist Research Processes', in Stanley, L. (ed), *Feminist Praxis*. London: Routledge.

Stone, K. (1983) 'Motherhood and Waged Work: West Indian, Asian and White Mothers Compared', in Phizacklea, A. (ed), *One Way Ticket*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Stopes-Roe, M. & Cochrane, R. (1990) *Citizens of this Country: The Asian-British*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Strauss, A. L. (1987) *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. California: Sage.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1994) 'Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview', in Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. London: Sage Publications.

Talbani, A. & Hasanali, P. (2000) 'Adolescent Females between Tradition and Modernity: Gender Role Socialisation in South Asian Immigrant Culture', *Journal of Adolescence*. Vol. 23, 615 – 627.

Taylor, J. (1976) *The Half Way Generation*. London: NFER-Nelson.

Tierney, W. G. (2000) 'Undaunted Courage: Life History and the Postmodern Challenge', in Denzin, N. K & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage.

Vanek, J. (1980) 'Time spent in Housework', in Amsden, A. H. (ed), *The Economics of women and work*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Vera-Sanso, P. (1999) 'Dominant Daughters-in-laws and Submissive Mothers-in-law? Cooperation and Conflict in South India', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Vol. 5, (4), pp. 577-594.

Walby, S. (1990) *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Walton-Roberts, M. (2004) 'Transnational Migration Theory in Population Geography: Gendered Practices in Networks Linking Canada and India', *Population, Space and Place*. Vol. 10, pp. 361-373.

Warren, T. & Britton, N. J. (2003) 'Ethnic Diversity in Economic Wellbeing: The Combined Significance of Income, Wealth and Assets Levels', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Vol. 29, (1), pp. 103-119.

Werbner, P. (1990) *The Migration Process: Capital, Gifts and Offerings among British Pakistanis*. Oxford; New York: Berg.

Werbner, P. (1988) 'Taking and Giving: Working Women and Female Bonds in a Pakistani Immigrant Neighbourhood', in Westwood, S. & Bhachu, P. (eds), *Enterprising Women: Ethnicity, Economy and Gender Relations*. London; New York: Routledge.

Wilson, A. (1978) *Finding a Voice: Asian women in Britain*. London: Virago.

Wilson, E. (1983) *What is to be done about Violence Against Women?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997) *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage.

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=349> Ethnicity and Religion
06/06/2003 National Statistics

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=272> Age Distribution 06/06/2003

National Statistics

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=273> Population Size 06/06/2003

National Statistics

Home Office (2004) 'Control of Immigration: Statistics United Kingdom 2003':

<http://www.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm63/6363/6363.pdf> 04/12/04

Census of India (2001), religious data from the 2001 census: Sikhs:

<http://www.censusindia.net/religiondata/Summary%20Sikhs.pdf> 08/08/2005