

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

“Only the wind hears
you...” The experiences
of Pakistani young
people in a primary
school: An
Interpretative
Phenomenological
Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to increase understanding about the experiences of a group of Pakistani young people in a primary school. The literature revealed that there are significant differences between different ethnic groups in terms of attainment levels, social background and levels of special educational need. My aim was to include, specifically, the voice of Pakistani young people and their experience of school. I am approaching this research from a feminist perspective with the aim of uncovering marginalized voices and hidden experiences. In view of previous research which has focussed on the experience of school: my research question is: How do Pakistani young people interpret their experiences of school?

I carried out semi-structured interviews with six primary school pupils from Pakistani backgrounds from year six, aged between 10 to 11 years old from the same school. The epistemology underpinning the research is critical realism, which emphasises the personal and social contexts within which people experience what is “real”. I analysed the narratives from these interviews using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA is an interpretative, idiographic approach to methodology which is used to generate super-ordinate and sub-ordinate themes. The analysis found seven super-ordinate themes: the emotional experience of learning, the cultural impact of the school curriculum, the importance of enduring friendships, the impact of the segregation between communities, the impact of gendered power struggles, the impact of bullying and the impact of cultural identity.

The possible implications for school staff focused on understanding the benefits of the curriculum, the cultural differences experienced in the school, ethos and anti-racist/sexist programmes. For Educational Psychologists, implications focused on awareness-raising and work with young people from different communities. Recommendations for future research are also discussed including the usefulness of IPA for drawing out rich and detailed narratives providing depth in the analysis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the experiences of Pakistani pupils at primary school from the perspective of a group of year six pupils. The experiences of Pakistani pupils at school lie within the broader topics of what is known about ethnic minorities and achievement, school engagement, culture and ethnicity. There are significant differences between different ethnic groups in terms of attainment levels, social background and levels of special educational need. However, public and political rhetoric tends to speak of ethnic minorities as a homogeneous group. I am from a Pakistani background and I am also interested in the experiences of Pakistani pupils as I regard primary school as important as it forms a large part of life and how it intersects with other areas such as peers, home environment and culture which will be important in shaping and developing children's sense of who they are. I have two sons who are also Pakistani. My sons are currently attending primary school and my oldest son is 11 and will soon be attending secondary school. I am curious as to how school is experienced at this age between primary and secondary school at the cusp of adolescence for a child from a Pakistani background. My interest in exploring the Pakistani experience is timely due to recent media attention about Asian men and the exploitation of young girls in areas of northern England. Further, there is a great deal of negative media attention surrounding Muslims in view of "Islamaphobia" (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2012) and terrorism which can have an effect on young Muslims.

Previous quantitative research has focused on ethnic minorities and underachievement and qualitative research has explored the discursive constructions of ethnic minorities and identity. However, the "lived experience" of ethnic minorities is a less explored field. The lived experience is the focus of phenomenology, exploring the feelings, thoughts, motivations and actions of a person who has undergone a particular experience. The current study uses the methodology of "Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis" (IPA) to explore the experiences of young Pakistani pupils at primary school and what influences their interpretations.

I am approaching this research from a transformative paradigm using a feminist perspective with the specific aim of uncovering marginalized voices and hidden experiences. The transformative paradigm's epistemological position is based on viewing the meaning of knowledge through a cultural lens and the power relationships which determine legitimate knowledge (Mertens, 2010). Therefore, the relationship between the participant and researcher is interactive characterised by cultural complexities. Feminists such as Haraway (1988) argue that knowledge is based upon the historical and cultural influences of the time. Haraway (1988) argued that research should be empowering for the participants. Such an aim is political and requires reflection regarding power relationships and in whose interests these relationships serve. Collins (2000) furthered these ideas to include the black feminist perspective which emphasised the connection of race, social class and gender within contextual issues of power. Collins (2000) argued that the lived experience of black women who came from the bottom of social and economic hierarchies were the ideal researchers to not only understand their own but the experience of others. Such criticality fits the aims of this research to include the voice of young people from an ethnic minority to explore their experiences of school and the researcher interpreting these experiences within a particular social, cultural and economic context.

The following structure for the thesis has been adopted:

- Critical Review of literature around ethnic minorities related to school achievement and identity;
- Research Aims and Research Questions are identified;
- The adopted Methodology and Epistemology are discussed, including my personal and professional position within the research, and the exploration of possible ethical issues;
- A description of the Research Process;
- Analysis of data using IPA;
- Discussion of themes arising from the analysis using existing literature and psychological theory;
- Implications for practice;
- Limitations of the research;
- Potential directions for future research and conclusions.

Chapter 2: A Critical Review of Research Literature

This section aims to describe, discuss and critique the main research about ethnic minorities and education.

2.1 Definition of Ethnic Minority

According to Pilkington (2003), the term “ethnicity” rather than “race” has become widely used by policy makers, researchers, politicians and sociologists. The term “ethnicity” avoids biological determinism and relies on the self-definition of its members. Pilkington (2003) describes ethnicity as a social construction because it is based on the belief of a shared history and cultural heritage. Members of the minority are then socialised in a particular tradition which highlights their difference from the mainstream culture.

According to Modood (Modood and Berthoud, 1997):

Ethnicity is a multi-faceted phenomenon based on physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion (p13).

Researchers have described ethnic minorities as “Asian” which also covers many groups; these could be Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi. However, such definitions are problematic and do not always depict the diversity of social and economic experiences of these nationalities in Britain today. However, for the purposes of this thesis, “Asian” and “ethnic minorities” will be used at points in the thesis where the published authors have not specified the ethnic group of the participants.

2.2 Background Literature

Modood and Berthoud (1997) explained how ethnic minorities originally arrived in Britain through the importing of cheap labour in the 1960s and 70s. However, these immigrants produced their own communities who wished to

maintain autonomy from the mainstream society through their own cultural practices, skin colour, country of origin and religion. Modood and Berthoud (1997) argue that such communities assert their identities by challenging existing power relations and demanding public acknowledgement, resources and representation. Modood and Berthoud's, (1997) writing is based upon major studies carried out by the Policy Studies Institute in relation to the ethnic minority experience in Britain. Much of Modood and Berthoud's (1997) work describes ethnic minorities in terms of diversity and disadvantage. These themes will be repeated throughout the historical and contemporary research regarding ethnic minorities.

2.3 Ethnic Stereotypes and Racism

For this section, it is necessary to provide a definition of racism which is a strong theme for the following studies. According to Miles (1989) racism assigns:

Meanings to certain...genetic characteristics of human beings in such a way as to create a system of characterisation, and by attributing additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics to the people sorted into those categories. This process of signification is therefore the basis for the creation of a hierarchy of groups...to include and exclude groups of people in the process of allocating resources (p16).

Mirza (1992) conducted an ethnographic study of 62 Afro Caribbean girls aged between 15 and 19 years from two comprehensive schools who answered questionnaires and were interviewed in their homes and classrooms over 18 months. Mirza (1992) found in her studies that teachers held negative stereotypes of black girls' educational achievement. For example, during interviews Mirza found that 75 percent of teachers reported at least one negative comment. One fifth year (Year 11) teacher stated: "Most of these girls will never succeed...they are unable to remember, the

girls just can't make it at this level ("O" level and CSE), never mind what is demanded in higher education" (p53). Mirza (1992) found that girls did not internalise these negative views and were aware and keen to challenge such attitudes. For example, one young girl said, "You feel the discrimination, they try to hide it but you can see through it. They try to say "We're all equal", but you can tell: they talk to you more simply" (p55). Mirza (1992) found that these girls would not show their true selves to teachers and would not ask for help in the classroom from the teachers who were discriminatory. Mirza (1992) argues that instead of a self-fulfilling prophecy the teachers' attitudes affect black girls through withholding resources and opportunities. Mirza (1992) argues that these young girls had no position in the hierarchy of power and could not counteract the negative repercussions of the interpretations of certain teachers. Mirza (1992) found that even though the girls had high self-esteem and valued their culture, they avoided picking subjects which would result in clashes with prejudiced teachers which would ultimately disadvantage the young girls. Mirza argued that underachievement needs to be understood in terms of power in the classroom.

Furthermore, Mirza (1992) demonstrates that theories of educational underachievement such as the "self-fulfilling prophecy" need to be challenged and power and roles have a large impact on the educational experience of ethnic minorities.

Gillborn (1997) points to historical ethnographic studies in schools which revealed stereotypes held by teachers of Afro-Caribbean pupils as threatening and Asian pupils as conforming. Such stereotypes were related to behaviour in school. Black pupils were seen as a threat to the order of the classroom even when there was none. Gillborn (1997) described that South Asian young people also experience school as a racist institution but the stereotypes and consequences of interactions with teachers differ greatly from Afro-Caribbean pupils. Gillborn (1997) found qualitative studies have revealed ethnic stereotypes which have closed down educational

opportunities for young Asian people. Teachers assume such communities are run by authoritarian, even violent males, who have no interest in the education of their children. These views lower the expectations of teachers particularly for young Asian women. Asian males in contrast to Afro-Caribbean's are perceived of as having better ability and behaviour with Asian females viewed as passive and therefore "invisible" or unimportant in relation to discourses around ethnic minorities. This invisibility contrasts with the hostile and threatening experience of minority pupils when there are only a few belonging to the Pakistani group at the school: "...the most common, widely used abuse is "You dirty Paki" (p385).

Gillborn (1997) found that in contrast quantitative studies found little evidence for racism. Smith and Tomlinson's (1989) survey of 18 comprehensives found little overt racism; yet Gillborn's (1990) ethnographic study found that in the same schools, racist attacks were a regular experience for Asian pupils. Different compositions of ethnic groupings were also a causal factor of racism in schools. Gillborn and Gipps (1996) found that if Asian pupils are the dominant group in a school then their behaviour is viewed as suspicious and community support is viewed as oppressive. But if African-Caribbean pupils are the majority then more positive stereotypes of Asian pupils prevail.

Mirza (1992) and Gillborn (1997) present a more complex picture of ethnic minority achievement and disadvantage with the help of ethnographic research compared to quantitative research by Smith and Tomlinson (1989). Through delving into the experiences of different groups, they have unveiled hidden discrimination and stereotypes such as Afro-Caribbean's conflicting with school rules and Asian girls being passive, which could prevent young people achieving in schools. The teachers' attitudes are also quite limiting and if these attitudes can go unchallenged, may result in lowered expectations for these groups producing a "self-fulfilling prophecy" of low achievement amongst ethnic minorities. However, Mirza's (1992) research

suggests that the self-fulfilling prophecy is too simplistic an explanation and requires further critical exploration.

2.4 Educational Achievement and Disadvantage

Bhattacharyya, Ison and Blair (2003) reported statistics on educational attainment. It was found Black Caribbean and Black African children make greater progress during pre-school than White children. However, these groups make less progress during compulsory education. Indian and Chinese pupils achieve expected levels in comparison to other ethnic groups throughout school. Black, Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils perform less well than White pupils throughout school. The report also found that many ethnic minority pupils come from lower socio-economic groups: over 30 percent of Pakistani and Black pupils receive free school meals and over 50 percent of Bangladeshi and Gypsy/Roma groups receive free school meals. Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) states that although low economic status can explain part of the differences in attainment; it is not the whole picture because there are still differences in attainment between ethnic groups who are eligible for free school meals. Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) found that more Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils are identified with having SEN compared to White, Chinese and Indian pupils. Black Caribbean pupils are three times more likely than White pupils to be permanently excluded from school. More Black Caribbean pupils will be found in Pupil Referral Units.

What are the perceptions around such statistics? One argument is that an ethnic minority individual who reads these statistics could feel angry that they have been lumped together and labelled as underachieving and of low economic status in comparison to high achieving and affluent pupils. The findings are also quite fatalistic, presented as unchangeable truths and almost as justification for low achievement amongst these groups. Pilkington (2003) argues that the reasons for such underachievement are highly contentious and political. Pilkington is sceptical of IQ being a factor and argues that social inequalities as well as stereotypes of minorities (particularly pupils from Caribbean backgrounds) held by teachers, as being

educationally inferior, places ethnic groups at significant disadvantage in the educational system.

The Department for Education (DfE) also explored the educational achievement rates of ethnic minority groups as illustrated in Figure I below:

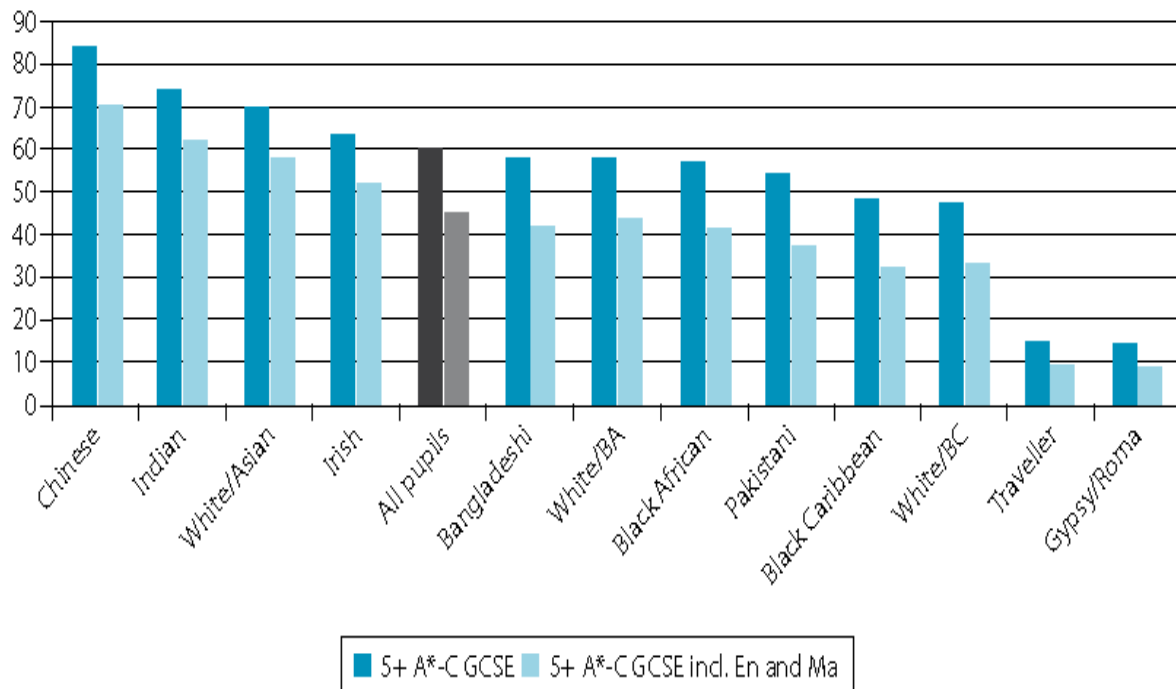


Figure I 2007 GCSE Results by Ethnicity (DfE, 2008)

The data revealed that there was variation in attainment levels of different ethnic groups with pupils from Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage underperforming when compared to other groups in England and Wales. The DfE (2008) recognised that the factors involved in the achievement gap between ethnic minorities are complex and include attitudes, beliefs and expectations of pupils, teachers and parents. Wider social challenges such as economic deprivation is closely linked to underachievement of ethnic groups, however, for many pupils engagement with the school is the issue. The DfE presents alternative explanations for variations in ethnic minority achievement including the degree of school engagement which will be explored further in this chapter.

2.5 Studies on Identity

The following studies have focused on issues of identity for ethnic minorities using the voices of young people to illustrate matters around constructions of role and position in school and society.

Archer (2001) uses a feminist approach to examine the identity of British Muslim boys. This was an area of interest for Archer because Muslim males have been largely ignored by theorists despite widespread perceptions of Muslim males as “fundamentalist” and “radical” particularly in the light of the 9/11 attacks. Archer (2001) is critical of global preoccupations of “Muslim men”, yet men from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds are invisible in academic literature of “black masculinity”. Archer (2001) conducted discussion groups with 24 British Muslims, aged 14-15 years from three schools in a medium sized town in the north-west of England. Four young men participated in each of the six discussion groups which were taped and transcribed by Archer. Of the young men, 16 came from Pakistani families, six from Bangladeshi families and two were identified from Pakistani-Kenyan backgrounds. Semi-structured interviews were used to cover topics including race, gender, identities, racism and school. Archer (white, British female) conducted half of the discussions and a British-Pakistani female (Tamar) conducted the other half. Archer looked for how racialized masculinities can be constructed through discursive production of identities and the meshing of gender and “race” of the researchers as well as the participants within this discourse. Archer (2001) found that the boys used black, Asian and Muslim masculine identities in differing ways including solidarity against racism, resistance to whiteness but also as a way of differentiating themselves between black groups and to assert masculine power. By changing the interviewer, Archer attempted to illustrate the impact this has over the discourse and whether researchers should be matched with participants. Archer found that the young men were more likely to share their more radical views with Tamar and were more guarded with Archer. Archer (2001) illustrated that the boys’ reticence was influenced by her “whiteness”, motives and potential racism. However, Tamar was middle class and female

whilst the boys were from mainly working class backgrounds which had an impact upon their discussions. The boys tried to assert their authority over Tamar as an Asian woman through criticism of her western identity. Archer (2001) suggests that differences and contradictions in discussions between different interviewers highlight how knowledge is produced within and through racialized and gendered interactions between participants and researchers. Archer (2001) concluded that discourses of Muslim men construct and assert “Muslim”, “black” and “Asian” masculinities when talking to white and Asian female interviewers but these roles are contextual rather than embedded.

Archer (2002) continued her exploration of British Muslims with a study on British Muslim girls’ and boys’ discursive constructions of post-16 educational choices. Archer (2002) wished to investigate claims that Muslim girls’ lack of participation in post-16 education was due to cultural constraints or low teacher expectations and racism. Archer (2002) conducted single sex discussion groups with 64 British Muslim males and females, aged 14-15. Archer (2002) found a mismatch between what the Muslim boys were saying influenced the post-16 choices of Muslim girls and their own motivations for their choices. The boys would reinforce stereotypical views of Asian girls being restricted culturally, by arguing that the parents would decide whether a girl would attend college. Whereas the girls reported that it was their choice to attend college and that their families encouraged post-16 education. Archer found that the boys tried to construct a domesticated view of female constraints to further education while there was no question or constraint over the boys’ choice of further education. Archer (2002) interpreted the boys’ constructions as a way of bonding the boys together as the dominating sex and the females in a traditional feminine role as passive and without agency. In contrast, the young women presented the hostility of stereotyped views of other students and teachers as a deterrent in post-16 education. Archer (2002) argued a more racially mixed culture in further and higher education was required to enable ethnic minorities to feel more at ease. Archer’s (2002) study reveals the different perceptions of gender roles

in society and raises questions as to why identities are constructed in a particular way.

Renold and Allan (2007) used ethnographic data in their research of high achieving girls including observations, interviews and diaries from a broad study of boys' and girls' perceptions of schoolwork and achievement in two contrasting primary schools. One of the schools was primarily white in an affluent area with the majority of pupils exceeding national targets. The other school had a mix of ethnicities with the majority coming from disadvantaged areas and were struggling to meet national targets. Renold and Allan (2007) then presented three narratives exploring the consequences and pressures to be "bright" as well as "beautiful" ("doing girl"). "Shamilla" of mixed heritage (Welsh and Pakistani but not religious), presented as someone who was bright but would reduce the impact of her achievements in favour of reinforcing an attractive, feminine persona to fit in with her friendship group. In contrast, "Nayla" a Pakistani, practising Muslim, reinforced her achievements and eschewed femininity and friendships. Finally, "Libby" of a white, middle class background, presented as both "clever", popular and "feminine". However, although Libby embodied the school's reputation for excellent academic results, she was undermined by her peers for being "bossy" and "arrogant". While Shamila maintained her status of popularity through downplaying her academic achievements, Nayla was perceived as the moody outcast due to her lack of social support and rejection of social norms. Renold and Allen (2007) reveal how individuals can be positioned in various ways according to academic achievement and physical attractiveness but find it difficult to achieve peer approval if perceived as both bright and beautiful. Academic achievement appears to be sacrificed in favour of popularity and peer support appears to be dropped if academic achievement is pursued.

Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2003) studied masculinity in 11-14 year old boys and conducted 45 group discussions and two individual interviews.

Phoenix et al. (2003) found that boys were more willing to reveal their feelings in individual rather than group interviews. The boys presented themselves as masculine in order to avoid being labelled as “gay” and targeted by bullies. Phoenix et al. (2003) found that different ethnicities were racialized in the British context. For example, some boys identified two Turkish boys who worked hard and spent time together as “gay”:

Ahmed and Ali, they are sort of, like everybody think they are gay yeah and they cuss them too...because they...talk in Turkish and you like and you think they are cussing you but probably they are not yeah and still get cussed (p190).

Asian boys were not seen as powerful or sexually attractive enough and so were subjected to homophobic names. However, Afro-Caribbean boys were seen as highly masculine and desirable. As a consequence, Afro-Caribbean boys could be racialized and perceived as threatening the social order of the school which links to evidence that shows Afro-Caribbean boys are more likely to be excluded from school (Bhattacharyya et al, 2003). It is interesting to find that boys perceive masculinity as a desirable trait but hyper-masculinity has a negative effect on school experience.

2.6 Contemporary Concerns - Islamophobia

Housee (2012) describes Islamophobia as a particular new form of racism. According to Housee (2012) Islamophobia is the extreme dislike of Muslims and their religion. Islamophobia is based on religious and cultural difference which views unemployment, discrimination, and marginalization through a “cultural lens” rather than through biological differences. Through this lens, Islam is viewed as primitive, aggressive, and oppressive in contrast to viewing the West as sophisticated and civilized (Housee, 2012). Housee (2012) argues that the media has been the primary tool from which the construction of Islamophobia has been played out. The events of 9/11 (the attack on the twin towers in America) and 7/7 (the bombings in London),

followed by the “war on terror” in Iraq and Afghanistan have served to bring the Muslim identity to public consciousness, particularly for those living in the West. For example, women who wear the hijab (Muslim head dress) or men with beards have been targets for hostility. Negative perceptions of Muslims was supported when the perpetrators of the 7/7 bombings in London in 2005 were discovered to be British born and raised Muslims. Housee (2012) argues that the 7/7 bombings created an anxiety surrounding British Muslim youth as potential terrorists in contrast to passive Muslim female roles.

Housee (2012) maintains that anti-racist discourses need to be political and transformatory and education is the platform from which to start this process. Housee (2012) argues that the experience of racism is the tool to challenge racist discourses. Housee (2012) researched sociology degree students’ reflections on her race and racism module over eight weeks. The content included media representations of religion and gender roles; a YouTube clip of Islamophobic racism on the street and an image which depicted stereotyped images of gender, including a masked “terrorist” and a hijabed woman taken from the front page of The Times (7th July 2006). The unstructured seminars involved the students working in groups of four to five to study the material. After this discussion each group wrote their comments on sheets and gave feedback to the class generating further debate. Students were then asked to volunteer the comment sheets which Housee examined. According to Housee (2012), this is a way of recording student voice and reflecting on seminars. Housee (2012) categorised the notes under themes which emerged from the discussion. Housee (2012) found themes of “identity” (which included gender issues related to “Britishness” and “belonging”) and “media racism”. Housee (2012) found that her students made the link between the media images of Muslim stereotypes to the current political situation of scaremongering and distrust of Muslims. Housee (2012) argued that the aim of the research was to facilitate the construction of an anti-racist discourse leading to change and social justice. Housee’s own identity as a black Asian woman with a progressive political stance was fundamental to the motivation of such research and teaching.

Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) conducted an ethnographic study in an American High School. Ghaffar-Kucher's (2012) study involved participant observation once a week in the spring of 2006. Between November 2006 and June 2007, Ghaffar-Kucher visited the school three times a week. Field notes were taken and individual interviews were carried out with 17 young people and 12 members of staff. Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) also facilitated six focus groups with Pakistani and non-Pakistani students. In total, 62 young people of Pakistani origin and 17 non-Pakistani young people were engaged. Home visits of the participants were also included and interviews and conversations were conducted in a mixture of English, Urdu and Punjabi. Similar to Housee (2012), Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) reflected on her own identity as a Pakistani but essentially originating from an affluent family from the city of Lahore in Pakistan as opposed to the rural localities and lower middle class statuses of the participants which shaped her as both an outsider and insider through aspects of a shared identity and aspects of acknowledged difference.

Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) found that post 9/11, the Muslim participants were viewed as outsiders by peers, educators and the media and therefore an American identity was not possible. This exclusion led to these participants to have a heightened sense of a Muslim identity which was forced on them yet also embraced by the participants through the need for an identity and sense of belonging. Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) found that even though the Muslim participants tried to challenge negative stereotypes of Muslims, they also played on terrorist stereotypes using humour to defy teachers and their non-Muslim peers. Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) uses the term "religification" to describe this process of religious affiliation which supersedes race and ethnicity.

Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) found that the teachers in her study viewed current students' behaviour as more difficult than previous students correlating this complexity to the students' time in America and religion. Thus, male

students were viewed as *inflexible*, or *narrow-minded* (p45). Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) found that teachers viewed Pakistani boys as problematic and Pakistani girls as oppressed victims of Islam who would not be allowed to go to college and would be married off. Such stereotypes limited the amount of careers guidance that these girls would receive. These domesticated and traditional stereotypes were in contrast to the actual experience of Muslims girls who had no such restrictions in this study.

Ghaffar-Kucher's (2012) study echoes the findings of Mirza (1992), Gillborn (1997) and Archer (2001) that ethnic or religious stereotypes create discrimination in school but the young people are not passive agents and use their religious identity to resist dominant discourses of Islamophobia to increase a sense of belonging. Ghaffar-Kucher's (2012) study found that the teachers were not aware of their own role in this process. The limitation of Ghaffar-Kucher's (2012) study is that it centres upon issues of identity rather than the experience of school as a whole. Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) emphasise the negative views of teachers and students but provide less scope for aspects of school which are or could be shared and valued.

2.7 Cultural Capital

Ghaffar-Kucher's (2012) study highlights the struggle between the culture of the school and the culture of the young people. It would be useful to discuss the role of culture in more depth in order to explore why it has a bearing over school experience. Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital is useful here to define why the interaction between the values of the pupils and the values of the school is important for engagement and achievement. Cultural capital is the "cultural habits and ...dispositions" taken from the family which are necessary for success in school (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979, p14). Bourdieu (1986) argued that it was the dominant groups in society who determined the value of cultural capital and so less advantaged groups

acquired less cultural capital than more advantaged groups. Bourdieu (1986) explored three forms of cultural capital – “embodied” which was dispositions related to the body and mind; “objectified” capital, or cultural items and “institutionalized” capital, an example of which would be the educational qualifications held by individuals. Gillies, Wilson, Soden, Grey and McQueen (2010) explored Bourdieu’s (1979) concept of cultural capital in their study of a deprived secondary school and its attempts to “bridge” the gap between the culture of the community and the values of the school through translating school expectations in a locally understood language. Gillies et al. (2010) situated their research in an area of deprivation where the cultural capital (objectified and institutionalized capital) would be low in terms of transmitted capital within families and in terms of the number of qualifications held by individuals. Gillies et al. (2010) wanted to explore how the school engages with young people who may lack the dominant cultural capital (all three forms of Bourdieu’s (1986) definition) where such capital underpins school success measured by academic qualifications (institutionalized capital). The research involved semi-structured interviews with 49 students, classroom observations, video diaries as well as analysing school documents. The data was accumulated from both students and staff. Gillies et al. (2010) found one way that the management of the school sought to engage parents and students was to have strong links with community groups and an emphasis upon pastoral care where both parents and students were encouraged to interact and share their views with staff. Gillies et al. (2010) found that the “bridging” effects of school respected the values of the families in the community as well as instilling the values and opportunities of school. Gillies et al. (2010) found that the school tried to build up relevant cultural capital in their students in order to succeed academically and gain qualifications which was a demand placed on the school by the system. The school tried to build up embodied cultural capital through increasing confidence in the students’ abilities, having out of hour’s staff and academic mentors available, providing access to people and experiences to foster academic potential as well as developing a sense of belonging and increasing participation.

However, although the school in Gillies et al. (2010) study tried to promote cohesion between the community and the school, it was trying to engage the families in a system which was quite distinct from their community culture. By implication, the values of the community was not really valued but used as a means to engage with a different cultural endeavour, namely the pursuit of academic achievement. Gillies et al's (2010) study highlights the challenges that schools face in economically deprived areas where cultural capital has a role in engaging young people in the school system but may also boil down to the lack of economic capital or objectified cultural capital.

2.8 Psychological Theory

I will now explore the psychological theory that may underpin young peoples' views of school and therefore provide a helpful framework in which to understand their experiences.

2.8(a) Erikson's Psychosocial Stages of Development

It would be useful to consider the developmental stage of adolescence which may reflect the age where pupils are situated and may influence their perceptions and feelings around school. Erikson's (1968) psychosocial stages consist of eight stages in sequence resulting from the interaction between the individual and the social environment. Each stage is characterised by a developmental crisis, involving the struggle between two conflicting personality traits. For Erikson (1968) adolescence or "identity versus role confusion" marked the greatest challenge to maintain a balance between the constant and changing aspects of the self. Erikson explains how the body rapidly changes during adolescence and so previous trust in the body during childhood is lost and takes a long time to achieve comfort with the new body. Erikson (1968) explains how this period creates confusion because young people are expected to behave in a responsible manner but are still dependent upon their parents. According to Marcia

(1968) who based his research on Erikson's psychosocial stages, the adolescent re-experiences the conflicts of childhood particularly with authority figures such as parents or teachers where they disobey commands seemingly without reason. Peers and the social environment have a greater bearing on how the adolescent's identity is formed. According to Elkind (1970) adolescents may try to seek continuity between what they have learned as children and what they experience as adolescents. In order to find direction, the adolescent may take up causes which are religious or political. According to Erikson, identity confusion includes fear of time and change, negative identity and difficulty with committing resources to work or study. Erikson believes the individual develops on three levels simultaneously: the biological; the social; and the psychological (individual). The young person needs to integrate the past and the present with the future in order to achieve a sense of psychosocial identity with a sense of who they are and where they are heading.

2.8(b) Ecosystemic Theory

Erikson's stages of development lead onto ecosystemic theory which could provide a psychological framework from which to organise the young person's perception of school. Bronfenbrenner (1979) is associated with the ecosystemic approach and argues that there is an on-going interaction between the individual and their context. From an ecosystemic approach, any issues that arise originate from within (from the child's personality) and externally (from the school or home environment). The context is made up of the micro (the home environment), meso (child's school and peer group), exosystem (refers to the settings where the individual is not active but has an impact on their lives, such as their parents' place of work) and macro (wider society) systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Bronfenbrenner developed his work further in the mid-1990s to reflect what role a person plays in their own development rather than just emphasising context alone (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield and Karnik, 2009), leading to the

development of the bioecological approach. Bronfenbrenner referred to processes which are at the heart of his Process-Person-Context-Time model (Tudge et al., 2009). Four elements interact in this model:

- *Process*: individuals make sense of their world through engaging in activities and interacting with their environment over time (Tudge et al., 2009).
- *Person*: Bronfenbrenner highlighted the importance of the biological and genetic aspects of the person (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994). Tudge et al. (2009) explained how Bronfenbrenner described three personal characteristics that a person brings to a social situation. Firstly, *demand characteristics* refer to a person's age and gender. Secondly, *resource characteristics* refer to features of a person emanating from their demand characteristics, for example, their past experiences and skills. Finally, *force characteristics* refer to temperament, motivation and persistence.
- *Context*: refers to the interrelated systems outlined earlier, the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986).
- *Time*: Tudge et al. (2009) explained how Bronfenbrenner divided time into three factors. Firstly, *micro-time* refers to the time taken for an activity. Secondly, *meso-time* refers to how consistent activities and interactions occur in shaping a person's environment. Finally, *macro-time* refers to how developmental processes vary according to historical events.

To summarise; Bronfenbrenner's later bioecological model considers the way in which personal characteristics, processes, context and time interact in order to affect developmental outcomes for an individual (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994). Bronfenbrenner's consideration of an individual's developmental stage is particularly resonant with Erikson's psychosocial developmental stages. Therefore, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model provides a multi-stranded approach to understanding the individual's experience of school and how various systems (micro, meso, exo and

macro) and the individual's developmental stage influences the young person.

The relevance of Erikson's (1968) theory of adolescence and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecosystemic theory will be further explored in the Discussion Chapter.

2.9 Research Aims

Previous researchers (Archer, 2001 and 2002, Ghaffar-Kucher, 2012) tended to concentrate on secondary aged pupils and issues of identity rather than the specific experience of school. For my own research I would like to explore primary aged pupils' views of school, specifically in year six. I believe year six would be an interesting cohort to study because they are still experiencing primary school but can also reflect back on their time at school. I feel that along with looking at the rates of achievement for Pakistani pupils it is also important for these young people to give voice to how they view school in line with the Every Child Matters (DfES, 2004) agenda and the European Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1989) which stipulate that young people should be included in decisions which affect their experience.

It is important to reflect at this point on my frustration regarding the theories used to frame my research. The theories of cultural capital by Bourdieu (1986), Erikson's stages of development (1968) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecosystemic paradigm are not concerned with race, ethnic minorities and the potential racism in education. Therefore, there is a discord between my aims of uncovering the hidden and marginalized voices of Pakistani young people and marrying them with the views of deceased, white men. The theories put forward during my training as an educational psychologist at the university has been primarily from a white perspective with little acknowledgement of ethnic minority concerns. So it is with a critical and a potentially cynical eye

that the theories of Bourdieu (1986), Erikson (1968) and Bronfenbrennar (1979) will be applied in the thesis.

2.10 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In view of previous research and considering my interest in including the voice of Pakistani young people and their experience of school; my research questions are:

- How do Pakistani young people interpret their experiences of school?
- In what ways are these experiences different and similar to each other?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction to Methodology

The aims of this chapter are to provide an overview of my chosen methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The suitability of IPA as a research method both philosophically and practically will be considered in relation to answering the research question of, “*How do Pakistani young people interpret their experiences of primary school?*”

The chapter is organised into the following sections: Section A explores the research design stemming from my epistemological position. Section B describes the philosophical basis of IPA and Section C discusses validity and quality. The research process will be described in Section D with ethical issues considered in Section E. Finally, Section F provides an account of how the data was collected and analysed.

3.2 Section A Research Design

Epistemological Position: Critical Realism

Epistemology refers to what researchers say about human nature which will determine the kind of knowledge that will be generated through data collection and analysis. Ontology refers to how truth is established regarding our existence (Willig, 2001). In this section I will discuss my epistemological and ontological position within a critical realist framework using a feminist lens.

An epistemological position arises from one’s own values and history rather than adopted using a textbook. Feminists such as Haraway (1988) argue that the researcher’s identity will be central to the research and how the process and findings are shaped. This calls for greater reflexivity regarding

our own position and motivations for carrying out research. I will justify my epistemological position personally and professionally. I have a background in sociology and an interest in issues of social justice with a particular affinity towards Marxist notions of power and the means of production. Specifically, those who hold power in society do so within a particular historical and cultural context. However, I also cast a critical eye over how marginalized groups are portrayed in society and in research which can perpetuate this subjugation.

My aim of uncovering oppressed voices provides a feminist perspective on the critical realist tradition. The feminist commitment to giving voice to the marginalized has echoes of the realist perspective as described by Bhaskar (1989) who argues that research should be emancipatory. Therefore, by giving voice and action to the participants through the interviews in this research the two perspectives will be merged.

Professionally, as a trainee educational psychologist (TEP), the child's voice is central to understanding their experiences of school and home life and the particular difficulties that may be surfacing rather than focusing on individual pathology (Billington, 2006). Billington (2006) argues that through the interaction of educators, parents and professionals from a variety of services, the voice of the child can often be overlooked. Billington (2006) argues that as professionals we should continually reflect on how we work with and represent young people. Government documents have supported such values, for example, the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (2001, soon to be revised for 2014) and the Children Act (2004) underpinned by the European Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). Both documents emphasise the rights of young people to be included in decisions regarding their welfare. It becomes paramount for me to ensure that the child's voice does not get marginalized and the narratives around the child remain within their best interests. My position of social justice is a central concern within my profession. A social justice position involves a reflective, critical and challenging stance regarding how young people are spoken to and of and where the evidence for such discourses arises (Billington, 2006).

Critical realism is situated firmly within a transformatory perspective (Bhaskar, 1989). Change occurs when we understand the social structures (the family, the state, and the economy) and in our action reproduce or transform these structures which Bhaskar (1989) argues is the focus of critical realism.

My reasons for choosing to explore the primary school experiences of Pakistani young people are twofold. As a primary aged Pakistani girl I viewed primary school as a haven and an escape from the reality of a financially and emotionally restrictive culture at home and in the community. I felt very isolated amongst my Pakistani peers because I did not have a large extended family that congregated towards each other in school as was common practice in my community; neither did I originate from Mirpur which was the village from which many Pakistanis emigrated. There was no affiliation with my non-Pakistani peers because I simply did not belong in their group either due to having a different colour and/or culture. There was also a lot of conflict between communities in my school which consisted of white, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils.

Secondly, as an adult I feel that it must be difficult to reconcile the culture of your own community and that of the school. As a Pakistani Muslim, I led a dual life of attending school and mosque with each having their own culture and rules and intergroup conflicts. I was curious to explore my own interpretations and how the present Pakistani young people interpreted their primary school experiences. There is now a greater variety of communities and a particular social context of Islamophobia, male grooming gangs and discussions over the veil and I wanted to find out how these factors would influence our interpretations.

My commitment to the voice of the child, empowerment and motivation of exploring primary school experiences provides a clearer picture as to how my epistemological position was chosen and the subsequent related method.

The positivist tradition of employing quantitative scientific procedures in order to hypothesise and measure outcomes directly opposes my vision of revealing the lived experiences of young people. The positivist epistemology has a long history and is based on scientific principles involving objectively measuring variables and testing hypotheses. However, according to Willig (2001) major criticisms of the scientific method have been put forward by feminists who argue that women were largely ignored during the 1960s and 1970s in social scientific work. Harding (1991) argued that “male science” perpetuated gender inequalities within society and repressed the female position within social research. However, despite criticism of the positivist epistemology, Willig (2001) explains that although there is a general feminist critique of the positivist tradition, “there is not one feminist epistemology or even methodology” (p7). Alternative methodologies are strongly based around the qualitative tradition which emphasises how people make sense of the world and their experiences taking into account the historical and cultural context for those experiences (Willig, 2001). Here, the reflexivity of the researcher is an essential feature of the research. However, just as there is no agreed methodology for feminists, there is dissent within the field of feminism. Collins (2000) asserts notions of black feminism which challenges the repression of black people by white males but also of established feminists who ignore the black experience. Collins (2000) argues,

Black women have long produced knowledge claims that contested those advanced by elite White men. But because Black women have been denied positions of authority, they often relied on alternative knowledge validation processes to generate competing knowledge claims (p254).

An alternative validity standard includes lived experience as a criterion for knowledge claims (Collins, 2000). The feminist position is then identified through their commitment to feminist principles, which includes,

a theoretical and political analysis that critiques dominant conceptions of knowledge, and poses questions about the gendered orientation of, and criteria for, knowledge” (Burman, 1994, p124).

This critical commitment describes the connection between ontology and epistemology, of *being* and *knowing* which epitomises feminist research.

The focus on experience and meaning making has a natural (but not exclusive affiliation) with qualitative methodology and methods (Burman, 1994 and Willig, 2001).

Madill, Jordan, & Shirley (2000) describe qualitative research as ranging on a continuum of epistemological positions, from naïve realism to radical relativism. Naïve realism seeks to gather “true” research data, through for example, understanding participants’ experience, while radical relativism would reject notions of “true” data preferring to study the techniques through which knowledge is constructed such as discourses (Hepburn, 2003). Feminists’ critics have pointed to the inability of relativism to ground feminist politics, for example:

For feminists attempting to bring about social change, the relativism and reflexivity of constructionism, discursive and postmodern approaches poses some serious problems. If there is nothing outside the text, then there is not means to assert the existence of even the starkest material realities: war, genocide, slavery, poverty, physical and sexual abuse (Wilkinson, 1997, p184).

Instead, feminists have called for alternative perspectives such as critical realism (Kitzinger, Wilkinson, & Perkins, 1992). My position is also closely aligned with critical realism, particularly with reference to Bhaskar (1989).

Critical realism was originally developed as a critique of positivism (Harre, 2009) with Bhaskar (1989) providing much of the language and philosophical foundation. A major theme in critical realism is “that reality exists independently of our knowledge of it” (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen and Karlsson, 2002, p25).

Critical realism identified by Bhaskar (1989) purports that in order to understand and change the social world we need to understand the underlying structures that conceive these events or discourses. These structures rely on social relations. This way the social world is seen as dynamic and changing. Bhaskar (1989) argues, “Moreover for critical realism the social world, being itself a social product, is seen as essentially

subject to the possibility of transformation” (p4). Bhaskar (1989) emphasises the possibility of transformation with the realist directing attention to emancipating the exploited and oppressed. Bhaskar’s view is also consistent with my earlier views of a transformatory paradigm directed by Mertens (2010).

3.3 Section B Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

In order to consider IPA it is necessary to understand the philosophical background which it underpins and the value attached to using this method for my research aims.

3.3 (a) Why Phenomenology?

Orb (2000) argues phenomenological research is a way of gaining insight into the experiences of individuals as well as marginalized groups. Such research moves away from traditional social scientific studies that have been criticised for presenting “caricatures” of certain ethnic groups. Orb (2000) argues that in order to deepen our understanding of different ethnic groups it is important to use methodologies which allow diverse ethnicities to speak for themselves through the research. Such qualitative methods add complexity, reflexivity and depth to the understanding of the participants’ world while traditional social scientific approaches provide a limited lens to human experience. Phenomenology has a strong historical and philosophical base with writers such as Heidegger and Husserl; while hermeneutic phenomenology is the study of the “lifeworld” as immediately experienced rather than theorized (Husserl, 1970). In phenomenology the researcher is fully immersed in the participants’ world and how he/she is positioned within the discourse they are trying to understand and can therefore, reflect upon and challenge any preconceived prejudices and assumptions that may exist (Nelson, 1989). Phenomenology aims to acquire a deeper understanding of the meaning of experience however trivial it may seem and therefore creates a greater understanding of the details of everyday life (Van Manen, 1990). This way we can find out how cultural practices operate in the larger context

(Fiske, 1991). Phenomenology presents a valid approach to ethnic minority research because everyday conversation reflects larger societal and political relationships firmly embedded within a specific time and place (Houston, 1997).

Husserl is the major historical figure of phenomenology, in his "Ideas" (1931) he famously argued to go back to the "Thing" itself, the phenomenon under scrutiny. Husserl (1927) argued that this experience should be examined through "bracketing". This involved placing our predictable worlds to one side in order to concentrate on the experience at hand.

Heidegger developed these ideas further emphasising hermeneutics and existentialism in phenomenology. In his *Being and Time* (1962/1927), Heidegger is concerned with *Dasien* (literally, "there-being") which relates to the human qualities such as consciousness, perception and awareness. However, Heidegger (1962/1927) moves significantly away from Husserl's (1927) vision of "bracketing". Instead, Heidegger (1962/1927) believes that we are not detached from the individual's experience or context. Heidegger (1962/1927) sought to underpin phenomenology with hermeneutics, which is the theory of interpretation. Heidegger (1962/1927) emphasised the duality of experience, concerned with examining the hidden and the surface. The phenomenologist interprets the relationship between these two facets of experience.

Merleau-Ponty (1962) shared concerns with Husserl and Heidegger of our "being-in-the-world" but wished to emphasise the impossibility of sharing another's experience. Therefore, we can observe and empathise with another person but we can never share this experience because their experience is personal to their embodied position in a particular context. Merleau-Ponty's (1962) view was thus; we can only interpret rather than know the participant's experience.

The role of interpretation is made even clearer in IPA which is essentially interpretative (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009). According to Langdrige

(2007) hermeneutic phenomenology was a specific move away from Husserl's (1927) descriptive phenomenology with IPA providing an example of a purposely interpretative method.

3.3 (b) IPA

According to Smith et al. (2009), IPA is concerned with the examination of lived experience, in its own terms. This way IPA is phenomenological connecting the historical traditions espoused by Husserl and Heidegger, specifically the examination of experience as an interpretative endeavour. IPA has an idiographic commitment, situating participants within their particular contexts and their personal views involving detailed examination of each case before moving onto the next. The following section explains how IPA relates to its philosophical foundations of phenomenology.

3.3 (c) The Hermeneutic Circle

Of particular interest to me is "the hermeneutic circle". Of all the historical philosophy surrounding phenomenology, it is the hermeneutic circle which provides the most accessible explanation of what IPA is and the link between phenomenology and IPA. The hermeneutic circle refers to the dynamic relationship between the part and the whole (Smith et al., 2009). In order to understand the whole, we must refer to the parts and back to the whole. This circularity relates to the method in IPA, instead of a linear set of steps for the researcher to follow; in IPA the researcher "moves back and forth through this process" (p28) which is an iterative analysis of the data. Such movement produces different ways of looking at the data, encouraging reflection and reflexivity.

IPA involves engaging with the participant which revolves around a "double hermeneutic" (Smith and Osborn, 2003). The double hermeneutic refers to the researcher making sense of the participant while the participant makes sense of their experience. According to Smith et al. (2009),

the researcher is like the participant, is a human being drawing on every day human resources in order to make sense of the world. On the other hand, the researcher is not the participant, she/he only has access to the participant's experience through what the participant reports about it, and is also seeing this through the researcher's own, experientially-informed lens (p36).

This double hermeneutic relates to "bracketing" the placing aside of our own values and prejudices as envisaged by Husserl (1927). However, it is a matter of debate whether bracketing is possible. The qualitative tradition and feminist critics such as Haraway (1988) and Collins (2000) argue that the researcher is firmly situated within the research and indeed will affect the interpretation of the participant's experience. I would prefer to take a reflexive approach and be continuously aware of my position as the researcher and the impact of my own values upon the analysis. Although the researcher interprets the participant's experience, it is still the participant's experience; the researcher is not working in isolation but within the confines of the data.

Regarding the current study, I would argue that the aims of IPA, the importance placed on everyday experience and the strong philosophical background provides an attractive option. However, I admit that the philosophical writings of Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty are intimidating and could be a reason to seek alternative methodologies. However, I am satisfied by Smith et al.'s (2009) claims that fundamentally, phenomenology is concerned with everyday experience. Smith (2011) further explains that IPA has proven to be one of the most accessible and widely used methods in psychology. IPA provides a clear structure for how research should be carried out and analysed which instils a sense of confidence. I am particularly drawn towards the cyclical element of the analysis of data because it represents a continuous pattern of reflection and engagement with the participant. IPA places the participant in the centre of the research which fulfils my criteria of situating marginalized voices to the forefront and sowing the seeds of change and emancipation.

Willig (2001) explains how methods should be consistent with epistemology and the ontology of the researcher. Critical realism accepts that there is a need to interpret “real” experience through the researcher and by wider theory (May, 2001). According to Danermark et al. (2002) critical realists are interested in how meaning is made and the possibility of new concepts of change. Critical realism would then reflect a phenomenological approach to seeking to understand the lived experiences and meaning making of young people.

3.3 (d) Limitations of IPA

Langdrige (2007) has provided more of a critical commentary regarding IPA and phenomenological psychology which contrasts with Smith et al’s (2009) largely positive and unquestioning belief in IPA. Langdrige (2007) argues that phenomenology is apolitical and does not pay heed to the sociocultural context in which the phenomenon is situated. If Langdrige (2007) is correct then my own vision of encapsulating my participants within a particular social and historical context is not supported by IPA. However, Langdrige (2007) does concede that interpretative phenomenological psychologies have a less individualistic approach to research when compared to descriptive phenomenology. My own reflections during the analysis of the data will be pertinent to engaging with the wider social context where the participant is situated rather than depending on phenomenology to produce a transformatory account.

During the interviews, I attempted to engage with my participants on more of a social level in the vein of Frosh et al. (2002) who used questions specifically asking the young boys’ choice of friends and types of films enjoyed. However, IPA severely limits the researcher to the phenomenon under scrutiny (in this case, “school”) almost without mention to the wider systems at play. However, despite my disappointment, limiting my choices in the research produced a more manageable endeavour which fitted better within the word and time limits of the thesis.

On a more general level, IPA has been criticised on four grounds which will be discussed here. According to Willig (2001) and Langdridge (2007) the first criticism is IPA relies on the participant's ability to communicate their experience through language. Data is collected usually through semi-structured interviews which assume a level of articulation. This is an important criticism regarding my own study because my participants will be of primary school age and the success of the interviews will be determined by the linguistic abilities of these young people. This will exclude those young people who cannot verbally communicate and could be argued elitist because good spoken language can be associated with a particular social background. Secondly, IPA analysis rests on the researcher's ability to interpret and theorise. It would be easy for the novice researcher to be too theory driven or preoccupied with surface accounts rather than developing a thicker and detailed analysis.

Thirdly IPA is concerned with perceptions rather than the causes of phenomena (Willig, 2001). The type of questions suggested by Smith et al. (2009) does not include explanatory but more descriptive techniques. Description is favoured rather than explanation which will inevitably limit the researcher's engagement with the data. Langdridge (2007) also points to the limits of descriptive phenomenology so there has been more of a demand to be interpretative. Langdridge (2007) goes on to argue that in order to understand the experience of another's life-world, we need to explore their narratives with the aid of hermeneutic interpretation. I will address this issue during my analysis, particularly scrutinizing the conceptual elements in the individual narratives.

Lastly, the fourth criticism applied to IPA involves the notion that it has moved away from phenomenology towards social cognition. Phenomenology originated from the view that knowledge should be known in an immediate sense which could include aspects that were nonverbal such as moods, or ideas on the verge of consciousness (O'Connor and Hallam, 2000). IPA relates to the verbal, articulated views and reports of experience which subscribes to a cognitive paradigm (Willig, 2001).

I am aware of the limitations of IPA and aim to address these in my research. I intend to use my pilot study to investigate the appropriateness of the interview method for the year six population. Although I am a relatively inexperienced researcher, I am naturally curious, particularly regarding issues of power and relationships between people stemming from my interest in sociology, Marxism and subsequent interest in critical realism. I hope to instil these values in my analysis of the data.

3.4 Alternative Methods

Although I chose IPA as my method for this research, I did consider alternative methods detailed below.

Q Sort

“Q” Sort was briefly considered for my research because it could include many voices for my research, providing a strength in numbers approach for the concerns of Pakistani young people. However, although “Q” is asserted as a method which combines quantitative and qualitative elements through ranking statements and observation of participants; I believed that Q-sort was more quantitative than qualitative with its specific analysis of numbers which can easily be manipulated and does not provide the essence of experience that IPA seeks. With “Q” I also would not be able to make conceptual links between what participants said and wider social structures and relationships of power.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) came close to my values of the power of language and issues of control and subjugation. Many feminists have looked towards DA as a method to be critical of sexist practices in everyday language, for example, Wetherell, Stiven and Potter (1987) studied how university students talked about women’s career opportunities and the limits of equality between

the sexes, thus such attitudes maintaining the status quo. However, I felt uncomfortable about reducing my participants to the spoken word and did not feel that their experiences would be explored. I felt that IPA also has a language dimension in its analysis and therefore was a comfortable compromise. Also DA usually allows for a small number of participants and I wanted to provide depth as well as some breadth in my research. I also feared that using DA may reduce my participants to caricatures as mentioned earlier by Orb (2000). I wanted a rich analysis but also the ability to look across a number of participants which IPA allowed. I also diverge sharply from DA's commitment to social constructionism where reality is created through discourse (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). I believe language is important but I would like to focus on the overall experience itself rather than concentrate too much on linguistics.

3.5 Section C Validity and Quality

Reliability criteria

I am using a qualitative method for my research which according to Willig (2001) does not seek reliability from its findings. Rather, rigour is employed in order to produce credible research. Therefore, writers have identified other ways of checking for quality rather than traditional methods of examining reliability in quantitative research. Tracy (2010) provides eight "Big-Tent" markers for quality. These include:

- 1) "*Worthy topic*" (the topic chosen for the research is significant and timely;
- 2) "*Rich rigour*" (the study has an appropriate and sufficiently complex method for data collection and analysis)
- 3) "*Sincerity*" (reflexivity about values and transparency regarding methods)
- 4) "*Credibility*" ("thick description" and detail)

- 5) “*Resonance*” (the study affects various audiences through its transferability and reminiscent representation)
- 6) “*Ethical*” (the researcher considers the contextual and cultural ethics as well as procedural ethics)
- 7) “*Meaningful coherence*” (the research achieves its aims, the method fits the goals and links the literature, research questions, analysis and interpretation)

I will aim to evaluate my research according to Tracy’s (2010) criteria in the following ways: I believe my research is a worthy topic and will make a significant contribution (Tracy’s first and sixth criterion) because it is timely through the rise of Islamophobia (Goodwin, 2013), constant discussions in the media regarding Asian grooming gangs (Bunyan, 2012) and questions over face veils (Donnelly and Williams, 2013). Going back to Pakistani young people themselves can shed light on their views and experiences at school and possibly where they see themselves fitting within society. *Rich rigour, resonance and meaningful coherence* (Tracy’s second, fifth and eighth criterions) will be demonstrated by the detail of my procedures and analysis in the following chapter as well as the strong thread throughout binding the literature with the research question and final analysis. Finally, I will demonstrate *sincerity* and *ethical* considerations (Tracy’s third and seventh criterion) in more detail under the relevant headings.

I will seek *credibility* within my research (Tracy’s fourth criterion) through being sensitive and exploring the participant’s voice, allowing their personality and views to shine while trying to reach beneath the surface towards the situated meanings and nuances. Building rapport and developing the participant’s answers through active listening and open ended questioning will assist credibility. Keeping notes during the interviews and maintaining a reflexive research diary will be essential tools to aid credibility.

Additionally, I also believe that “multicultural validity” (Kirkhart, 1995) is an essential aspect of my research. Kirkhart (1995, p.2) defined multicultural validity as, “our ability to capture these multiple cultural perspectives accurately, soundly, and appropriately”. I also need to ensure that my

methods and analyses have multicultural validity. Kirkhart (1995) argued that multicultural influences bind our work so multicultural validity should therefore be applied through the methodology, practice and evaluation. Kirkhart (1995) bases his ideas on Marxist sociology as well as feminist critics' views of the interaction between culture, method and evaluation. He relates multicultural validity with social justice. Kirkhart (1995) argued that multicultural validity goes beyond methodological validity to ensure that methods and evaluation is relevant and valid for the group being studied. I am studying an ethnically specific group of young people of Pakistani origin and therefore my methods and analyses should reflect this particular group.

I intend to seek multicultural validity in my study through ensuring the tools used are culturally relevant to the participants I aim to study. I will try to meet this criterion through using the participants' voice to shape the questions I will use in the interviews. I will use a focus group in the pilot study to bring out themes that are culturally relevant to these participants rather than impose my own. I will also clarify particular terms during the interviews with the participants as well as present my transcriptions later to check that the participants' voices have been accurately recorded.

3.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity (see Tracy's third criterion) is an essential aspect of qualitative research which promotes honesty and transparency "with one's self, one's research and one's audience" (Tracy 2010, p84). In order to be reflexive I had to explore my motivations for carrying out this research particularly because in IPA the researcher is interpreting the interpretation of the participant's experience (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, my feelings and prejudices are essential tools in the research process. However, it is important to note that reflexivity should not be used as a method for self-analysis but to assist the audiences' understanding of the cultural context (Krizek, 2003). One method of including enough reflexivity is by enmeshing my reactions throughout the research (Tracy, 2010).

My presence in the interviews will facilitate discussion of the participants' experiences of school and will be a way of opening up issues related to ethnicity but also connected to age, social class and gender. However, like Ghaffar-Kucher's (2012) study I will be an outsider because I have the social status of being a TEP and my parents originating from the city of Karachi in Pakistan, while I was born in the UK. This may be in contrast to the experience of my participants and may create a social and economic divide. Furthermore, I am from an older generation and will have a different perspective of my school experience compared to my participants who are effectively experiencing school post 9/11 and the construction of Islamophobia (Housee, 2012) in the vein of Ghaffar-Kucher's study (2012). Therefore, I cannot take for granted that we are the same through a shared language or similar cultural experience. My gender will also influence the participants in the interviews and will provide an interesting dimension to the study. I will be particularly reflexive about how my gender will influence the behaviour of the male participants who may be more guarded during the interview. I will try not to alter my behaviour during the interviews with the male participants but I am aware that I need to make an even greater effort to maintain their interest in the topics discussed. It is important to include the male voice in my study so I am under a little pressure to maintain their involvement. It will be a challenge for me to create enough rapport and feelings of safety for the participants so that they feel able to speak freely about their experiences of school. This reflexivity echoes the experience of Archer (2001) and the interaction of the researcher's gender and race upon the male participants.

Furthermore, this reflexivity is consistent with the transformative paradigm, critical realist tradition, phenomenology and feminist criticality. Haraway (1988) and Collins (2000) argue that the researcher reflects on their values and social position which helps to minimise a racist or sexist outcome. My position is particularly pertinent within the black feminist perspective which stipulates the importance of the researcher's own experience on their ability to interpret the experiences of others (Collins, 2000). My experience as a

Pakistani Muslim who has also attended primary school will have a particular effect on my interpretations.

However, I will also need to be careful about my own presentation during my research and dissemination of findings. I am a Pakistani TEP interviewing Pakistani pupils in a mainstream British primary school. Themes of race, racism and conflict may bring up emotional or defensive responses because these topics are emotive. Therefore, I will need to present the research to other people including teachers in a way that is helpful, transparent and supportive rather than illusory and critical as explained earlier through Tracy's (2010) criterion's of validity in the spirit of qualitative research. Part of this process will be gaining the informed consent of the head teacher at the school before I seek the consent of parents and participants.

3.6 Section D Design and Materials

The following section will demonstrate the necessary detail of the research process and rigour to fit Tracy's (2010) criterion of transferability and credibility. In the spirit of *sincerity* it is important to make clear; the research was not a logical set of stages as written here but rather a collection of decisions which were made according to the practical constraints and the natural unpredictability of working with young people and schools. Despite my own anxieties to perform as a credible researcher, the constant element in my research is the desire to elicit the young person's voice and situate their experiences at the centre of my analysis. This section aims to highlight this process through the subsections of the pilot study, the sample of participants, ethical considerations, the interviews and finally the details of how the data was analysed in Section F.

3.7 PARTICIPANTS

According to Smith et al. (2009) samples for an IPA analysis must meet certain criterion which means participants are selected purposively because they offer insight into a particular experience. For an IPA study, the participants are selected as a representation of a perspective rather than population. The sample also needs to be small because IPA produces a highly detailed analysis which takes a long time. There needs to be a homogeneous sample where the research question will provide meaning for the participants. This process is interpretative because the researcher has to decide how the sample will be homogeneous (Smith et al., 2009). For this research the participants will be homogeneous because they will be selected from Pakistani backgrounds and from the same year group at the same school. For this study, it is the Pakistani young peoples' experience of school which will be under scrutiny. I have chosen Pakistani backgrounds because I myself have the same cultural and linguistic background. Through this shared heritage I will have a certain perspective and insight into specific cultural and linguistic traits of this particular group.

I will require three boys and three girls from Pakistani backgrounds from the same year six class in the same school for a focus group followed by individual semi-structured interviews. Smith et al. (2009) recommend between three and six participants for an IPA study. I wanted to increase the homogeneity of the participants by selecting pupils from the same school. As the participants will be from the same school, the study will take on a case study approach.

There are 236 pupils who attend this particular Yorkshire school. Nearly three quarters of pupils come from ethnic minorities; those with a Pakistani background make up the largest group. The proportion of pupils for whom English is an additional language is nearly five times the national average. Nearly half of the pupils are considered to be at an early stage of learning English. Nearly half of the pupils are considered to be eligible for free school meals which is well above the national average. The proportion of pupils with special educational needs is also above the national average. The staff at the school are primarily English (white) with three female staff who are Pakistani in origin but do not wear specifically Muslim dress (the hijab). The cultural and social make-up of the school is significant because it will have an impact on what the pupils say as stated earlier in the findings of Gillborn and Gipps (1996).

3.8 PILOT STUDY

My pilot study shaped many of my decisions for my eventual study. Originally, for my main study I had wanted to carry out one focus group and then individual interviews stemming from the themes generated during the focus group. In order to reflect on the appropriateness of this design for my research I carried out a focus group as a pilot study with seven male and eight female participants from different ethnic minority groups aged 10 and 11 from the same year six class in a primary school. Consequently, the

participants for the main study were also selected from this school. There were 13 Pakistanis, one girl from Slovakia and one boy from Afghanistan. I used questions from the ongoing research about parent and child voice in my Educational Psychology Service. These questions were:

- What is it like coming to school and learning for you?
- What do you find helpful and how could it be better?

I found that when I conducted the focus group with a mixture of males and females, the male participants were very loud and did not take the questions seriously. This had the effect of quietening the girls and creating some discomfort among the group. I also felt uncomfortable listening to the jeering because it made the atmosphere feel charged and unwelcoming. I then decided to continue the focus group with the girls in a separate room and sent the boys back to class. This change was beneficial because the girls relaxed and became willing to discuss cultural issues that were prevalent in the school. The girls had a strong feeling that they were not being heard and that issues that were important to them were being ignored. For example, a young girl said that her parents had told her not to sit next to boys which conflicted with the instructions given by teachers which was to work alongside boys as part of mixed school practice. The girls also alluded to how boys would call them names in Urdu (their home language) which was very upsetting but the boys received no consequences. When the girls would finally retaliate, they would receive consequences for their behaviour. Please see Appendix I for further details.

The pilot study revealed that this age group was very articulate and had the communication skills to take part in a semi structured interview. My confidence to carry out the interviews also increased through the enthusiasm and honesty that the girls displayed during the focus group. I felt that the year six pupils of this particular school were an appropriate cohort for my study. Through the supervision of my research tutor I also removed the focus group from my design maintaining individual interviews were the best method to elicit the young peoples' voices grounding my questions in the literature review and some of the issues which arose through the pilot study.

3.9 Section E Ethics

Ethical considerations are a significant element in research, particularly where young people are concerned. Here, I will consider the *procedural ethics* of my research as indicated by Tracy's (2010) seventh quality criterion. In the light of my reflections of my pilot study and in the interests of causing no harm to my participants; I also conducted an introductory session prior to the individual interviews. In the introductory session I introduced myself and built rapport with the participants who had given consent. We played games to introduce ethical boundaries and confidentiality that would be in place during the individual interviews. The introductory session would ensure that the young people had full knowledge about the aims of the research and then could make an informed choice whether they wanted to continue. The participants will also gain confidence that their voice will be sensitively heard and what they say during this process will be kept safe. However, I made it clear to the participants that their words will be included in my thesis which will be publically available. This introduction will also be recorded so that participants will become familiar with audio recording for the interviews.

Similarly, I will share my conclusions with the participants once my interpretations are complete. I will then seek permission from the participants to share the findings with their class teachers. In order to minimise the identification of the participants, only themes rather than direct quotes will be presented to school staff. Please refer to my ethics application in Appendix II for further details.

3.10 Recruiting Participants

I used a purposive approach to recruit year six pupils in the same primary school in order to increase the homogeneity of the sample. Further details of how these participants were recruited is described in the ethics application (please see Appendix II).

This school is also part of my cluster of schools through the Educational Psychology Service which means I am a familiar face and I can easily foresee any problems and try to seek solutions together with the teachers regarding the project. Although my role as an EP of the school may cause some confusion I tried to address this dilemma by only completing research based activities in the school during the two month period when I carried out my interviews. I also explained my research aims and sent my participant information and consent forms to the head teacher who forwarded all correspondence to the staff in school so that it was clear that during those two months my role within school was that of a researcher.

An added pressure was that this year six class would transfer in July 2013 to secondary school. I would need to seek parental consent very early on so that there is enough time to carry out the interviews before the participants change school. The class teacher took expressions of interest from the pupils before I visited them in school. I used the information sheets as detailed in Appendix II (i) to share my research aims with potential participants who were Pakistanis taken from the same year six class. Some pupils were already familiar with me through the pilot study I had carried out.

I was disappointed that fewer boys were interested in participating in my research. Although not specially a research question, I was very interested in the male point of view and perceived boys as harder to reach. I found that the boys were harder to reach because I was not able to create the same rapport as I had with the girls. If I had used a different approach such as visiting the class more often so that we could get to know each other better or using sports or another point of interest may have created a greater willingness in the boys to participate. However, if I was a Pakistani man or even a white man then the boys may have shown more interest. When I asked the pupils (after presenting my research proposal) who would be interested in participating in order to disseminate the relevant information and consent forms (please see Appendix II (i), II (ii) and II (iii)) a large group of boys left. There could be several reasons for the boys leaving, reflecting on this I thought the possibilities may have included:

- Distrust of professionals – I was a TEP
- Lacking confidence to express themselves
- Social pressures of not wishing to stand out by choosing to participate
- Little interest in sharing their thoughts/experiences with an unknown adult

However, I was still pleased that I recruited two boys which provided a more balanced account of experiences in school without being over represented by girls.

3.11 Meet the Participants

I recruited four girls and two boys from the same year six class. Although IPA requires a homogenous sample, this does not imply that they are identical rather it aids uniformity (for example age and social context) so that the researcher can analyse “the pattern of convergence and divergence which arises” (Smith et al., 2009, p 50). The other major criteria for the selection of this sample was that the participants were of Pakistani origin. All the participants were born in Britain, however, their parents (or one parent) and grandparents originated from Pakistan. It is also worth noting that the participants did not have any visible physical disability or impairment.

A description of each participant follows based on notes jotted down in my research diary and during the interviews and reflections on the content of the interviews. For me, the participants were the heroes of my research, if it was not for their honesty, clarity and reflections this research would not be possible. I was touched by their trust in me for delivering such frank disclosures and I hope I lived up to their expectations and respected their voice.

Ayesha’s interview was kept as a pilot because I felt my inexperience as an interviewer meant I asked too many leading questions creating a biased interview, further details can be found below (Section 3.12). Please see

Appendix III for a chronology of the research and further detail regarding interviewing Aeysha. Please note all original names of the participants and names of other people and places used in the interviews were anonymised in order to protect the anonymity of the participants and the people mentioned in the interviews.

The Final Six

The following pen portraits of my participants were written within the confines of IPA research. According to Smith et al (2009) and Langdrige (2007) IPA's criteria for choosing participants is based on their homogeneity and there is less emphasis upon collecting further information regarding their demographic, economic, educational and social status. For this research, the participants were homogenous because they were from the same primary school and were of Pakistani origin. Such a limited criteria provides a less balanced and "rounded" description of the participants. However, the pen portraits were "fleshed out" more by my own reflections and rapport that was built during the interviews. The pen portraits are therefore, highly subjective and potentially open to criticism regarding their unsystematic nature and lack of factual detail. However, it is an important lesson for me as a researcher to seek such information in the future regarding my participants. For example, finding out whether the participants' parents hailed from England or Pakistan would significantly add richness and explanation to the socio-economic conditions of the participants.

Farah

Farah was a comedic presence offering dramatic statements and instilling a sense of fun and mischief during the interview. There was an apparent contradiction between her outgoing appearance and her own admissions of chronic shyness. Farah's statements indicated that she was experiencing adolescence characterised by her challenging authority, breaking rules and wanting to express herself. Farah's rejection of the school uniform because she "felt trapped" revealed her desperate attempts to express herself and

had political leanings where she wanted to use the school assembly to express her feelings and allow her voice to be heard.

Samina

Samina was very confident and had a self-assured perception of herself and her identity. Samina took the time to think about her answers and tried to look beyond surface relationships, for example why she preferred working with girls than boys. Her most revealing statement was when she said that, “boys have no problems”. Samina’s words conveyed a glimpse of the tensions around gender relations in school. I found Samina to be honest, brave and had an eloquence that belied her 11 years. Particularly when regarding her admissions of the bullying and verbal abuse she had encountered.

Ali

In contrast to the other participants, Ali was very reserved and used very simple language. He did not try to think or look too deeply into his friendships and relationships. Ali tended to speak about the surface level, never touching upon wider issues voiced by the other participants such as conflicts with other communities. Ali was very focused towards being a doctor and the importance of education and religious education to meet this goal. Ali hesitated a great deal during the interview and lacked the sophisticated vocabulary used by the female participants.

Ali was very short in stature and only hinted at this through jokes such as “short like me” without exploring his feelings. Ali remained positive about the school, his peers and teachers refusing to be drawn into conflicts of which he did hint, for example when describing a bullying incident. Upon reflection I was wary that I may have been a barrier to these limited responses due to my interview skills and inability to elicit a more meaningful discourse. However, Ali’s super-ordinate themes revealed a wider spread providing a more varied experience than the other participants

Ada

Ada wore the hijab and was very passionate about her religion and culture. Ada was very softly spoken so I assumed she was going to be shy and hesitant. However, to my surprise Ada spoke about staying up late, going out and sleeping until late and laughing a great deal.

Interestingly, Ada was the only participant who spoke about participating in the focus group in the original pilot study and would often refer directly to the answers given at that time. I was surprised that the pilot had such an impact and was vividly a part of the current interview experience. Clearly the subjects discussed during the pilot study such as religion and cultural differences in school resonated with her during the interview.

Hussain

Hussain really enjoyed the interview and displayed a great deal of enthusiasm both during seeking his consent and the actual interview. Hussain used humour and expression during the interview. Hussain made a point about anonymity and appreciated the fact that his words would remain anonymous and we were in a one to one situation. Hussain explained that being in a group would have undermined his opinion. Hussain provided a searingly honest account of incidents where he had been bullied using evocative phrases such as “only the wind hears you”.

Tanya

Tanya provided a very personal account during her interview even suggesting her dead sister’s name as a pseudonym for the research. I was taken aback by Tanya’s confession and felt protective of her and hoped to respect and be sensitive towards her in order to justify such trust. Tanya was strong in her religion, explaining how a visit to Saudi Arabia had changed her outlook on life and wished to fulfil her life according to “our lord”.

Tanya appeared to be the most affluent participant because she described the large amounts of money she had received from various relatives for Eid and as pocket money. Tanya was also characterised by the amount of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) she received in the form of an Ipad and the practical support she received from family members to assist in her homework. Tanya presented as happy and cheerful using very polite language which often had an adult tone. For example, Tanya was preoccupied with doing the “right” thing and sounded virtuous in her propensity to give to the needy and share her rewards with others.

3.12 Conducting the Interviews

All participants engaged in a single interview in May or June 2013; there were no withdrawals of consent, before or after the interview. The interviews followed a semi-structured format (see questions used in Appendix III (ii)) lasting between 45-50 minutes. Aeysha was interviewed in a spare room in the foundation stage of the school. However, this proved distracting with high background noise from the adjoining classroom. I think this could also have added to Aeysha's and my own unease during the interview.

Before each interview, I checked consent with the participant using their own consent form and the ethical guidelines in place (please see Appendix II for more detail). Only once this procedure was followed and the participant had given consent did the interview commence and audio recording of the interview begin.

I was very critical of myself during Aeysha's interview and when I had transcribed the data (as detailed above) I was determined to make subsequent interviews a lot less directive and more exploratory.

3.13 Interview Questions

I had originally used Smith et al. (2009) as a guide in the formation of questions which were descriptive – tell me about your classmates and contrasting – could you tell me about your best/worst experience of school? How different is school from mosque? However, I found through the literature that these were leading and I also had a tendency to emphasise the negative by prompting Aeysha more with negative rather than positive responses.

Through supervision I restructured the questions to produce more of a narrative and less leading approach (please see Appendix III (iii) for these questions). As a consequence these questions produced a better outcome

which allowed me to pick out what the participant had said in order to develop the interview rather than making assumptions. I also changed the location of the interviews from the school to the neighbouring children's centre which had spare rooms. These were infinitely more welcoming and quiet which avoided distractions. I also carried out a few "bonding through play" activities (The Theraplay Institute, 2009, see Appendix III (iv) in order to further relax the participant and increase rapport before I started the interview.

Upon reflection, the restructuring of the questions, change of venue and bonding through play activities significantly improved the interview experience for both the participant and myself. The participant appeared to relax more and reflect on their answers suggesting a comfortable interview experience. I became less critical and more confident of my ability to explore the participant's answers. With each interview I felt I grew as a researcher and became quicker at responding to the answers and to produce more of a narrative which was richer than my earlier clumsy attempts. However, I maintain that semi-structured interviews are difficult and require a great deal of focus and concentration to really hear the participant and respond appropriately and to avoid "why" questions which continued to crop up at times. The whole experience has made me look at my practice closely and how I speak with young people and I consciously try to explore their views rather than asking why questions.

In summary Aeysha's interview was transcribed and used as a pilot and the remaining six participants Farah, Samina, Ali, Hussain, Tanya and Ada were included in the final analysis.

3.14 Section F Data Collection and Analysis

Smith et al. (2009) describe IPA as embodying certain processes and an emphasis on understanding the participant's view and focus on personal meaning in particular contexts. The analysis uses an inductive cycle through the following stages (Smith et al., 2009) as described in the following table:

Table of the Stages of Analysis (Smith et al., 2009, p79)

- Transcription of taped interviews
- Line by line analysis of concerns and understandings of each participant
- Identifying emerging themes within these data highlighting commonality and difference for each case and then across multiple cases
- The researcher develops a “dialogue” between themselves, their themed data and psychological knowledge to ascertain the meaning behind these concerns within this particular context (Smith, 2004)
- A structure is developed which brings the relationships between these themes together or “gestalt”
- The organisation of this material is transparent because the analysed data can be traced back through the process of transcription and emerging themes
- The interpretation is supported through supervision or collaboration so that it is coherent and valid
- A visual guide such as a table or diagram to supplement the narrative of analyses theme by theme
- Reflection of the researcher of their own perceptions throughout this process (Smith, 2007)

This structure provides clear stages of analyses and interpretation which is preferable for a novice researcher.

3.15 Processing and Transcribing the Data

According to Langdrige (2007) interviews are transcribed *verbatim*, “The transcript should focus on semantic meaning...and so will not include detail of pauses, false starts, latched responses, etc. as one might find with transcript used in discourse analysis” (p110).

I transcribed the interviews using the following conventions as described by Smith et al. (2009):

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ... | pause: over two seconds |
| (comments in square brackets) | notes by the researcher |

The transcript format included three columns with the first column for the emergent themes, the second column for the script and the third column for exploratory comments using the conventions as described by Smith et al. (2009). Please see Appendix IV (i) for an example of the annotated transcript.

This commentary was highly detailed and allowed for the exploration of my interpretation of what the participant had said. From these comments I pulled out themes which I interpreted as arising from these comments. Each transcript was analysed in turn and then the emergent themes were clustered together for each participant and ordered according to the corresponding super-ordinate theme with the accompanying sub-ordinate themes. For the analysis I presented the super-ordinate themes with their corresponding sub-ordinate themes in a table. I then looked across these tables in order to view which themes converged and diverged. The final table of recurrent superordinate themes depicts the super-ordinate themes and the participants who converged or diverged from these themes. Please see Appendix VI for the table of recurrent superordinate themes and Appendix VII for the master table of super-ordinate themes for the group. The process of pulling out emergent, sub-ordinate and super-ordinate was highly creative. I was never satisfied with these themes and would spend a great deal of time reflecting and rewriting.

Finally once the tables were complete I found the corresponding quotes for these themes and presented them alongside the super-ordinate themes. Please see Appendix IV for the final table.

I found it a very natural progression from stilted, hesitant themes to stronger definitive super-ordinate and joint super-ordinate themes. The process was cyclical, iterative, inductive and ground firmly in the data, with quotes taken to support and add strength to the super-ordinate themes.

Chapter 4: An Interpretative Analysis of the Data

4.1 Introduction to the Interpretative Analysis

This section will provide the interpretative account of the phenomenological analysis that was carried out in order to answer the research question, “*How do Pakistani young people interpret their experiences of primary school?*” Rather than a traditional results section found in quantitative reports; using IPA I will seek to present the individual voices of the participants but also provide an interpretative account of what their experiences might mean. I will include my reflections throughout this process consistent with Tracy’s (2010) criterion of transparency in order to illustrate how my own values and thoughts influenced the interpretations and analysis.

A total of seven super-ordinate themes emerged from the analysis. These themes will now be described with reference to their prevalence amongst the participants. The aim of the analysis is to demonstrate the convergence as well as divergence between the participants (Smith et al., 2009). A table is used to demonstrate the sub-ordinate themes for each super-ordinate theme at the start of each section. The prevalence for each sub-ordinate theme is also illustrated in the tables. Illuminatory quotes are used to illustrate the sub-ordinate themes with their subsequent page and line numbers which can be found in the participant’s individual transcript in Appendix VII.

Table 1 shows the Master Super-ordinate Themes that connect all the participants to varying degrees: more detailed tables illustrating each theme with sample quotations from participants can be found in Appendix VII. I have used Smith et al’s (2009) criteria of at least half of the participants need to converge on a super-ordinate theme for it to become a master super-ordinate theme across the participants.

Table of Super-ordinate and Sub-ordinate Themes

1. THE EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE OF LEARNING

- (a) Passion for learning
- (b) Difficulties with Subjects

2. THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

- (a) Differentiation
- (b) Cultural Capital

3. THE IMPORTANCE OF ENDURING FRIENDSHIPS

- (a) Strength and Trust
- (b) Lasting
- (c) Unity

4. THE IMPACT OF THE SEGREGATION BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

- (a) Turbulent Relations
- (b) Racism and Discrimination
- (c) Impact of Language
- (d) Adults being unfair

5. THE IMPACT OF GENDERED POWER STRUGGLES

- (a) Female Subjugation and Bullying
- (b) Segregation
- (c) Adults Responses
- (d) Gendered Subjects

6. THE IMPACT OF BULLYING

- (a) Physical bullying
- (b) Ritual Humiliation
- (c) Isolation

7. THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

- (a) Suppression of identity
- (b) Resilience and strength from religion and culture
- (c) Disenchantment and rejection of British mixed schools
- (d) Religious beliefs and customs

4.2 SECTION A

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 1: THE EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE OF LEARNING

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <u>Passion for learning</u> | √ | | √ | | √ | √ |
| Difficulties with Subjects | √ | √ | | | √ | |

1a. PASSION FOR LEARNING

Four of the six participants expressed their passion for learning in and out of school:

So I like going school because you don't watch TV and you play with yer friends and you get to learn something and err you be happy there (Ali, transcript page 3, lines 91-93)

Like I just like writing stories, them play scripts even at home I've got a book and I write lots of play scripts and stories in it. (Samina, 3.103-104)

I've never gone to Mrs Slee all these years except for, for my gold chart to show her and get prizes (Tanya, 12.432-433)

I want to learn and like be clever (Hussain, 1.27)

The participants describe the importance of and their enjoyment of learning. However, the participants diverge in the matter of achievement. Samina and Tanya appear to recognise and revel in their competency of learning, whilst Hussain shows his anxiety. Hussain demonstrates he feels insecure about

his learning and equates learning with being “*clever*”, suggesting that he does not feel clever.

The enjoyment of subjects at school was very clear, particularly sports and cricket which brought the class together. However, Samina went further than just participating, she wanted to share her knowledge in Religious Education (RE), “*And when Miss Best comes in erm and she does RE and I like it cos like I get to learn different religions and I get to share things about Islam what I know about Islam*” (2.46-48). Samina points to her own particular interest in Islam and how she shares with the class, making the learning more personal and meaningful. Samina gives an example of child-centred learning where school is not just a place to disseminate knowledge but to gain knowledge from the pupils themselves.

The value of learning is also expressed; knowledge of skills can be applied in their everyday lives or future ambitions. For example, Ali states, “*I’d like to be a doctor...and or a dentist*” (6.203). “*I think I might do it because my favourite subjects are in that thing maths because I like maths and science...stuff like that. I like science and maths not English though (laughs)*” (6.207-209).

The link between learning and fulfilling career aspirations for Ali is very clear. Ali is driven by his ambitions to enter the fields of medicine or dentistry through achieving at school. Ali’s career aspirations set him aside from the other participants who enjoyed school subjects but did not articulate the link between learning at school and their future careers.

1 b. THE DIFFICULTIES WITH SUBJECTS

On the flip side to enjoying subjects are the problems experienced with school subjects. Hussain, Farah and Ali articulated the difficulties they experienced with subjects in school. Ali struggled to explain why he found literacy difficult,

“*I don’t like writing because erm you have to write erm different different stuff, all the stuff you have to do*” (13.474-476). Ali’s difficulties with communicating his problems with writing reflected his struggles with literacy generally. Ali further elaborates on how complex the rules of writing are, highlighting his

deficiencies and hopelessness in this area. *“Like letters, connectives, vowel words, punctuation, one, two, three, there’s nine of em (laughs). And there’s some more!”* (13.476-478) Ali’s sense of frustration is clear but he also believes that literacy is not needed for his future ambitions of becoming a doctor or dentist which further negates the requirement at school to master literacy.

Farah masked her difficulties with literacy using humour as well as drawing attention to the unfairness of a system which expects results even though pupils like Farah and Ali struggle with literacy. Farah explained, *“I’m not that good with spelling and erm and when I’m not good with spelling the teacher will come round and say “what does this say? What does this say?” And I won’t even be able to read my own writing and I’m like “I don’t know” (laughs)* (4.116-120). Farah targeted the teachers as the cause of her frustrations believing that they were the source of her unhappiness and low attainment in literacy as well as a constant, reminder of her inabilities in this area. Farah expressed anxieties regarding literacy which did not instil empathy in her teachers. Farah’s anxieties came to the fore during SATs and encapsulated her frustrations with literacy:

like on my reading test, I didn’t understand it that much. I got totally frustrated and one of the questions I just wrote down anything and we’re like, “I wish this test would be over!” I just hate reading tests. I like the other tests but I just hate reading tests and writing tests. I’m not good at writing; I’m not good at reading (14.540-544).

Hussain reflects on his anxiety with maths which appears to typify the kind of learner, *“Er maths cos I’m not like that bright at maths or anything and they ask me a question and I get the wrong answer”* (8.301-302).

CONCLUSIONS

The emotional experience of learning spans the enjoyment and value of school subjects but also the frustrating difficulties experienced. Participants recognise the importance of learning for the present as well as the future but also how difficulties with certain subjects can result in deep seated anxieties.

4.3 SECTION B

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 2: THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <u>Differentiation</u> | √ | √ | | | √ | √ |
| <u>Cultural Capital</u> | √ | | √ | √ | √ | √ |

The cultural impact of school emerged as a super-ordinate theme for all six participants; however, the prevalence of the sub-ordinate themes differed.

2a DIFFERENTIATION

Four out of the six participants discussed differentiation as an essential part of their learning in school. Differentiation was perceived in differing ways by the participants. For example, Hussain argued that the differentiation was inadequate because it did not meet his expectations or interest, *“I don’t like it when er one teachers they don’t do good exciting stuff they always do like drawing, colouring, boring”* (4.127-129). Here, rather than assisting Hussain in his learning, the differentiation can involve such simple exercises as *“colouring”* that de-motivated and patronised his abilities but he also had access to stimulating learning during other periods. Hussain yearned for excitement so that he could feel passion for his learning but the tasks he was presented with did not always provide challenge. Such differentiation could reflect low expectations of teachers for pupils like Hussain who were not high achievers. Conversely, Tanya recognised how intervention (Early Literacy Support, ELS) and props (puppets) were used to increase her abilities in maths, *“he had a hand puppet so she did that with her hand and his mouth would move and she used to teach us how to do maths really, really, easy”*

(9.326-329). Tanya reflected on how ELS made a real difference to her writing and was a positive experience, "*It worked cos every day, we, not every day but sometimes when we did ELS, we had to write sentences and each week my sentences got better*" (9.336-338). The ELS intervention also marked an awareness for Tanya about her own academic abilities and how her skills can be improved. Such knowledge of improving her academic skills would have been empowering for Tanya as a learner instilling the self-belief that change is possible with support, producing a positive image of teachers and interventions thus contributing to a positive, empowering experience of school.

Ali's experience of differentiation reinforced his perception of himself as an able learner and where his fellow classmates were positioned, "*I get on quite well because we have like two groups some that struggle a bit and some that a bit clever. I'm in that group that's a bit clever*" (5.159-161). Ali recognises the point of differentiation and how it will help with his learning and the learning of others. Interestingly, Ali describes the process of support and differentiation as hierarchical and does not find this problematic or unequal. For Ali, there is a natural and logical order to how support is filtered to pupils, from the most to the least able. For example, "*So I'll get the help from the teacher, get that done and like learn how to do it and everything and then the one below they get work hard and they'll be like what I was learning they start learning that*" (5.163-167). If Ali did not perceive himself as in the more able category, then this hierarchy may have posed more of a barrier to his learning.

Farah finds some aspects of her lessons as not challenging enough, particularly in maths where she excels: "*I'm like "they were so easy!"*" (laughs) (5.170-171). Here lies the problem of extending the learning of the more able as well as meeting the needs of those pupils that struggle. It is a difficult balance for teachers and pupils. Ali expresses the need for extension really well, "*erm there's no point giving all easy work out because then you're not learning anything. If you get it a bit hard can like learn what it's about and learn like how to do it and you can ask your parents at home to not and just*

sit there and do it yourself" (5.181-185). Ali, like Tanya believes in the empowering qualities of challenging tasks.

2b CULTURAL CAPITAL

Cultural capital was a strong super-ordinate theme for five of the participants and appeared to a lesser degree for the sixth. Trips provided value which added a tremendous amount to the participants' experience of school. For Ali and Ada, school trips represented the first experience of certain animals: "*Year Five first time I saw a shark, we went to the SeaLife Centre and I saw sharks*" (Ali, 8.298-299) and "*we went to I don't remember which trip, and we went to a farm or something and I liked it there because that was our first trip and I hadn't been to a different trip before, that was like the first time*" (Ada, 7.246-250). "*The first time*" signifies the beginning of the importance trips would have in their lives and how trips provided an added dimension to their school experience, generating the wonder, the thrill of new experiences which produced lasting memories.

Ali explained how these new experiences were extended at home, "*I've been there a few times with my mum and dad and my brothers and sisters. So erm I like going that erm like I've been there I think I went last er last week or somat. We went to Scarborough seaside and then we went there. We went on this big bus (laughs) with no roof on and we went there. I liked it er there at the seaside and we built a castle. Like the normal things you do*" (11.405-411). Ali's wonder and excitement has not diminished over time and these first experiences have become "*normal*".

The importance of trips expressed by the participants demonstrates how school can fill essential experiential gaps and then lead to the continuation of such experiences beyond school. School provides a vehicle for extending the limited experiences of some young people. For these participants, it was school that ignited their interests in extracurricular activities which otherwise they may have not had access. For example, Hussain said, "*if we were good*

we always watched a movie and sometimes we watched like a normal movie" (4.139-140). A "normal movie" would be a film that was not a documentary to extend learning but purely for pleasure. Hussain explained that he did not watch movies at home.

Samina pointed to the variety of experiences that were offered during year six, "*he took us to XXXX Park and then he took us to Liverpool the Beatles Museum and XXXX Park and Knowsley Safari Park and different parks, lots of places*" (8.307-309). These experiences were particularly treasured because they were during the last year of school.

A darker aspect of cultural capital was revealed when trips were withdrawn due to the poor behaviour of some pupils in class. Samina explained,

And then class four, we had Mr George and he got a little cross he didn't take us on trips cos he thought we were bad. And then in class five we didn't go on any trips as well but class six Mr Smith thought that "let's take em." We've been on lots of trips in class six so I like it in class six. And when I was little but class four and class five I didn't really like em cos Mr George, he always used to say that we're not good and he didn't take us anywhere (8.300-306).

Here, the withdrawal of trips was used as a perceived punishment for the class, which lasted two years from year four until year six. Considering the unanimous benefits of trips and the important gap they filled in many pupils' lives, the withdrawal of trips could have had an impact on their overall experience and engagement of school.

Tanya expressed how cultural capital was invested in at home, "*on my Ipad I've installed this app that you can listen to like teachings of how to do maths or literacy or science or anything and play games at the same time*" (6.195-197). Tanya has the financial and subsequent cultural advantage over her peers. Tanya provides an example of how her family are prepared to invest

in her educational future and the advantage she would have over her peers. Not every pupil would have access to I pads which is an important symbol of wealth and aspiration in society today. The Ipad aids Tanya in her learning but also provides a source of fun and enjoyment, thus engaging her in her studies.

CONCLUSIONS

Differentiation was recognised as an important tool for Ali and Tanya to extend their learning and provide challenge. But Farah and Hussain viewed their differentiation as inadequate in meeting their needs, perhaps due to the different abilities of the two pairs. Cultural capital fulfilled important experiential gaps in the experiences of the participants but was also perceived as a punishment for pupils in school. I can relate to the importance of trips because it was a huge part of my own learning at school and provided a welcome relief from writing.

4.4 SECTION C

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 3: THE IMPORTANCE OF ENDURING

FRIENDSHIPS

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Strength and Trust</u> | | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| <u>Lasting</u> | | √ | | √ | | √ |
| <u>Unity</u> | | √ | √ | √ | | √ |

The importance of enduring friendships in school was a very strong super-ordinate theme amongst the female participants. However, Ali also mentioned friendships as a significant theme in his narrative. Friendships and the various elements that these relationships draw out were explored at length by five out of the six participants.

3a STRENGTH AND TRUST

Five out of six participants represented in the sub-ordinate theme of strength and trust:

“They good because erm they won’t cheat in a game and when er in PE you go in groups and you can make your own group up so all friends they can get together and play” (Ali, 3.96-98)

“Like if I say someat to em, like if I get angry, I say someat to em, they’ll always forgive me, they’ll say, “doesn’t matter let’s go outside let’s play...I’ll just go off and wackadoo” (Farah, 11.401-404).

Ali and Farah both explore their reliance on friendships and the dependability they inspire. Ali describes his friends in practical, even ethical terms – they will not cheat and will play together. However, Farah has a more emotional basis for her trust in her friends. Farah’s friends calm her down when she is angry and will forgive her outbursts. There is an almost unconditional aspect to Farah’s narrative; her friends are her family at school. No matter what she may do to them (which Farah does not elaborate) her friends still forgive which is a quality highly valued. Farah intriguingly describes her behaviour as “wackadoo”, her own word to describe her state of anger and ambivalence. Samina also alludes to this unconditional quality of her friends, *“Yeah sometimes we have fights like arguments but mostly we get on well”* (13.481-482). Their friendships endure despite falling out, they remain steadfast.

Ada looks towards her friends as a source of security and as a way of strengthening her own identity as a Pakistani in the midst of the white community. *“Like sometimes we get Mosque into it and start talking about all sometimes we don’t like talk in English. If we talk in English they’ll find out what we are saying. So we talk in our own language and then they don’t find out. We spend time like that”* (10, 386-390). Ada talks about the secret element of being able to converse in a different language that other people will not understand. Ada seeks solace in this secrecy as a form of solidarity with her Pakistani friends. On one level, research (Cummins, 1986 and Baker, 2001) have shown that speaking in your own cultural language should be encouraged because it is part of your cultural heritage and facilitates second language learning and on another level I feel saddened that Ada and her friends feel the need to speak in another language in order to talk about their culture, such as mosque. A secret language suggests that speaking in English about such topics will insight ridicule from other communities or this secrecy may mean that these girls wish to keep this part of their lives private.

Farah extends the importance of trust in friendships, *“Like people that don’t say stuff behind your back about yer and people that erm are friendly like are self, like you can rely on em, rely on em. You don’t have to be like “I don’t wanna tell you cos you might sprog it”* (14, 518-521). Here, Farah uses a specific word resonant with her generation - Sprog – which has strong connotations of “grassing” of not telling secrets about your friends and represents a loyalty code which if broken could have dire consequences. I feel that Farah using the word “sprog” indicates her level of comfort with me and the fact that she did not explain the meaning suggests that it is a common word used in school and which she assumes I would understand.

3b LASTING

Farah, Ada and Tanya cited lasting friendships as a sub-ordinate theme in their narratives. Tanya describes how her friendships have been problem free for seven years, *“Like some friends like they fight but we have never*

fighted in all these seven years, not once we haven't like fell out with each other ...erm we always stick together" (17.615-617). Tanya recognises what a special achievement such longevity is amongst friends. Farah continues with her narrative of how despite disagreements, her friends have remained with her, *"like they'll always become my friend again"* (11.403). Ada further explores how her friend Zenub remains loyal to her despite the distractions of mosque and school, *"Zenub she goes to mosque er she goes to the mosque that I go to as well so it's nice spending time more cos like we've got school and we've got mosque as well so we like spending time together"* (15.551-554). Familiarity breeds further affection between the two friends rather than contempt and having common institutions through the mosque and school increases their solidarity. Here, having the mosque as a commonality is significant because it is a large part of their lives, much the same as school but does not include the other communities. The mosque is a shared cultural aspect of their lives which deepens their friendships and adds another dimension to their experience of friendship.

Tanya describes an interesting element to her friendships. Tanya has so much trust and security in the lasting of her friendships that she takes on an inclusive approach towards others: *"No matter who that child is, if they're in our class or no because so we go up to them and we like help em like we say, "do you want to play with us?" and then they play with us and then like we get new friends"* (18, 625-628). Tanya has described how it is important for her to share the positive traits that her friendships bring in order to include others. Tanya shows an understanding of the importance of friendships in school and even perceives it as a moral duty to extend her hand towards others. Tanya's inclusive view of friendship is directly opposed to Ada's view of secrecy and sharing amongst people from her own community. Tanya sums up her views with, *"So equal chance for us to get friends and them to get friends and the happiness at school that they deserve"* (18, 628-630). Tanya interprets her actions as a way of extending her own friendships as well as fulfilling the rights of other young people to friendship. It is interesting how Tanya believes all young people *"deserve"* happiness and such happiness equates with friends. I believe Tanya equates happiness with

friendship because her own friends bring her joy which she wants to share. Tanya also believes young people should be happy at school which is a simple sentiment but has an obligation towards such words.

3c UNITY

The sub-ordinate theme of unity was strong amongst the four female participants and almost took on a political fervour. Here, Samina specifically singles out her religion and gender as the unifying factors of her friendships, "*Aaina and Zeba, Zoya, Zarina ...nearly all the Muslim girls*" (13.484). Ada describes how the Muslim girls became friends, "*Then gradually we all came together. And then we were all in one group*" (10.379-380). Ada appears to suggest that all the Muslim girls became one group as a response to the hostility and unfriendliness that was experienced from the other communities in school. Such unity also points to the problematic nature of excluding other communities from such strong friendship circles, "*Us Pakistani girls like we don't like being with goray ¹girls er we like to be with Pakistani girls*" (10, 380-381). By speaking in this exclusionary manner, Ada becomes equally as racist as the white people who had been unwelcoming towards her in school. Ada makes a very strong statement without self-consciousness or apology which suggests that such views are aired casually without consequence or could be common practice amongst her friendship group. Ada may have felt comfortable enough to share such views with me but I am unsure if I had been a white female if she would have shared the same view. The sharing of such a racist opinion with me, a member of the Pakistani community implies that this is acceptable, it is okay to air prejudices however damaging to members of your own community safely without punishment. But is such acceptance wise? Does not prejudice fuel further racism, speculation and suspicion and segregation from other communities? I did explore Ada's views and tried to discover its origins, "*because goray, yeah, ...I don't know I just don't like em cos do you know like erm all these things happening around here like when. Do you know like Alice, her, she's right dangerous,*

¹ goray is "white" in Urdu

she's proper dangerous. She just picks you up, yeah, picks you up with one hand and throws you, throws you anywhere" (11.408-413). Ada finds it difficult to articulate clearly where her prejudices originate but she links it with one particular girl who was quite violent in school and succeeded in clouding Ada's judgement against all white people. Alice in some way represents the power and potential violence of the broader white community. Ada's description is quite graphic which reflects the power and fear this person would have instilled on the class. The negative effects of such unified friendships have a detrimental effect on Ada's education and attendance, *"Sometimes, my friends yeah they don't come and it's like only me that be's there and I don't have anybody to be with"* (2, 66-68). Ada is so reliant on her friends that she cannot bear school without them and perceives school as a lonely place. There is the perceived suggestion that the other communities are also unwilling to support Ada and school becomes an unfriendly and lonely place. If Ada cannot function at school without her friends then where is the separation between her own identity and that of her friends?

Again, Tanya counteracts Farah's reliance on her friends with her own autonomy from them, *"If we need help we ask each other and any of us we don't deny, we don't say that, "oh, we don't wanna help you" we just work together if we need to"* (17.617-620). Tanya describes how her friends do not encompass her but are there if needed in a supportive rather than stifling manner. *"Don't deny"* also reinforces the strength and loyalty in their friendships but does not engulf Tanya's own personality.

CONCLUSIONS

I found the descriptions of such close friendships heartening, that these participants shared such warmth and security with each other.

4.5 SECTION D

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 4: THE IMPACT OF THE SEGREGATION BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Turbulent Relations</u> | √ | √ | √ | √ | | √ |
| <u>Racism and discrimination</u> | | √ | √ | √ | | √ |
| <u>Impact of Language</u> | √ | | √ | √ | | |
| <u>Adults being unfair</u> | √ | √ | √ | √ | | √ |

Here lies possibly the more controversial super-ordinate theme found in the analysis. Five out of the six participants represented the super-ordinate theme of the impact of the segregation between communities in school. I had not planned or factored in relations between other communities in my semi-structured interviews so the views expressed by the participants were spontaneous and unprompted. The fact that the participants spoke spontaneously and with such passion about the difficulties with Lithuanians (an Eastern European group anonymised) in school suggested that these issues were a common practice and a point of discussion amongst the young people at the school. I felt as though I had stumbled upon a highly emotive discussion which has huge implications for the integration of different communities within school. I will discuss the implications further in the discussion chapter of the thesis.

4a TURBULENT RELATIONS

Five out of the six participants spoke strongly about the turbulent relations that existed between the communities at school. The participants revealed honest and passionate accounts of how difficult relations were between the Lithuanian and Pakistani communities, "*They (Lithuanians) say stuff about us, they always like fight everything and like when we don't do anything and they just and they just, like they start doing it*" (Hussain, 17.636-639).

Hussain's views were the most surprising because he was so gentle and timid that such strong fervour was not expected. Hussain struggles to articulate the impact the Lithuanian's have but what is evident is the strong emotion they bring out in him and the other participants. "*I like to get well on with the Lithuanians as well but then sometimes they don't want to get on with me*" (Tanya, 15.571-572). Tanya tries to provide a more balanced point of view without such strong emotion, simply stating how the Lithuanians do not get on with her even though she has tried.

Because they never support yer, they, if you say something like like they just play football so they never know what happens at the other side of the playground and they never support us like if something happened at the other side, they just lie and they say this didn't happen to support their mates (Samina, 11.422-426).

Samina describes how the deep divide between the communities impacts on their relationships. Samina provides a strong visual image of the division between the communities as reflected by the division in the playground, the other communities are on the "*other side of the playground*". Divisions are created not only culturally and linguistically but also reflected by the environment at school. Samina also describes the unity between community members which serve to isolate her even when she is in the right. This unity amongst community members is resonant with Ada's earlier proclamations of the unity amongst Muslim girls. However, the unity amongst the white

community to subjugate Samina is not recognised as the same unity amongst the Pakistani girls which excludes the white and other communities.

“At first the classes used to be okay, used to be till Year Three. Year Two and Year Three and then all the Lithuanian start coming to England so...then it started going a little bit dirty and everything” (Ada, 6.224-227). Ada provides her experience of the immigration of the Lithuanian community. *“The Lithuanians coming to England”* sounds like a headline of a tabloid paper, overheard from adults, a popular narrative in the community and the wider society. It is ironic that Ada’s parents or grandparents would have been immigrants and may have faced the same hostility and prejudice. It appears that Ada perceives the Lithuanians as the reason for altering her experience of school which I think is one interpretation of lying educational issues at the doors of another community. Or are the difficulties between communities so great that the whole experience of school can be changed?

“And they’ll be saying stuff like that and I’m like proper get frustrated and when they say my name in it, I’m like “I wanna go at their head!” (Farah, 12.441-443). Farah’s experience of Lithuanians is akin to bullying and inspires a typically emotional, almost violent response.

4b Racism and Discrimination

The sub-ordinate theme of racism and discrimination provides an uncomfortable and emotive response from the participants and myself. Racism occurs between both communities and is equally alarming and distressing. I was also struck by how easily the participants were able to vocalise these views, perhaps not understanding the significance or implications of what they were saying.

“Now the Lithuanians go past and all the roads streets be dirty, all have rubbish on the floor” (Ada, 7.232-233). The word *“dirty”* conjures up a muddy, unclean, filthy view of the community. Later in the interview, Ada again refers to Lithuanians as dirty, *“Lithuanians they’re like all dirty”* (13,

497). Such strong words make me question whether this is Ada's opinion or is she feeding off the narratives in the community? "*All the roads streets be dirty.*" I find it an uncomfortable narrative depicting prejudice and racism, the victims of racism can also be racist, ignorance begets ignorance. During the interview I attempted to elicit a positive or alternative view about other communities by asking Ada, "Has there been a time when you have worked with the other people?" (13, 474-475). However, Ada's reply was in a similar vein as earlier, "*Sometimes we work with these Lithuanians. I try to get away from them, they nick stuff, that's what I hate*" (13, 476-477). Ada appears so problem-saturated that she cannot envisage a different narrative about the Lithuanians. Now Lithuanians are not only dirty they are also thieves.

However, after more prompting, Ada and Tanya did provide positive examples of interaction between Lithuanians which were supported by the school. For example, "*do you know these other two Lithuanians they're okay. Like sometimes when we work with them in a group, well they don't have any body and they be okay*" (Ada, 13. 500-503). Tanya described when she worked with a Lithuanian, "*Then I went with her, I worked with her and then I got five effort points because I worked with her because no one wanted to work with her cos they were all started being nasty to her*" (16. 591-594). Tanya found that working with this girl produced a positive result, "*she just be's kind to me now erm she says "thank you for helping me" and then I said "it's alright"*" (16. 608-609). However, although some barriers had been broken down, Tanya did not repeat this experience because "*she wanted to work with her friend instead*" (16. 604). The experiences described by Tanya and Ada could be reflected by wider societal interventions to bring communities together, they work temporarily but then people return to their old ways and remain segregated even though relations were friendlier and efforts were appreciated.

"*They'll be tapping me every minute like (small voice) "hickory dickory dock."*" (Farah, 12.438-439) Farah provides a painful and uncomfortable description of Lithuanians repeating a nursery rhyme using her name. Nursery rhymes are supposed to offer comfort, familiarity, a positive reminder of childhood

and primary school but here it is used to cause discomfort. Would this nursery rhyme be familiar to Lithuanians? A traditional British nursery rhyme used by Lithuanians to hurt a Pakistani girl, could be classed as racist because it is a play on her traditional, Islamic name.

“The others are friends like the Lithuanians with Lithuanians and Muslims with Muslims” (Samina, 13.492-493). *Lithuanians with Lithuanians and Muslims with Muslims* remain steadfast in their groups, secure in their own knowledge of victimization and prejudice, each fearing the other group with similar issues.

“Er people like it’s alright there’s only like a little bit of people in our class only like ²goray and Muslims but now there’s like Lithuanians and they speaking in a different language” (Hussain, 17.634-636). Hussain explains the threat of Lithuanians to the social order of the school.

4c THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE

The sub-ordinate theme of the impact of language reveals how the discrimination that these participants feel so strongly about and are threatened by the Lithuanian community is due to the fact that they have their own language. Previously, it was the Pakistanis who were the only people who had a different, secret language as described by Ada. Lithuanians owning a different language somehow devalues and threatens the Pakistani pupils’ position in school.

“Some people you know like Lithuanians they, I don’t know whose learnt em but they like say swear words in our language” (Samina, 6.213-214).

Samina is outraged by someone from another community understanding and using her language. The fact that swear words are being used in her language reinforces her sense of moral outrage at this injustice. Samina cannot envisage another community understanding her language and even worse, swearing. Samina does not equate learning her language by

² “goray” is an Urdu word meaning white people

someone from another community in the same vein that a person could be interested in for example, French and learning the language. For Samina, Urdu becomes sacred and untouchable unless you are a member of the Pakistani community which is exclusionary and prejudicial.

“Like goray, like when we used to speak Arabic, they didn’t have a clue what we were on about. Now Lithuanians, when they speak their language, we don’t have a clue” (Hussain, 17.656-658). Hussain is prompted to reflect on the significance of not understanding the language of Lithuanians. Hussain displays empathy for the white community because they did not understand Hussain’s language and now he cannot understand the Lithuanian language.

4d ADULTS BEING UNFAIR

The super-ordinate theme of “adults being unfair” is also related to the “emotional experience of school” (the first super-ordinate theme). The participants’ strong views about other communities in school are exasperated by the responses of the adults in school. *“Like I told you first, they just believe them and they don’t believe us”* (Ada, 12.451-452). Ada challenges the simple view that the adults simply do not believe “us” us signifying the Pakistani community; producing an “us” and “them” culture which breeds segregation, intolerance and suspicion.

“And the teacher says you’re not allowed to speak like Pakistani, only English. But the Lithuanians, they always speak their language and the teacher never says anything to them” (Samina, 11.416-419). Samina explains how unfair such a practice is about quietening the languages at school but allowing the Lithuanians to express their mother tongue. The perception that Samina believes that she is not allowed to speak Pakistani suggests a discriminatory policy in conflict with current research (Cummins, 1986) in language development and achievement but designed to prevent disagreements based on language. However, Samina perceives this policy as oppressing her identity as a Pakistani.

“When we say when they’ve done something bad they tell the teacher and the teacher says “oh, no they didn’t do it so we don’t want any of those fibs. They never do anything wrong” (Hussain, 18.696-698). Hussain protests against being unfairly blamed, protesting against the unfairness and the lack of the teachers ability to see the truth. Could the teachers be blaming the easier, more convenient children? Are Muslims unfairly blamed for what Lithuanians have done or has Hussain exaggerated? Is Hussain an easy target because of his academic differences? But Hussain describes himself as part of a group taking the blame so it is the group and not individuals that are blamed.

“Erm that makes me feel like, like angry cos I’m like the teachers won’t do anything about it” (Farah, 12.436-437). Farah looks towards the teachers to end the incessant torment of the name calling but she does not find solace and replaces her hope with anger.

“Miss Slee shouted at us as well that, “oh, erm why did you blame it on her Kelly that she swore at you? You just tried to get her in trouble!” (Tanya, 13.502-504). Tanya finds herself being blamed for speaking out against “Kelly” which suggests that speaking out against unfairness can attract negative attention and the victim can become the perpetrator. Is it better to keep quiet about injustices in class whether they are real or perceived? Tanya demonstrates that in her opinion being honest and open with adults is not always the best course of action.

CONCLUSIONS

The participants’ perceived experiences of adults being unfair towards them in regards to disagreements with other communities fuels the segregation and turbulence experienced at school between those same communities. The participants do not appear to perceive adults as being able to contain and reframe their prejudices or even begin to address the passionate discrimination that is taking place in school. The inability of adults in school to promote fairness and harmony between communities has grave

implications for the future relations between communities in schools and beyond in wider society. Such discrimination is reminiscent of the prejudices I experienced in school between the Bangladeshis and the Pakistanis, creating in and out group divisions as well as fuelling ignorance. The Pakistani community at my school perceived themselves as superior to the Bangladeshi community and would use derogatory comments such as “machi chawal” translated as “fish and rice” which were common dishes for Bangladeshis but in this sense was used to taunt the community. The adults at the school were not involved in such situations which could be due to the fact they were not aware of such discrimination or the young people did not want their involvement.

4.6 SECTION E

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 5: THE IMPACT OF GENDERED POWER STRUGGLES

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|--|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <u>Female Subjugation and Bullying</u> | | | √ | √ | | √ |
| <u>Segregation</u> | | √ | √ | √ | | √ |
| <u>Adults Responses</u> | | | √ | √ | | √ |
| <u>Gendered Subjects</u> | | √ | √ | | √ | |

5a FEMALE SUBJUGATION AND BULLYING

The fifth super-ordinate theme is marked because it is dominated by the female participants. The girls spoke about the systematic undermining and bullying that the boys caused in class. *“Cos they be nasty to me like they say stuff about my parents, like really hurts me and I don’t say things about their parents cos I know how it feels”* (Tanya, 13.466-468). Attacking Tanya’s family upsets her calm resolve.

“I sit with a boy and he always says it and like whenever if I do something wrong or any time, he just starts saying “pancake face” or “burnt pancake” things like that” (Samina, 5.185-187). The word *“pancake face”* produces a strong visual image, something which is overdone, damaged, marked, unappetising and inedible. The connotations of *“pancake face”* are deeply insulting with racist leanings which could be seemingly innocent for teachers but Samina is well aware of its origins and intentions to hurt, wound and damage her self-esteem and confidence.

“He says she’s fat, yeah, she’s the fattest girl and all that,” (Ada, 3.112-113). It appears that the boys find the weaknesses in these girls and use them to bully and subjugate. Using traits such as *“fattest”* exposes sensitivity to weight, *“pancake”* highlights physical and ethnic features. Weaknesses are used to have power over the girls.

Ada explores how not only her friends but her aunty are subject to physical as well as emotional taunts,

Him, yeah he’s the one who started it been saying stuff about me and my aunty. He says that we’re that, we’re this, and he says that we’ve got nits and all that. And I was like, why you saying that? It’s a little bit you know, rude. He was just saying that “you’ve got nits” and all sorts and I don’t like that (3.96-100).

The boy saying Ada has nits implies she is dirty and is catching so keep her at a distance because she is untouchable and undesirable. The taunts about

nits are aimed at spreading the message to keep away from Ada and repeat the words to others; the torment spreads along with the public humiliation with Ada feeling as though she is like a leper.

Tanya pinpoints why she is being victimized, "*Then they still carry on, they think that like just because I'm quiet then I won't say anything to them*" (13, 468-470). Tanya is quiet in class and proves an easy target because she will not retaliate or hit back. Tanya believes it is her quietness which turns her into a victim, the compliance with school rules and an emphasis on school achievement will not protect her from the constant attacks from her male peers. Which begs the question, how useful is it to follow the school rules, is it not better to be rebellious and therefore be able to protect oneself? Loud and rebellious versus quiet and compliant, the latter learning type appears to be valued in school but is helpless in the face of the harsher realities of bullying and sexism. Tanya may believe that being loud would prevent the bullying.

5b SEGREGATION

Perhaps the most shocking and surprising finding in my analysis was the stark segregation between males and females which is counter parted by the segregation of the communities in school. "*I used to go to a different mosque but then my dad said it's not good for me to get teached by a boy because I'm a bit old now so I should go to a girl mosque teacher*" (Tanya, 18.672-674). Tanya describes a gender distinction; which creates divisions and differences between sexes.

"Girls like in different side and boys in different side" (Samina, 10.364).

Samina actively proposed a separation of boys and girls without understanding that this act itself could be the cause of her further subjugation which is the opposite to mixed, mainstream teaching in British schools. Such separations occur in single sex or faith schools but go against current, inclusive educational ethos. Samina in her statement describes the troubled

relationships between genders, hinting at female subjugation and oppression by males.

“I like to be with Pakistani girls not boys” (Ada, 3.75-76). Ada is very open about her dislike of working with boys and preference for her own ethnicity. However, Ada does provide a more balanced view, *“You know like Yousef Ali? He’s okay. There’s some people that are okay, a few boys that are okay with me but some act smart and all that”* (3, 91-93). But it is those boys who colour Ada’s perception of boys, generalising the entire gender as bullies, requiring segregation. Ada’s position is similar to the generalising of entire communities and the lack of integration between certain communities.

“Yeah, but all my cousins that are boys they go to XXXX school and I’m like I don’t want to go to XXXX school” (Farah, 17.650-651). Farah goes as far as to reject mixed schools and would prefer single sex.

Samina goes into great detail as to why she would like the separation of boys and girls, which does not appear to be limited to cultural or demands made from the family:

Because boys are quite mean to girls and they just I don’t like boys anyway cos they’re just nasty they never listen to yer. Like Ali sits next to me and then he never listens like if I want to do something, you have to be partners, he never lets me do anything. Then I have to like move to like someone else’s group and it’s not fair for like the other girls cos they get like bullied and everything but the boys they’re just fine they don’t have any problems. It’s mostly girls who have the problems (10, 367-374).

There appears to be a perceived battle of wills, of power over the opposite sex. *“Mean, nasty, never listens, not fair, bullies”* is a catalogue of offences against females, creating divisions filled with victims and perpetrators which could reflect wider sexual divisions in society. *“Boys they’re just fine... It’s mostly girls who have the problems.”* Samina makes a strong statement without empathy for boys. Samina’s statement reflects her perception of the different issues boys and girls have. Girls have visible problems with bullying

as well as having to sit next to mean boys but it is a sweeping statement to suggest boys do not have problems. Boys may mask their problems by subjugating others or achieve emancipation through oppressing females (see Lester et al., 2012).

5c ADULT RESPONSES

Samina touches on the inherent sexism of the school, "*So it's not fair for like us lot and the boys they're more the teachers think that boys are more special than girls. We always get picked on by teachers and students*" (12.456-459). Samina describes her perception of open sexism in school; girls are subjugated by teachers too, damaging their self-esteem and confidence, reinforcing Samina's view that it is a man's world. Samina is describing one point of view, there will be others in the class and indeed an opinion from the teacher's themselves. However, the fact that Samina feels that the "*teachers think that boys are more special than girls,*" warrants attention and further investigation.

Tanya describes how teachers can be fair and produce a systematic approach to bullying, "*She hasn't done anything and I know she hasn't done anything cos I've been like keeping an eye on her so and I've also been keeping an eye on you so I know what you've been doing*" (15.558-560). The teacher gathers evidence to catch the boy out which is systematic and without doubt as if they were in a court, the teacher required firm evidence to prove the boy was wrong.

Tanya describes how informing adults of bullying is not always be the best course of action, "*Miss Jenson shouted at me and my friends that, "why did you like say anything to him?"*" (13.484-485). Here, Tanya is looking to the teachers, the adults to help but none is received despite being in the "good" group and being sensible, she is not believed.

“They give you boys” (Ada, 3.76). Ada shows that the teachers are not sensitive to her needs or feelings – “they” shows her detachment from the school and its inhabitants.

I don't know, they just do and once ages ago these boys Lucy was involved Lucy was saying to us “moti³” and everything. We told the teacher and then because they believe Lucy more than us, then we got in trouble. They thought that we were lying to make Lucy in trouble so we got so in trouble that Mrs Short kept shouting at us all afternoon. We had to be separated from each other but we didn't lie. They thought that we had lied just to make her in trouble but we didn't. They just support Lucy and not us. (Samina, 12, 461-468).

Samina protests at the unfairness, of not being believed, despite going to an adult which is perceived as the sensible option instead of being reactive. The adult response legitimises male subjugation of females but also the reinforcement of white superiority over the Pakistanis. It becomes a double disadvantage, being female and Pakistani.

5d GENDERED SUBJECTS

Female subjugation extends to the type of subjects that girls should be participating in which suggests that the sexism is firmly embedded in the curriculum and so more difficult to challenge. For example, there was no protest about the gendering of subjects.

“The two ⁴goriya they always like play football so like there's no point like we don't like football us girls and they do so there's no point being their friend cos like they're different to us” (Samina, 11.402-404). Samina explains how divisions are created by football with the Muslim girls disliking the sport and those who enjoy football. Samina makes a point about common interests bringing communities together but also the rigidity of groups unwilling to compromise or give others a chance due to their own prejudices. Racism goes further than simply one group/person being racist to another, prejudice exists in groups, legitimising and maintaining differences and segregation.

³ “moti” is “fat” in Urdu

⁴ “goriya” in Urdu refers to white girls

“And then the girls get to do the pool and everything and they have different activities out on the table like art and craft” (Ali, 2.49-51). Ali describes the separate activities for girls as arts and crafts which are soft activities which need segregation from the hard-core masculine sports. Ali goes further in his demeaning of females, assigning a higher status to males, *“I like it because erm they do like they know more activities like than breakfast club people because they are like ladies and they don’t know the rules so XXXX United they do know rules of football and cricket* (1.32-34). The gender distinction Ali suggests is bound by the roles, rules and masculine sports with the females less knowledgeable *“because they are like ladies”* producing a reduced role for females and a diminished status. Ali’s depiction of gender roles reflects wider society, less value given to women, less pay and opportunities, while men are seen as more capable and valuable. The fact that the men were from the local football team further reinforces their superior status, further diminishing the nameless *“ladies”* status.

“Did you see what came on this channel yesterday? Did you see Starparivaar and all that?” and I were like “I don’t even know what it is! I never even watch it!” (Farah, 11.390-392). Farah shows the contrast between friends over entertainment, particular friends enjoy Indian TV serials and is a topic of conversation in the same way that British soaps are. Farah categorises her friend as *“all about the dramas...and the high”* as if she were a drama too, a gossip, engaging in purely entertaining pursuits. Farah does not share this enthusiasm hinting that she has strong views about television or leisure activities that are not common to her friends. This maturing has not extended to her friends, while Farah feels removed from their conversation and even pokes fun by saying *“blah blah what not”*, such pursuits are dull and unworthy of her attention.

CONCLUSIONS

The messages in school revolve around the legitimization of sexism in the classroom which spills into racism and bullying. The boys use friends,

relatives, physical and emotional attributes to exercise power over the Pakistani girls. This bullying induces strong feelings and emotions which are used to justify opinions for single sex and even more extreme single faith schools.

4.7 SECTION F

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 6: THE IMPACT OF BULLYING

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <u>Physical bullying</u> | √ | | | | √ | √ |
| <u>Ritual Humiliation</u> | √ | | √ | | | |
| <u>Isolation</u> | √ | | √ | | | |

6a PHYSICAL BULLYING

Hussain, Ali and Tanya made reference to physical bullying:

Like they hit me and I wanted to tell the teacher and the then the teacher kept on telling people and this boy found out and he kept hitting me “oh how come you got bullied then?” (Hussain, 8.279-281).

Hussain explains how sharing the incidence of bullying creates more problems. Hussain paints a vivid picture of his treatment at the hands of bullies, “*They would keep on asking me questions and then like keep on asking me questions and they say like, “you have to tell me” I say “why?” “oh!” they just hit me, “I’m going to thingy yer take the mickey out of yer” or someat*” (8, 282-285). Fearful, aggressive and threatening language is used, highlighting the panic in Hussain created by their questions. “*Thingy*” sounds

even more threatening because it isn't a word but code for an unexplainable, violent act. Using "Ye" dehumanises Hussain.

"Like when erm people bully yer they're around like er r they like help you like with telling the teacher like if they doing it outside like someone's hitting me against the wall and so no one can see it" (Ali, 3.109-112). Ali's account of physical harm is dispassionate and detached. "No one can see" reflects the hidden bullying and the violence concealed from the teachers.

Tanya also made reference to physical bullying, *"he like kicked me and then I said, "stop kicking me" and then he kicked me again"* (15, 552-553). Tanya is describing the violent aspect of boys who bully her as following on from the comments made earlier in section 5a.

6b RITUAL HUMILIATION

Yeah like the teacher would tell a different teacher and then that teacher tells a different teacher and then they just keep telling teachers and then and then and then and they say and they say and then there's someone there (Hussain, 8.269-272).

Here the teachers serve to increase Hussain's humiliation. The knowledge of Hussain's weaknesses are used as sticks to beat him. *"Er upset because cos they don't stop talking about it and they don't like stop talking about what I said"* (Hussain, 11, 390-391). Teachers do not make it better; the incident is blown out of proportion, making the private, public. *"Don't stop talking"* repeated illustrating the pain caused by words and the repetition of Hussain's words over and over. Hussain is not allowed to forget what he said.

"And then erm we learnt that and then just cos first time we sang it when he learnt us, everyone was looking at me when they said that word and then after that they started calling me like that" (Samina, 5.165-168). *"Everyone was looking at me"* suggests it was preplanned, the ritual humiliation of using a song to draw attention within the public domain of the whole class, a calculated act of damaging self-esteem and racism, not easily explained to

the teacher because it is underhand and implicit. *“It’s not my name now but I don’t like it you know when I go to secondary school they’ll keep calling there. The other children there will call me because I don’t know them so when they start in Year Seven as well from XXXX or XXXX they all start calling me as well so I want them to stop”* (Samina, 5, 168-172). Samina explains the gnawing awareness that the name calling will continue in secondary school. Samina finds it hard to explain how terrible this would be, fumbling with her words, repeats *“wants them to stop”* the incessant chant, the ritual humiliation to cease, finish, be over.

6c ISOLATION

Hussain says, *“that I’m making it up and then no one be's with me and they say like “oh, only the only the wind hears you.”* (11.395-397). Hussain provides an evocative, resonant description of his isolation and helplessness. *“Only the wind”* is a powerful metaphor, taunting him, the wind cannot speak or be seen so cannot help him either. No one stuck up for Hussain or kept him upright, stood by him or made him stand tall.

Samina feels a different kind of isolation arising from her close bonds with her friends and separation from boys and other communities. *“In secondary school they separate yer”* (8.284). Samina repeats *“separate”, “different teachers”* – signifying the alarm and trauma of being apart from such long standing friends and thrust in front of strangers, dismantling strong attachments. Samina suffers from the anxiety of meeting new people. Samina has possibly forgotten how to meet new people. There is no manual or instructions to explain how to make new friends and meet new teachers. Samina’s isolation is not a direct result of bullying but a culmination of factors including difficulties with other communities and volatile relationships with boys, turning to the warmth and security of her friends. This strategy is threatened with the introduction of secondary school.

CONCLUSIONS

The many facets of bullying were explored including physical violence, ritual humiliation and isolation. This section contrasted with female subjugation and bullying, suggesting that they are separate issues. Or does female subjugation lessen its value if not deemed as bullying? I will discuss bullying further in the discussion chapter.

4.8 SECTION G

SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 7: THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

| Sub-ordinate Themes | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Suppression of identity</u> | | √ | | √ | | √ |
| <u>Resilience and strength from religion and culture</u> | | √ | √ | √ | | √ |
| <u>Disenchantment and rejection of British mixed schools</u> | | √ | √ | √ | | |
| <u>Religious beliefs and customs</u> | | √ | √ | √ | | √ |

The seventh super-ordinate theme is also marked because it has been strongest for the female participants.

7a SUPPRESSION OF IDENTITY

Ada provided a highly charged and passionate account of a Muslim boy ripping the Pakistan flag, "*Bilal, he's a Muslim as well, I don't know why he ripped it but he ripped it, no, they ripped it the Pakistan flag and they punched the Saudi Arabia flag* (4.132-134). It was a personal attack on Ada's identity and the origins of Muslims (Saudi Arabia) which was deliberate and calculated. Ada found the ripping of the flags inexplicable because Bilal was also a Muslim. Ada repeats the ripping of the flags which reinforces the shock and outrage of this violent action. Ada cannot reconcile a Muslim committing this crime of destroying Islamic symbols. I find Ada's response similar to the well-known cases of The Satanic Verses and the Dutch cartoon causing outrage amongst Muslims throughout the world for insulting the religion.

Farah positively explodes with emotion when describing her distaste of school uniforms, "*We're supposed to express who we are, not blumin brown t shirt and things like that! I just don't like it, I don't like school uniforms*" (7.232-233). Farah shows awareness of the school uniform suppressing her self-expression –she is deeply resentful of the "*brown t shirt*", uses "*blumen*" to further emphasise the point, freeing her from formal language and the formal uniform. The school uniform represents a stifling of personality, creativity and enjoyment, reflecting what the school represents. "*Like even if we go to my auntie's house, they'll be like wearing makeup and like rings and tiaras and everything. (Both laugh) We'd be wearing all that and I'm like proper girly girl (laughs)*" (7, 252-255). It is dramatic for Farah to wear all her jewellery. The feminine act of wearing jewellery evokes soft, gentle stereotypes but Farah does not appear to embody such stereotypes. "*I get to like let myself out, I don't have to be trapped inside the body that looks like a school kid*" (7, 268-269). Being trapped is a very strong image representing her strong views about school uniform. Farah is trapped against her will, she cannot get out and she feels suppressed and oppressed. Farah appears to be struggling against more than just the uniform. Farah states she does not

want to look like a school kid but she is attending school and is a primary aged pupil. Farah seems to be articulating the struggle of adolescence where she has the body of a school child but wants to be recognised as an adult.

Tanya explains why she does not want to share spiritual and cultural activities with the class, *“I don’t like talking to the teachers about that or like because sometimes they make ermm”* (19.736-737). Tanya worries about the response she may receive from her peers but also suffers from stage fright by speaking in front of a large group. The expectation of sharing different cultural practices can produce a lot of stress for the young person, which they may wish to avoid.

7b RESILIENCE AND STRENGTH FROM RELIGION AND CULTURE

Ada explains how the philosophy of her religion provides the blueprint for how she should live, *“Er ...it feels good because you don’t know if you’re gonna be alive the next day or not so it’s better if you spend more time, not wasting yer time”* (15.556-558). Each day is precious and should be lived to the full, which for Ada means sharing time with her family and friends with a common culture and possibly not at school. School represents isolation for Ada so she seeks solace in her culture and draws strength from her friends and family. In the face of difficulties with other communities as mentioned earlier in the analysis, Ada finds belonging and comfort within her culture, which is lacking at school.

Farah goes on to explain, *“when I’m in the other clothes, totally different person. I’m like jumping everywhere, jumping around I’m everything. And in school, I’m like laid down and like I’m really shy”* (7.257-260). Farah describes how her clothes make her behave in a specific way according to how she feels *“a totally different person”* where she is not shy but outgoing, extrovert, expressive and happy. But in school, Farah is literally laid down, feeling low and uncaring. Farah uses the word *“shy”* to describe this state but

I am unsure if another word would be better at describing her feelings and behaviour. Throughout the interview, Farah described herself as “shy” but I found her to be very outgoing and loud, asserting her views openly. I think introverted or quiet maybe a better way at expressing how Farah feels whilst wearing the uniform. The uniform stops Farah from being energetic and friendly, sapping her energy and personality. *“Like I’ll get dressed up in one of my erm Pakistani dresses, like a big, flashy thing (both laugh)”* (6, 222-223). Wearing traditional Pakistani clothes also asserts Farah’s culture in the school and increases a sense of belonging, a visual, vibrant reminder of culture and tradition, lacking in the drab, brown uniform that represents conformity, devoid of personality or voice.

Tanya explains how she controls her anger, *“I felt really angry but then I thought I should control my anger cos you never know what you can do in anger”* (12.445-446). Tanya links her feelings to the Islamic view of anger which is to be prevented and tamed rather than expressed because anger is destructive and irrational.

Samina explores the difference between mosque and school, *“it’s just like different (from school) cos like there’s different people here but in mosque they understand you more because like we’re all the same, like Muslims all there, all of em all of em are Muslims”* (18.682-684). Samina describes the unity of the mosque as *“all the same...Muslims (girls).”* There is strength in numbers without guilt or tension, an easy shared endeavour because they are separate from the boys.

7c DISENCHANTMENT AND REJECTION OF BRITISH MIXED SCHOOLS

Ada explains her view of school, *“It’s okay but sometimes I don’t like to come”* (2.58). Ada shows her dissatisfaction with school and possible poor attendance. Farah provides an even more explicit view, *“I don’t wanna be like that, I wanna be like in Islamic school where there’s only Islamic girls”* (17.639-640). Farah openly opposes English education by moving to girls

only Islamic school, reflecting her disenchantment with school and with a mixed education. Farah wants to be away from whites, their rules, their prison, their uniform and away from different people, different cultures and religions.

Samina describes the tension between her culture and that of the school, *“But I like like girl teachers because they understand girls more and most of the time we say like, like we want boys on one side and girls on one side but then Mr Smith said it’s not mosque like what you want to happen cos mostly in mosque it’s like boys separate and girls separate”* (10.357-361). Firstly, Samina interprets a gender distinction favouring females because of female solidarity and preferring characteristics which are nurturing, soft and gentle and protective of fragilities. Secondly, Samina takes the extreme view of boys on one side and girls on one side, opposing mixed, mainstream teaching in British schools. Samina goes against the philosophy and practice employed in schools, of collaborative working, mixed groups and classes. Samina is implying a separation of gender, which has consequences; do we separate by class, race or physical attractiveness?

7d RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

Ada explains how she shares her religion in school, *“I brought some books about Hazrat Eesa⁵ and that and the prophets and books like that. Not the Quran you don’t know if you can give it or not so why...”* (16.582-585). Ada believes bringing the Quran to school would be disrespectful because it is not a place of worship. However, Ada’s views may represent her deeper prejudices against other communities and the school and therefore, does not want to bring the Quran into such an environment. Ada further explains her position here, *“I don’t know if they can touch it or not because they have all the haram stuff”* (15, 577-578). *“Haram”* in Arabic refers to anything which is not permitted in Islam such as eating pork, drinking alcohol and so on. Ada could be implying that the non-Muslims in the school are *haram* and so

⁵ “Hazret Eesa” is the prophet Jesus in Arabic

unworthy of the Quran and Islam. Ada's views reflect her prejudices against school.

Farah discusses the power of prayer, *"Like last time, I prayed for my aunty and she didn't even know and when she came to our house, I said, "I went around the Khana Khaaba ⁶for you" and she were right grateful and she were like "ah thank you" and all that"* (18.670-673). Farah describes her religious pilgrimage (Hajj) and how she affected relatives who shared her beliefs through this journey. Farah's admission depicts a strong, religious element to her personality.

Tanya explores why she follows her religion, *"it's my home religion, if I don't get used to this then what will I be called or like it's my religion I should like follow it. If I don't follow it then it's just my then it's just wrong so I should follow it."* (20.757-760). Tanya's explanation reflects her love of Islam, their family identity and also the fear of having no identity. Tanya perceives it as her duty to follow what her parents present to her - *"I should follow it"* without question or challenge, accepting and embracing families values.

Samina explores the difference between Christianity and Islam, *"if you're a Muslim you have to like follow the rules but if you are Christian you can choose if you want to go to church and if you want to like be a proper Christian"* (2.52-55). Samina explains how there is more choice in Christianity while Islam is more strict. The repetition of "strict" reflects the intensity of the word, reflecting a firm, austere and exacting faith while Christianity is looser, prone to interpretation and therefore weakness. The dilution of the original Christian teachings means you are not a *"proper Christian."*

CONCLUSIONS

The seventh super-ordinate theme of the impact of cultural identity explored the juxtaposition between the British, secular school and the deeply religious and gendered fervour of the participants. I found the two cultures incompatible because the cultural practices and beliefs the participants were

⁶ "Khaana Kaaba" is the monument in Mecca, Saudi Arabia where Muslims go for their religious pilgrimage

talking about have no place in secular teaching which does not promote any one culture or religion.

Chapter 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The discussion chapter will link the Interpretative Analysis with the relevant literature as previously mentioned, although some will be newly introduced at this point. I will discuss, critique and evaluate the analysis in conjunction with the associated psychological and sociological (Bourdieu, 1986) theories. The structure adopted for this chapter will be discussing specific elements of each of the Analysis section's seven super-ordinate themes. I will also consider how the analysis and literature relate to the research question. Finally, I will consider the merits of an ecosystemic approach to understanding the participants' experience of school.

I will address the research question:

How do Pakistani young people interpret their experiences of school?

By discussing how each super-ordinate theme and its corresponding sub-ordinate themes relate to how young people interpret their experiences of school.

The interpretative analysis revealed seven super-ordinate themes and a large number of corresponding sub-ordinate themes. The richness and complexity of the interpretative analysis reflects the wide ranging scope of the super-ordinate themes which range from the emotional experience of learning to the impact of gendered power struggles. However, the wide ranging nature of the super-ordinate themes made it difficult for me to discuss the themes within any one theoretical framework. I introduced Erikson's (1968) stages of development in the literature review because of the participants' age; the adolescent stage would be helpful to understand their experiences. The ecosystemic approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) was also introduced in the literature review to increase understanding of how the different systems around the young people intersected and influenced their

experience of school. I will later in this chapter discuss Erikson's (1968) stage of adolescence and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecosystemic approach in relation to the analysis. However, in order to understand some aspects of the analysis, cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and bridging (Gillies et al., 2010) which was also introduced in the literature review will be applied in the discussion.

Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital (embodied, objectified and institutionalized) is centred on the idea that cultural capital is determined by the dominant groups in society and is necessary for school success. Bourdieu (1986) argued that disadvantaged groups accumulated less cultural capital and so were disadvantaged in the school system. The present study is situated in an inner city school with high levels of eligibility for free school meals which could be interpreted as an area with less cultural capital (all three forms) and increased deprivation. Gillies et al. (2010) explored how a school in their study tried to "bridge" the gap between the culture of the community and that of the school through respecting the values of the family as well as instilling the values and opportunities of school.

5.2 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 1: THE EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE OF LEARNING

- PASSION FOR LEARNING
- DIFFICULTIES WITH SUBJECTS

The interpretative analysis suggested that the emotional experience of learning had an impact on how participants' interpreted their experience of school. The emotional impact of school was a consistent theme throughout the analysis. For some participants emotions ranged from anger, through to joy. The range of emotions displayed during the interviews are consistent with the topics discussed by the participants such as enjoyment of school, conflict between communities and the marginalization of females and culture. IPA research is also adept at drawing out emotions (Smith et al., 2009).

The emotional experience of learning directly relates to the emotional engagement of school (Fredricks, Blumenfeld and Paris, 2004). Emotional engagement refers to the students' responses to the classroom, characterised by their enjoyment, interest, boredom and anxiety (Connell and Wellborn, 1991). Four of the six participants expressed their engagement within the school due to their interest in learning. This passion for learning was important for the participants' engagement with school because their values were interlinked. For example, Samina enjoyed RE lessons because she not only learnt about other religions but she was also able to demonstrate her own knowledge of Islam. Ali had a vested interest in school because achieving related to his future ambitions of being a doctor (please see Section A in the Analysis chapter). For Ali, Samina, Hussain and Tanya's passion for learning reflects the findings of studies which measure emotional engagement. Finn (1989) found that emotional engagement related to the identification with school. Finn (1989) found that emotional engagement was evidenced by how much students identified with the values of school, for example, whether students believed school subjects would be useful for their future, similar to Ali's future ambitions as stated above.

Studies have also shown how emotional engagement can be measured through assessing a student's work orientation and orientation towards school. Steinberg, Brown and Dornbush (1996) found that some students explained how difficult they found sticking to demanding and time consuming tasks and how satisfied they felt with school because of the amount they were learning. Steinberg et al.'s (1996) findings relate to Farah's difficulties with subjects because her emotional response to literacy relates to how demanding she found the subject. Farah described her frustrations with literacy which related to her own self-concept as "*I'm not good with spelling*" (4.116). Emotions ran high for Farah when she described her dislike for testing, "*I just hate reading tests and writing tests. I'm not good at writing*" (14.540-544). From a school engagement perspective (Fredricks et al., 2004), Farah's difficulties with literacy meant she was struggling emotionally with the school's values of academic assessment and success. A negative

view of school work described by Ali with regards to writing (page 13.476-478) relates to his lack of engagement with literacy and even leads him to believe that it is an unnecessary subject for his future ambitions as a doctor. Hussain, like Farah perceives poor attainment in school with a diminished sense of self. For example, “*Er maths cos I’m not like that bright at maths or anything and they ask me a question and I get the wrong answer*” (8.301-302).

CONCLUSION

The links made here between the emotional engagement with learning and the engagement to school will be discussed further in the following section relating to the super-ordinate theme of cultural capital. The concept of cultural capital will also be further explored in the following section.

5.3 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 2: THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

- DIFFERENTIATION
- CULTURAL CAPITAL

The super-ordinate theme of the cultural impact of the school curriculum can be understood in terms of the engagement of the participants to school (Fredricks et al., 2004) which was influenced by how successfully the school transmitted cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and bridged (Gilles et al., 2010) the school’s values with those of the participants.

Differentiation has a direct bearing upon cultural capital and the responses from participants because it relates to the content of lessons which have a strong relationship to the participants’ engagement with school.

Differentiation is a way to support and challenge pupils in their everyday learning. However, Hussain had a poor view of the differentiation he had experienced, classing it as “*boring*” but Tanya reflected on the empowering

effect of the Early Literacy Support intervention which enabled her to enhance skills in literacy (9.326-329). For Tanya, the school was successful in bridging (Gillies et al., 2010) the academic skills gap. Ali found the hierarchical structure of differentiation appealing because it situated him in the more able group, "*I'm in that group that's a bit clever*" (5.159-161). However, Ali did not consider how he would feel if he was in the less able group which could be applicable for Farah and Hussain. Both Hussain and Farah appear to internalise their difficulties in school subjects and do not find differentiation always helpful. Indeed, Farah attains higher in maths but does not find it challenging enough. For these participants, placement on the hierarchy of strengths and needs gives rise to concerns over ability and anxiety of assessment success which are symbols of school achievement disseminated as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Perhaps the most successful attempt at bridging the experiential gap between the participants and school was the more transparent cultural capital of trips. Bourdieu (1986) would view trips as cultural currency for educational success. The more currency young people have access to, the more success they will achieve in school. The participants' view of trips was clear; the school fulfilled the gaps in knowledge and experience which had the effect of increasing enjoyment and participation within school. Ali explained how he visited the Sealife Centre and saw a shark for the first time (8.298-299) and the wonder that went with this and other trips. What is interesting is how participating in such trips and experiences extended to Ali's home life, where visiting places such as the seaside has become "*normal*" (11.405-411). The interaction between school and home provides a powerful example of how effective the transmission of cultural capital is and how successful the bridging process can be (Gillies et al., 2010). In contrast, Hussain does not have access to "*normal movies*" (4.139-140) but he is able to watch them in school. In this respect, the school provides an important function to increase the limited experience of young people by increasing their cultural capital.

Tanya presents as a person who already has access to cultural capital through technological gadgets such as Ipads (6.195-197) which increase her

enjoyment and engagement with school and religious subjects. For Tanya, having access to trips further increases her cultural capital and enhances her opportunities for success in school.

CONCLUSIONS

Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital and Gillies et al.'s (2010) view of bridging successfully encapsulate how differentiation and trips relate to increases or decreases in the participants' engagement of school. Although the school tries to build up the amount of cultural capital for the participants in the form of trips and literacy intervention which is valued by both pupils and school, the aim of this bridging is to steer young people towards the goal of educational success. Hussain and Farah struggle with attaining success academically so the values of school clash with their own abilities, creating a mismatch of goals and a possible tension between the participant and the school. The tension between the participant and the school could also relate to Erikson's (1968) stage of adolescence which is characterised by conflict and tension between the young person and figures or institutions of authority.

5.4 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 3: THE IMPORTANCE OF ENDURING FRIENDSHIPS

- STRENGTH AND TRUST
- LASTING
- UNITY

The super-ordinate theme of the importance of enduring friendships lends itself to Semo and Karmel's (2011) use of "social capital" which was developed from Bourdieu (1986). Halpern (2005) found that friendships and community activities can reduce the need for young people's reliance on parents for cultural capital which form informal networks as opposed to formal networks found in families or the school environment (Semo and

Karmel, 2011). The findings of Halpern (2005) link to Erikson's (1968) stage of adolescence where there is a move away from parents towards the influence and support of peers and friendships. The importance of friendships would also relate to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) meso system and how the individual interacts with the external systems of peers and friends. McGill, Way and Hughes (2012) found that intraracial friendships were more long lasting than interracial friendships because such relationships provide protection and solidarity in a seemingly discriminatory society. Intraracial friendships refer to friendships found amongst one's own ethnic group and interracial refers to friendships found between different ethnic groups. The analysis supported the findings of McGill et al. (2012) where the female participants spoke of the strength; unity and longevity of their Pakistani Muslims friends (please refer to Section C of the Analysis Chapter). Farah views her friends as a container for her emotions which can prove volatile at times. Samina also extols the virtues of her friends who remain steadfast despite potential conflicts. Tanya explains the positive aspects of her friendships which extend to other young people and how having friendships are a part of the happiness of school. Tanya's view is consistent with research which found having friendships increases the emotional and behavioural engagement of school (Fredricks et al., 2004).

Ada reflects in detail how having friends from the same ethnic background allows her to express and reinforce her identity as a Pakistani. However, Ada's views also relates to the more negative traits of friendships which exclude other ethnic groups, "*Us Pakistani girls like we don't like being with goray girls er we like to be with Pakistani girls*" (10, 380-381). Although Ada's friendships increase her social capital and social network it decreases her participation in school because without her friends she feels less attachment to school.

The female participants experience of friendship contrasts with Renold and Allan's (2007) findings mentioned earlier in the literature review (section 2.5). Renold and Allan (2007) found three female participants subscribed to

different narratives in school: Sharmila who was clever but feminine and popular, Nyla was studious, religious and unpopular with her peers and Libby who was popular and clever. I would compare the female participants in the present study with Nyla because they were all religious and did not really succumb to popular notions of femininity (apart from Farah). The participants did not fit neatly into Nyla's description either because Samina and Tanya were studious but Ada and Farah were not. The friendship was based on solidarity of a shared religion and culture rather than discourses around boys, academic achievement and make up. However, we cannot be sure as to how "real" the difference between Renold and Allan's (2007) and my analysis was because it could be due to the interview situation where the participants may have thought that I required more thoughtful, religious based discussions rather than pursuing "lighter" topics such as music and boys.

Ali presented a different view of friendship which was not gender or ethnically based but based on trust and reliability. Ali provides a more conventional view of friendships in school which is devoid of the more controversial elements discussed above regarding excluding other groups and an "us" and "them" mentality. It is possible that Ali does not view friends in terms of ethnicity or was unwilling to discuss such matters to a relative stranger. The former view would be consistent with the research which indicates that interracial friendships are more common among boys than girls (Way & Chen, 2000; Way & Greene, 2006).

CONCLUSIONS

The participants' experiences of strong, unified friendships is consistent with the research about the importance of friendships in increasing social capital (Semo and Karmel, 2011) as well as fostering independence from the family. Crosnoe and Needham (2004) argued the importance of friendships for development during adolescence and Karpov (2005) pointed to its importance for forging identities and connecting with others. The participants' views are close to Erikson's (1968) theory around the

importance of friendships to forming an identity as well as autonomy from parents during adolescence. It appears that the female participants rely on their long lasting intraracial friendships in order to ground them in school. The female voice was very strong in this super-ordinate theme and may be tapping into my original aim of uncovering hidden voices from a feminist, critical realist position. I will further explore the feminist position in the following sections.

5.5 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 4: THE IMPACT OF THE SEGREGATION BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

- TURBULENT RELATIONS
- RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION
- IMPACT OF LANGUAGE
- ADULTS BEING UNFAIR

The super-ordinate theme of the segregation between communities provided a highly charged, emotive and prejudiced perception of the relations between the different communities in school. Samina provided a strong, visual image of how the playground was divided reflecting the divisions between the different communities (please see Section 4a in the Analysis Chapter). At this point it may be helpful to revisit psychological theories of prejudice. Sherif (1966) discussed “inter-group conflict” where the presence of competition between groups creates conflict. Historically, the battle for resources has resulted with increases of racial attacks, for example, Campbell (1967) explained how when prosperity was low in the 1930s in the US, the lynching of blacks in the South increased. Intergroup conflict could be used to describe the present social context, where high unemployment and the perceived influx of Eastern Europeans could result in greater anti-European sentiment.

Tajfel, Billig and Bundy (1971) explored the minimal groups’ theory where the categorising of in and out-groups created conflict even where there was

none. Brown (1986) argued that the in- group was favoured over the out-group and assigned more positive traits than the out-group.

Hussain, Tanya, Samina, Ada, Farah all made comments regarding how Lithuanians and the white community fought with them as well as “*never support yer*”; “*all dirty*”; “*nick stuff*”; and “*bullying*” (please see Section 4a from the Analysis Chapter). These negative comments by the participants could be interpreted as a method of asserting themselves as the in-group and the other communities as part of the out-group. Samina further emphasises this distinction, “*Lithuanians with Lithuanians and Muslims with Muslims*” (13.492-493). The in and out-group are based on ethnic lines and by emphasising the negative qualities of the perceived out-group the in-group separate themselves as the superior and moral group who we are led to assume are not dirty or steal property.

Although Ada and Tanya did provide instances when they did work with other communities and were appreciated by the school, the effect of this appreciation was short lived. Tanya’s example of working together could be usefully illustrated by Allport’s (1954) Contact Theory where prejudice will be reduced when contact is between individuals of equal status. However, the fact that Tanya did not continue to work with the Lithuanian girl despite positive feedback (because the girl wanted to remain with her community), suggested that the issues at play are more complex than Contact Theory would imply.

The participants feel further victimised by the perceived inability of the adults in the school to understand these emotions, “*Like I told you first, they just believe them and they don’t believe us*” (Ada, 12.451-452). Ada herself provides an “us” and “them” culture and because she perceives the adults not supporting her (and her group) they become part of the “them” group in conflict with the perceived in-group. The adults are perceived as discriminatory because they do not allow Samina to speak in her own language but the Lithuanians are allowed (Samina, 11.417-419). Cummins (1986) found that using the first language (if English is learnt as an additional language) is effective for developing English academic skills. Baker (2000)

argued that there are affective benefits of appreciating the child's first language in the school environment which led to a secure cultural identity and higher self-esteem as well as less threat to the first language. Here, the perceived structures of the school could be unconsciously fuelling prejudice between groups and reinforcing the perception that the adults cannot help potential difficulties within these groups. I believe that because the participants are close to adolescence and uncertain over their identity (Erikson, 1968), the creation of in and out-groups has implications for their personal as well as social development as they progress through to comprehensive school. The participants themselves are unable to reflect on their solidarity within their own group to the exclusion of others which also creates difficulties and the participants themselves become guilty of out-group prejudice.

The views of Hussain and Ada lack cooperative participation, while Tanya did explore how she attempted to cooperate with a Lithuanian. Gilles et al. (2010) may argue that the school has not been successful at bridging the values of Pakistani pupils with those of the school and the Lithuanian and white communities which creates conflict and discrimination. A more multi-community based approach would be needed in order to bridge the values between the different communities.

CONCLUSIONS

The merits of in and out-groups have been discussed to explain the difficulties experienced by the different communities. However, I believe that because the participants are on the cusp of adolescence, this adds another layer upon their views, creating more disharmony between the groups than there may be in reality. Erikson's (1968) framework for adolescence will also be discussed in the following sections in order to shed more light on how the participants' personal development may be affecting their views and experiences of school.

5.6 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 5: THE IMPACT OF GENDERED POWER STRUGGLES

- FEMALE SUBJUGATION AND BULLYING
- SEGREGATION
- ADULTS RESPONSES
- GENDERED SUBJECTS

The fifth super-ordinate theme is marked because like the third super-ordinate theme of friendship, the impact of gendered power struggle is dominated by the female participants. The sub-ordinate themes of female subjugation and segregation require feminist input and psychological theory to provide some context over what the female participants are declaring.

Literature around gender and ethnicity has not always been clear. Fuller (1980) found that black girls affirmed their status through academic success because their identity was not supported by their families or male peers. However, Riley (1985) found that Afro-Caribbean females were encouraged equally with males and looked forward to relationships with men. Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) found that post 9/11 Pakistani boys were problematized as potential “terrorists” but Pakistani females were seen as oppressed by the family and culture. Ghaffar-Kucher (2012) found that such stereotypes of males and females had implications in the classroom with teachers having lower expectations for girls.

Towery (2007) argues the presence of sexism and gender bias in schools has negative outcomes for all children. Towery argues that there has been a backlash against feminism so much so that gender inequities have become invisible in schools. Towery (2007) argues that schools are the places where gender and racial inequities can be challenged. Owens, Smothers and Love (2003) claim,

What teachers say or do not say, their body language, what they do and who they call upon form a hidden curriculum that is more powerful than any textbook lesson, (p133).

The present study provides the intersection between race and gender in the classroom where previous research tends to focus on issues of racial bias. The female participants presented an overwhelming account of consistently taunted by the boys. Tanya equates reticence with being a convenient target for the boys, "*Then they still carry on, they think that like just because I'm quiet then I won't say anything to them*" (13, 468-470).

In contrast to Riley's (1985) findings of females being treated the same as males in Afro-Caribbean families, the participants' wished for a segregation of gender which was reinforced by the messages from home, "*I used to go to a different mosque but then my dad said it's not good for me to get teached by a boy because I'm a bit old now so I should go to a girl mosque teacher*" (Tanya, 18.672-674). The girls are placed in a difficult position because at school they are required to work with boys but the messages from home state otherwise. The mixed messages received from home and school creates confusion for the girls where any conflict with boys will be perceived as greater and may cloud their judgement over how they are treated in school. Samina aims to end this confusion by separating by sex, "*Girls like in different side and boys in different side*" (Samina, 10.364). Although there is a case for single sex education, it is far more difficult to exercise such segregation in a mixed, British state school. However, Samina proves oblivious to the problematic nature of such a separation. Ada and Farah are specific about the ethnicity of the boys who are bullying them, they are Pakistani, not white or Lithuanian (see Section 5b). The distinguishing between ethnicity for subjugating females suggests the tensions between genders are related to culture and the oppression of females of one's own community raises questions about the motivations of those Pakistani males. For Farah and Ada single sex and single faith schools are the answer. As mentioned earlier in the literature review (section 2.5), Archer's (2002) study on British Muslim girls' and boys' discursive constructions of post-16 educational choices may shed light on perceived gender and ethnic difficulties. Archer found that the boys tried to construct a domesticated view of female constraints to further education while there was no question or constraint over the boys' choice of further education. In contrast, the young

women presented the hostility of stereotyped views of other students and teachers as a deterrent in post-16 education. Archer (2002) found that rather than Muslim girls' being restricted by cultural norms it was the wider "intercultural" factors which influenced post-16 choices such as patriarchal dominance of the boys and racism. Females were seen by the males as the "cultural carriers" in need of protection from western society which was a point of conflict between the Muslim girls and boys. Archer's (2002) findings can be compared to the present study and how the female participants' views of the boys were characterised by gender inequalities and based on conflict.

Samina even stated that boys are without problems and the teachers are equally responsible in treating genders differently. I believe that the motivations of bullies cannot be ignored because they do not have a voice in this study. Pellegrini and Bartini (2000) argue that bullying behaviours increase during adolescence which also marks the transition between primary and secondary school. This transition is accompanied by the struggle to define a place in the new social hierarchy. Pellegrini and Bartini (2001) also state that bullying allows the aggressor to maintain dominance and have high status amongst peers. The boys may be bullying the girls in order to maintain dominance as suggested by Pellegrini and Bartini (2001) and by Archer (2002). The male participants did not discuss the divisions between the sexes which implies that it may not be a problem for the boys or the girls may be exaggerating their own experiences. The participants believed that the adults in school did not offer support for what they believed was inherent sexism in the classroom. A perceived lack of knowledge by teachers of gender bias in classrooms would be consistent with Towery's (2007) view that teachers are often unaware of subtle sexist practices in school and require training to gain a greater appreciation of the sexist and racist undercurrents which may be operating in the classroom and unintentionally by their own behaviour.

The existence of a gendered curriculum reinforces views of inherent sexism in institutions (Towery, 2007) which are not questioned. Ali has a diminished view of the role of females in school because they are lacking in sports'

knowledge and there are certain subjects and activities for girls which are separate for boys (see Section 5d in the Analysis Chapter). Within the classroom, there appears to be divisions between sexes, between ethnic groups and subjects which would support Owen's et al.'s (2007) view of the "hidden curriculum".

CONCLUSIONS

The literature (Towery, 2007, Ghaffar-Kucher, 2012) and theories are limited to discussions around gender or ethnicity but not how they intersect in the classroom. Interestingly, the experiences of the female Pakistani participants in this study may have more in common with Fuller's (1980) study with black girls in a London comprehensive. However, Mirza (1992) and Riley (1985) sought to criticise her work because of the emphasis on subcultures and familial influence rather than the inequities that may exist in the school itself. But there may be merit in observing the differences between the cultures of the participants (Archer, 2002) which will be different to the culture experienced by Afro-Caribbean's. The picture is more complex and it is important to view the participants as individuals with their own experiences rather than homogenising according to ethnicity.

5.7 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 6: THE IMPACT OF BULLYING

- PHYSICAL BULLYING
- RITUAL HUMILIATION
- ISOLATION

I reflected on why the analysis had drawn out two super-ordinate themes of bullying, one female orientated and the sixth appeared to be male orientated. I was struck by the different accounts of bullying by both genders which appeared to raise separate explanations or interpretations. The fifth super-ordinate theme was characterised by female subjugation by males and suggested inherent sexism and a hidden curriculum (Owen's et al., 2007)

reinforcing gender inequalities. The sixth super-ordinate theme appears to be based around more conventional descriptions but no less emotive experiences of bullying which may be found in many anti-bullying policies in schools. The more conventional bullying also supports the large body of research on bullying that is available. Research has found that school bullying can lead to serious physical, psychological and social health problems, affecting all young people within the school (Bosworth, 1999, Espelage, Bosworth and Simon, 2000). The loss of friends, feeling isolated, hopeless, loneliness, unhappiness and a lack of self-esteem as well as disturbing learning in school have all been associated with bullying behaviour (Bosworth, 1999, Pellegrini, 2002).

Physical bullying as described by Hussain paints him as a victim, isolated and vulnerable (see Section 6a in the Analysis Chapter). Hussain also talks about how the teachers discussed the incidents which intensified his humiliation and led to more bullying. Hussain shared his experiences in a way that illustrated the fear and panic he must have felt at the time, *“They would keep on asking me questions and then like keep on asking me questions and they say like, “you have to tell me” I say “why?” “oh!” they just hit me, “I’m going to thingy yer take the mickey out of yer” or someat”* (8, 282-285). Unlike the female participants, Hussain’s bullies are faceless, nameless perpetrators which indicate this may be a method of protecting himself; if he named his bullies there would be repercussions which he had already eluded. In contrast, Ali’s description of an incident is emotionless perhaps a way of distancing himself from the experience in order not to be defined by the incident or portrayed as a victim.

Lester, Cross, Shaw and Dooley (2012) investigated the pathways to bullying behaviour using longitudinal data from pupils aged 11-14 years during the transition from primary to comprehensive school. They found that peer support, connectedness to school, pro-victim attitudes, outcomes and level of bullying behaviour determined the role the victim would take either as a bully, victim or “bully-victim”. Lester et al. (2012) found that less pro-victim attitudes increased with age which indicated that bullying behaviour and outcomes are established by secondary age so primary years would be a

better target for interventions. A strong anti-bullying ethos of the school, greater sense of belonging coupled with greater peer support resulted in less perpetration and victimisation (Lester et al., 2012). The critical period for bullying behaviour between the transition from primary to secondary school would support Pellingrini and Bartini's (2000, 2001) claims that bullying behaviours increase during adolescence in order for the perpetrators or bully/victims to find their place in the new social hierarchy of the secondary school. Males are more likely than females to engage in bully-victim behaviour and believe that bullying will lead to high status rewards and report less peer social support (Holt and Espelage, 2007).

These findings would be consistent with the present study where four out of the six participants reported experiencing bullying. In terms of Lester et al.'s (2012) study, Hussain fits the role of a victim who has less peer support and pro-victim attitudes. While Ali appears to have a greater connectedness to school, greater peer support and therefore, assimilates bullying in a different manner. The isolation and loneliness of victims that Bosworth (1999) and Pellegrini (2002) described is supported by Hussain's experiences, "*that I'm making it up and then no one be's with me and they say like "oh, only the only the wind hears you"*" (11.395-397). The present study also relates to Phoenix et al's (2003) mentioned earlier in section 2.5. Phoenix et al. (2003) found that boys were not considered masculine if they showed emotion and were more likely to be bullied or labelled gay. Hussain in the present study, showed his emotions in a trusting and honest manner. While Ali was far more guarded and did not disclose his feelings regarding any bullying. Hussain also was consistent with Phoenix et al.'s (2003) findings that the boys were more likely to be open and reveal their feelings during individual interviews rather than in a group situation. Ali contrasted with Phoenix et al.'s (2003) findings because he did not show his emotions even though it was an individual interview.

Samina has strong peer support in the form of her female friends but the transition to secondary school injects fear of being separated from her support systems and entering an unknown school where the bullying may continue. The fear of starting secondary school and feeling anxious over the

unknown is consistent with Pellengrini and Bartini's (2000, 2001) findings of greater aggressive bullying behaviour during adolescence. The onset of adolescence itself creates cognitive dissonance and emotional upheaval which reinforces feelings of isolation from experiences of bullying.

CONCLUSIONS

The sixth super-ordinate theme of bullying has been explored using the research available. Studies by Lester et al. (2012) have been a useful method of gaining an understanding of how the participants presented different views of bullying experiences. A greater connectedness to school, peer support, and pro-social attitudes towards the victim and condemnation of the bully leads to less bullying, internalisation, victimization and victims becoming perpetrators themselves. The interaction between adolescence and bullying behaviour is an interesting and critical period in a young person's life. The participants appear to interpret their school experiences in terms of race, gender and adolescence which reveal a multi-layered and complex picture. Adolescence will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

5.8 SUPER-ORDINATE THEME 7: THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

- SUPPRESSION OF IDENTITY
- RESILIENCE AND STRENGTH FROM RELIGION AND CULTURE
- DISENCHANTMENT AND REJECTION OF BRITISH MIXED SCHOOLS
- RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

The seventh super-ordinate theme explicitly concerns the identity of the participants and is represented by the females in the sample. I will firstly present Erikson's (1968) theory of development in relation to adolescence

due to its significance to the experiences of the participants and arguably underpins the experiences interpreted throughout the previous super-ordinate themes.

The sub-ordinates themes interpreted (see Section G in the Analysis Chapter) can be understood in terms of Erikson's (1968) psychosocial development for adolescence. Ada's description of her anger at Bilal for ripping the Pakistan flag represents a threat to her identity as a Pakistani and her cultural heritage. It is difficult for Ada to appreciate another Muslim experimenting with a different identity even though it is a natural stage of development (Erikson, 1968). Ada is coping with the disturbances and confusion with the onset of puberty by trying to reinforce her identity as a Pakistani Muslim which is the role she has been given since birth. Another Muslim experimenting with a different identity creates confusion for Ada who wants to stem the tides of change and continue with the role she knows as opposed to forging her own identity or challenging the norms of her cultural heritage.

Farah's extreme dislike of her uniform represents her struggle for autonomy from the school and symbols of authority which the uniform embodies. Farah does not wish to look like a "*school kid*" even though for all intents and purposes she is a school kid but her attitude suggests that she does not feel like a child and her struggles and passions are more akin to those of an adult. Farah's struggle between her roles is representative of Erikson's (1968) struggles at the stage of adolescent development and role confusion. Farah's concept of "wackadoo" (11, 404) is her way of trying to describe the conflict and anger she feels which depicts the state of adolescence. Farah is at the cusp of adolescence and her struggles against authority portray how she is revisiting the conflicts of childhood displaying mood swings and disobeying adults without apparent reason. Farah's affiliation for wearing more feminine outfits (or traditional clothes) may represent experimentation with different identities.

Erikson's (1968) view of "time-perspective" as a component of identity confusion is illustrated by the girls' fear of changing to secondary school

discussed in the previous super-ordinate theme. In order to try and postpone or continue the comfort of institutions which represent their culture, Samina finds mosque a comforting place because “*we’re all the same*” so there is less room for conflict or the feelings of anxiety about one’s place in the world. Ada appears to be seeking continuity between what she knows and what she is experiencing as an adolescent in school by taking up a cause for religion. Ada’s explanations over her beliefs and desire to attend an all girls’ Islamic school could be interpreted as a need to maintain continuity with the past. Samina’s view of separating boys and girls also reflects her need to distance herself from conflict and challenge. However, Samina does not see the problematic nature of separating by gender because it implies that we should separate people wherever there is conflict. Where would such separations end? For physical attractiveness, disabilities, levels of wealth and intelligence? Some researchers have argued for homogenous schooling for ethnic minorities (Ross, 1995, Sefa Dei, 2008) because they protect young people from racism and maintain cultural values. The female participants of this study align with this view of having intraracial friendships to increase solidarity (McGill et al., 2012). However, exposure to interracial friendships and people from different backgrounds and beliefs are beneficial for all young people because these relationships expand the self-concept through incorporating other peoples’ values and perspectives into one’s own sense of self (Aron, Mashek and Aron, 2004). Exposure to different values and experiences would also assist in enabling the young person to resolve the conflicts of adolescence to develop a sense of self with greater knowledge about the world around them as well as psychologically.

CONCLUSIONS

Applying Erikson’s (1968) theory of adolescence has provided a framework of understanding the extreme views presented in the interpretative analysis regarding identity. Although I am curious as to why none of the boys were included in this super-ordinate theme. It may be because the boys are not at this stage of development and are yet to experience the conflict and

confusions of adolescence or perhaps were unwilling to voice such concerns with a stranger. However, it would be interesting to investigate further the male perspective on the theme of identity.

5.9 The Eco systemic Approach

I will explore the ecosystemic approach in order to try to bring together the discussion around the super-ordinate themes. Bronfenbrenner (1979) has been highly associated with the ecosystemic approach, who argued that there is an on-going interaction between the individual and their context. From an ecosystemic approach, any issues that arise originate from within (from the child's personality) and externally (from the school or home environment). The context is made up of the micro (the home environment), meso (child's school and peer group) and macro (wider society) systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The participants' interpretation of their experiences of school can be based around Bronfenbrenner's systems approach. The emotional experience of learning and cultural impact of the school curriculum can be related to the meso system of school in terms of school engagement as discussed by Fredricks et al. (2004). The importance of enduring friendships is also related to the participants' meso system of their peer group, specifically the merits of intraracial friendships in creating solidarity and connectedness towards the school (McGill et al., 2012). The impact of the segregation between communities can be attributed to an extent towards macro level issues concerning Eastern European migration and racism between groups explained by inter-group conflict (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The impact of gendered power struggles also touch on macro level concerns of sexism in the classroom, with the added dimension of ethnicity (Towery, 2007), as well as micro and meso systems regarding the families' input into social relations and the troubled relationships between genders in the peer group (Archer, 2002).

Finally, Erikson's (1968) psychosocial stage of adolescent development was used to explain the impact of cultural identity based on the micro (the

individual child), the meso system of school and the peer environment. It could be argued that the participants were interpreting all their school experiences through the lens of adolescence: including the struggle against authority; the threat of different communities providing alternative beliefs' knowledge and language; seeking comfort in intraracial friendships and wishing to separate themselves by gender and religion. An increase in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and connectedness to school would help bridge the gap between home (micro) and the school (meso) as well as decrease some of the effects of bullying (Pellengrini and Bartini, 2000, 2001).

Chapter 6: Possible Implications for Practice

In this chapter I am suggesting that the preceding analysis and discussion of the participants' narratives may generate several possible implications for practice. However, I am advising caution when suggesting these implications because they are only tentative. It would be very difficult to produce firm implications of this study because the participants' accounts are not generalizable for the population as a whole or even the Pakistani population in schools. Each story and interpretation is uniquely situated in a particular context. However, I do see the value of the analysis and discussion and this chapter is my attempt at transferring (Tracy, 2010) to wider practice. Further research in this field may help to broaden our understanding of the experience of Pakistani young people in school and provide more tools to support these individuals.

6.1 Possible Implications for Schools

It is necessary to celebrate many positive effects of school and staff for pupils. Positive intervention in terms of the cultural and social capital transmitted to the pupils increases school engagement and enjoyment of school (Bourdieu, 1986 Fredricks et al., 2004). Differentiation and literacy interventions have an impact upon pupils' attainment and sense of belonging to school (see sections in the Discussion Chapter). The school represents an important meeting place for the strong and long lasting friendships that exist (see Discussion Chapter). However, other themes have been generated which are not as positive, such as the perceived difficulties between genders, between communities and incidents of bullying. It may be helpful for school staff to reflect on these themes in order to understand the experience of some Pakistani pupils of school.

In order to aid such a reflection of the themes generated, firstly, I will consider school staff's understanding of cultural norms of the communities

within the school. Secondly, the implications for wider school ethos and strategy; and thirdly, possible implications for anti-bullying, anti-racist and anti-sexist intervention programmes.

School staff's understanding of cultural norms of the communities in school

I mentioned earlier the Department for Education's (DfE, 2008) document relating to the underachievement of ethnic minorities in section 2.4 of the thesis. The DfE (2008) document points to the underachievement of ethnic groups including the Pakistani population with ways to try to close this gap. The DfE (2008) recognised that the factors involved in the achievement gap between ethnic minorities are complex but include attitudes, beliefs and expectations of pupils, teachers and parents. Questions over school engagement link directly to the analysis of the present study where the discussion raised questions over school engagement. The DfE (2008) document also outlines the duty of all schools to promote community cohesion through education of young people, to appreciate a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities where diversity is appreciated and strong and positive relationships develop.

An inclusive ethos promotes the statutory duty imposed by the Race Relations Act 2000 to promote race equality. A study by the DfE (2006) found that less than one percent of White British pupils said religion was important, while 85% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils said religion was important. These findings are consistent with the current research which found religion and culture to be a super-ordinate theme. Therefore, diverse schools would benefit from reflecting on the belief systems of its communities and using it to raise attainment for these groups.

School staff may benefit from a greater understanding of the cultural norms that exist within the communities at school. Ozturgut (2012) argues for multicultural education or the "cultural competency" of educators in order to

reduce the achievement gap between ethnic groups in schools. Cultural competency refers to the ability of a person to understand the cultural values of particular communities, to respect and incorporate these values into the ethos of the school in order to break down barriers between communities (Ozturgut, 2012).

School staff can increase their cultural competence by promoting the cultural identity of the pupils through the use of language and values in the curriculum. Identities can be empowered through personalising the curriculum.

Difficulties within Communities

The analysis revealed considerable difficulties between communities and the perceived lack of adult intervention or understanding of the subtle nuances at play (see Section in the Analysis Chapter). Staff's understanding of racism and sexism in the classroom might be enhanced by:

- Listening carefully to the voices of all students caught up in incidents involving different communities, to gain greater insight into "insider" perspectives;
- Increased opportunity to share cultural or religious traditions and values, celebrating diversity

Bullying

Research has shown that school staff rate verbal bullying as less serious than physical bullying (Ellis and Shute, 2007). However, consistent with the present study, research has shown that students perceive verbal bullying as highly damaging (see Section 4.6 Section E of the Analysis Chapter). Verbal

taunts may be racially or gender based which has implications for the emotional wellbeing of young people and reinforces views of a gendered and racist classroom. Simply “ignoring” name calling may be an inadequate response when wider social issues are perceived at play. For example, Samina argued about how the boys called her “Cafeshelanger (from a song)” and “black”, “And even though if we tell the teachers, they don’t really care and they just say, “well you’re not really like that whatever they call, you’re not really that.” But I still don’t like it cos it’s not nice to say things” (5. 175-178). The teacher’s attempts to reduce the impact of the name calling did not satisfy Samina and lacked an appreciation of the damage that such name calling was causing.

Wider school ethos and strategy

Several participants in the study perceived the communities to be segregated and treated unequally. It may be useful for the school’s Senior Management staff to consider how supportive the organisational ethos is towards diversity with particular reference to new communities being introduced to the school. It may be necessary to reflect on any policies or processes related to supporting new communities within the school, for example, ensuring that strengthening the first language of migrants does not alienate the existing minorities in school whom may be expected to be proficient enough in English that speaking in first language is discouraged. Research by Cummins (1986) and Booker (2001) found that first language competency facilitates second language learning and has an empowering effect on culture and identity.

Equality Interventions

Taking into consideration the strong themes of “segregation” between communities and female subjugation that arose from the analysis and

discussion, it may be helpful to include an “Equality” policy which takes into account these forms of discrimination that may be occurring in school. Possible implications from the Analysis and Discussion for making such an equality policy work more effectively could include the following suggestions:

- It might be helpful to deconstruct different types of verbal bullying which is taken as seriously as physical bullying. Deconstruction of terms may reveal racial or gendered slurs that may be implied by seemingly harmless name calling, see section (5a in the Analysis Chapter) on the interpretation of Samina being called “burnt pancake”
- Interventions based on psychological resources in order to promote engagement and acceptance between students from different backgrounds may be beneficial. The pursuit of common goals by equal status students as decreed by Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) may be one such resource. An example of attaining a common goal from pupils of equal status was given by Tanya who completed an activity with a Lithuanian successfully which resulted in both achieving rewards in class for their cooperation as well as reducing the perceived stereotypes within each other’s communities.

Further Application

I shared my analysis with my participants as a group and found that they were excited and interested to review what they and the others had said during the interviews. Although the participants were reluctant to have their views shared with the teachers at school, Tanya reflected that, “the teachers should know so that it doesn’t happen to other children.” The participants were also surprised that I had used their Urdu words and were puzzled as to how non-Urdu speaking people would understand. I reassured the participants that I had included translations.

Upon reflection of my sharing the analysis with the participants, I think it would also be appropriate to share the research with the parents. It would be interesting to find out how the parents would respond to the young people’s voices and how they would interpret my analysis. Perhaps a shared

dialogue between parents, teachers and leaders at the mosque may be a helpful move towards the practical application of the young people's voices.

6.2 Possible Implications for Educational Psychologists

In this section I would like to reflect on my experience of hearing the voices of my participants and the impact it has made on my practice as a TEP. I have been humbled by the deeply personal and honest narratives that were revealed to me during the interview process. I hope I am worthy of so much trust that has been placed by the participants in myself to deliver their voice appropriately within my thesis and to a potentially wider audience. Whilst working with the young people during the research process, I was struck by their confidence and eloquence when speaking about their experiences. I had always taken for granted that I was adept at hearing the child's voice and utilising it in my profession. However, I feel that because I struggled during the interviews to avoid using leading questions that I have taken a critical look at my own practice. I was conscious that I so frequently asked young people "why" that I had failed to notice what a leading and discriminatory question it is. I have become far more solution focused whenever I meet with young people in order to encourage more "truthful" and personal accounts. I am also more conscious about the power imbalances that exist between the young person and the professional. I aim to try and break down some of these barriers by actively listening to what the young person is actually saying and trying to instil a sense of choice about our meeting rather than imposing myself. I have read Billington's (2006) words about how we should reflect on how we speak of and to children but I think it is only now that I am putting this philosophy into my own practice.

I have also reflected on how trusting the parents of the participants were towards me during the consent signing process of the research. I am mindful about the shared heritage with other Pakistani parents which adds another layer of responsibility I have to make sure I prove to be trustworthy.

I will move onto more possible general implications for educational psychologists.

Awareness-Raising

EPs have the potential to increase school staff's awareness of young people who have English as an additional language (EAL). In the research, EAL issues were touched on in Section 1b of the Analysis Chapter over the "Difficulties with Subjects". EPs could be involved with helping the curriculum be more accessible to ethnic minority students with literacy difficulties. The work of Cummins (1986) and Baker (2001) (as discussed in the Analysis Chapter), on the importance to English language acquisition of continuing with first language speaking and learning could be incorporated in literacy interventions. It is also important to find out if young people have difficulties with their first language which may be impacting upon their learning and understanding of English and literacy. Even if young people from different ethnic groups have been attending British schools for a long time, EAL issues can still remain. Encouragement of first language use and empowerment in cultural identity can have an impact upon school learning as well as greater engagement with school (Fredricks et al., 2004).

Greater awareness of school engagement could be promoted and the potential of schools to increase social and cultural capital particularly in areas of high deprivation as discussed by Towery (2007). Towery (2007) also points to the transformatory powers of education to break down racial and gendered practices, which highlights how schools can create change and emancipation for teachers and pupils.

Consultations, planning meetings and training events with school staff could be potential spaces within which to transmit these messages. A multi-agency approach could also be used with the links that EPs have to other services such as the Learning Support Service and Educational Welfare. Increased engagement is also linked to lower dropout rates and school absences which

would prove invaluable for young people and their education (Wehlage et al., 1989). I think there is also potential for EPs to carry out action research as suggested later on in the recommendations for further research. In my own context, I can use local frameworks that promote the rights and voice of young people and parent/carers in school decisions as well as collaborative work within the Local Authority. The present research could also be added to the research already carried out on parent and child voice with the added dimension of considering ethnicity and gender when hearing voice.

The research could contribute to creating greater cultural understanding of Islam within the Local Authority. Themes from the analysis and discussion could be used to further the Local Authority's understanding of the cultural nuances which may be at work for these young people. Increasing links with parents and religious or cultural organisations could be utilised to increase understanding, acceptance and collaboration between groups rather than operating in isolation. The mosque has been highlighted as an important, positive institution by the participants, perhaps even as a parallel to school. Themes of conflict between the home culture and the school discussed during the research around gender relations and the dissatisfaction with British, secular schooling (please refer to 4.8 Section G in the Analysis Chapter) could be reflected and acted upon using the leaders at the mosque to create greater community cohesiveness and respect for the home culture and environment.

Having a phenomenological, critical realist and feminist approach to this research provided a curious, sensitive, challenging as well as empowering framework for the work of EPs and my own practice in particular.

Chapter 7: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Limitations of the Study

Theoretical Difficulties

I had mentioned earlier at the end of the literature review how I found it difficult to reconcile the theories of Bourdieu (1986), Erikson (1968) and Bronfenbrenner (1979) in my thesis. Erikson's (1968) stage of adolescence is particularly problematic when being applied to the experiences of school for Pakistani young people during the discussion section of the thesis. Erikson's theory purports that adolescents are in a period of conflict physically and emotionally which is why I applied it to the experiences of my participants who were clashing with gender relations, other communities and the school rules. However, by applying Erikson's (1968) deterministic stages, it could be interpreted that Pakistani young people are angry and are reluctant to integrate within a mixed community. Such an interpretation leads to the very stereotypes I was wishing to avoid. Therefore, writing post-thesis it is necessary to explore alternative frameworks (see below) which may capture the diversity of my participants' experiences in a less ethnocentric manner.

Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality

Delgado and Stefancic (2006) describe critical race theory (CRT) as a method of understanding what happens in the classroom, hierarchies, history, intelligence and achievement assessment. Hailing from America, CRT is made up of activists and scholars who wish to change the relationship between "race, racism and power. (1)" According to Delgado and Stefancic (2006), CRT originally arose in the post-civil rights era in the mid-1970s and was designed to combat subtler forms of racism and included writers such as Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman and Richard Delgado.

CRT draws on radical feminism and critical legal studies which fits well with my own research based on a feminist and critical realist framework.

Furthermore, Delgado and Stefancic (2006) state that CRT built on feminist notions of power and the construction of social roles and the invisible structures at play in the formation of patriarchy and domination.

Intersectionality takes CRT further and seeks to address the concerns of diverse minorities, economic conditions and their particular experience of racism (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). According to Brah and Phoenix (2004), intersectionality is viewed as a helpful framework to understand minority and cultural differences using the examples of the anomaly between Muslim and non-Muslim women post 9/11 and the separation of black feminism from white feminism (as mentioned earlier by Collins (2000)). Davis (2006) describes intersectionality as, "...analysis of the intersectionality of various social divisions, most often – but not exclusively – focusing on gender, race and class" (p193).

CRT and intersectionality could provide a more postcolonial and contemporary analysis of the experiences of the Pakistani participants which would be sensitive to their racial, historical, economic and gendered background.

Methodological Limitations

Although my aim was to try and meet Tracy's (2010) eight "big tent" markers for quality (see 3.5 Section C in the Methodology Chapter), there have been limitations to this study. Here, I will revisit the limitations I had earlier outlined with IPA as a methodological tool as well as specific limitations generated from my own practice as a researcher. Each will be considered briefly.

As I mentioned earlier in the Methodology Chapter, IPA relies on the participant's ability to communicate their experience through language. Although my final six participants produced very rich, detailed narratives, my first participant, Aeysha was used as a pilot. I do not believe that the

interview was an appropriate mechanism for accessing her voice which meant her narrative was not used in the final analysis. The reliance of IPA of interview means that some young people and those with additional needs will be excluded. Such an exclusion does not sit well with my transformatory aims and critical realist position where the aim of research is to empower and uncover hidden voices. The inflexibility of IPA to use other methods in order to elicit voice makes it inappropriate for large groups of people who are not articulate.

However, there are always issues of power for researchers which I was mindful of throughout my research. There are issues around selecting and privileging certain voices above others. Aeysha's voice was excluded because her narrative was at a disadvantage due to my inexperience with interviewing and use of leading questions. I felt the burden of not eliciting a rich enough account to be analysed. A possibility for the future would be to investigate other mediums of eliciting voice, such as visual methods or a methodology that does not rely on interviews such as Q-Sort (see 3.4 Alternative Methods in the Methodology Chapter).

A second limitation I found was that by focussing on the Master Table of Super-ordinate Themes for my analysis; I only discussed those super-ordinate themes which were found across the participants. I had used the minimum criteria from Smith et al. (2009) of half of the participants converging on a theme in order to generate the super-ordinate themes across the participants. The Master Table of Super-ordinate Themes then provided a great amount of divergence as well as convergence across the super-ordinate themes revealing a rich and multi-faceted picture of the participants. However, this meant that large sections of material found in the individual participant accounts were not included. For example, "The importance of sports" emerged from Ali's interview as a significant super-ordinate theme for him, but in the final analysis, sports only has a cursory mention in the "Passion for learning" section (Section 1a of the Analysis). Some of Ali's voice is lost due to the emphasis upon breadth rather than depth. I felt that the super-ordinate themes generated for the individual interviews were lost which compromised their individuality and uniqueness,

having the effect of less well rounded individuals which I was trying to guard against (Orb, 2000). Although I wanted breadth as well as depth in my research, I now value the individual casework as suggested by Smith et al. (2009) to be closer to a phenomenological experience. I was also severely limited by the word count allowed for the thesis which automatically rules out being able to share all the views expressed in the analysis.

A further limitation was my own interviewing and analysis skills. I acknowledge that I am new to research so my inexperience showed in my interviews which needed considerable reflection and adjusting with each interview. However, my skills as an interviewer did improve each time creating a more responsive rather than leading approach which I have tried to adopt as part of my practice as an EP. However, I was never completely satisfied with my own contribution to the interviews but it is credit to my participants who were not deterred by my lack of confidence and provided rich and reflective answers to my questions. I found the analysis of the transcript and the generating of super-ordinate and sub-ordinate themes isolating and was never sure if the themes were appropriate. Although I received supervision from my research tutor and also analysed a super-ordinate theme with a colleague at the Educational Psychology Service, the analysis was down to me creating a subjective and highly individual interpretative analysis. Although Smith et al. (2009) acknowledge that it is the researcher's interpretation of the interviews; I still felt the process should be more collaborative either with colleagues or the participants themselves.

This leads to my final point regarding carrying out action research. My transformatory and feminist position led naturally to utilising participants as co-researchers which I did not accomplish (Burman, 1994). I had wanted to share my analysis with my participants but this would cause concern regarding the interpretations because they were my own and so conflict would be expected which is why the participants should have jointly analysed the transcripts. A joint analysis would also have considerably broken down the power differentials between researcher and participants. A joint analysis could have led to emancipatory action for the participants and to reflect upon their choices and motivations regarding school. However, I did not find room

for joint analysis in IPA. Although Smith et al. (2009) suggest sharing analysis with participants there is no procedure presented which is unusual considering how IPA is such a prescriptive process. I do regret not collaborating with the participants more and this would be a future aim.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Following on from the “Implications” and “Limitations” sections I will suggest possible recommendations for future research.

I analysed the perceptions of six Year Six pupils from the same primary school using IPA. The six pupils were from Pakistani backgrounds and from an inner city area with high levels of pupils eligible for free school meals and high levels of children with EAL. Throughout the research journey, several possibilities for future research emerged. Future research could:

- Investigate different ethnic groups and their perceptions of school with a larger sample, for example by using a Q sort analysis
- Investigate the parents’ perceptions from ethnic minority backgrounds of their child’s school and the teachers’ perceptions of ethnic minority pupils which could be cross-referenced to the present study which only concentrated upon the pupil experience
- Investigate how professionals such as EPs can work in partnership with schools in order to support them in improving the engagement of ethnic minority students in school and learning
- Focus in more detail on one or more of the super-ordinate themes identified in this study; for example, explore students’ perceptions of gender or community relations within the context of school in more detail or with a wider sample. A more detailed study could be a piece of action research with participants as co-researchers.

7.3 Final Reflections

I have attempted through my research to answer the question, “How do Pakistani pupils interpret their experience of school?” but the transcript and analysis which emerged from the interviews are firmly bound up with my presentation during the interviews and my interpretation of the interviews. I have also questioned whether I was actually true to my original aims and feminist principles of producing transformatory research that empowered the participants and uncovered hidden voices (Mertens, 2010).

Firstly, I have reflected on whether my being Pakistani and wearing the hijab influenced the interviews. I believe if the interviews were conducted by someone from a different ethnicity or even if I did not wear my hijab this could have resulted in a different type of interview. I believe that the participants took it for granted that I shared their culture and religious belief which is why these topics appeared frequently in the interviews. The casual use of terms such as “hajj”, “goray” and so on reflected how comfortable the participants felt and believed that I understood these words. It is very possible that a researcher from a different cultural background would not have been privileged with such insider knowledge and so the participants would not have used this language. Also the participants may have believed that I was religious hence the hijab and so produced more pro-religious views which may have not been the case with a non-Muslim. There was a power differential of my being an adult with young people who were used to following instructions so the interviews could have been following their perception of what I wanted to hear.

Secondly, to answer the question whether my research was transformatory and feminist in principle; the participants recognised the racism and sexism occurring in school and that in itself is a method of empowerment. Giving voice provides agency and action and is transformatory (Burman, 1994). Granted, if the participants were co-researchers then the research would have been even more empowering and reflective of the participants lived experience and their own interpretation of those experiences. However, who

am I to differentiate how the participants would benefit from my research?
As stated by Burman (1994) it is patronising and naive to assume the researcher has the power to emancipate individuals particularly as research is constructed for public dissemination (as in this thesis). As Kum-Kum Bhavani (1990) states that the silences can be just as empowering (and expressive) as speech in interviews. In retrospect, just highlighting Pakistani pupils as a viable cohort to be the focus of research is in itself empowering and draws public and academic attention to their voice.

I believe my research has highlighted the potential of young people to express themselves and have views and experiences that can further be investigated in order to discover and create methods of organizing together, to challenge forms of oppression.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Pilot Study Details

The concept of “child centred” education was not apparent when I was at primary school. Therefore, I did not feel as a child I had a voice and I would not have known how to protest at our exclusion from key decisions. I found the example of girls being told to sit separately from boys in class as unusual and far removed from my own experience. However, sitting separately from boys in a mixed British school did resonate because it was an example of how British culture can conflict with Pakistani culture and sparked my interest as to what other conflicts, contradictions and common practices in primary school could be explored with these young people.

The girls were particularly keen to learn about what I was doing and looked forward to my visiting the school again. The boys were a little more guarded and did not take the questions for the focus group as seriously as the girls. However, I did speak to a few boys after the girls’ focus group where they responded positively to my questions and encouraged me to include them in my research.

In the light of these experiences and reflections I felt that it was important to make acknowledgement of differences in the experiences of ethnic minorities and to reveal insight into how certain groups are perceived to be marginalized within school. Although there was a strong Pakistani presence in the school, I did feel that the girls were being marginalized because their values and beliefs were counter to state mixed education. The girls did not believe that they were being listened to which suggests that strength in numbers does not mean that the Pakistani community was empowered within the school. For example, Gilborn and Gipps (1996) found that a higher concentration of a particular ethnic group can create negative stereotypes whereas if smaller in number more positive images of minorities

can prevail. The girls also suggested gender conflicts which would further subjugate this group in school.

APPENDIX II

Research Ethics Application Form

University of Sheffield School of Education

RESEARCH ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

Complete this form if you are planning to carry out research in the School of Education which will not involve the NHS but which will involve people participating in research either directly (e.g. interviews, questionnaires) and/or indirectly (e.g. people permitting access to data).

Documents to enclose with this form, where appropriate:

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by an Information Sheet/Covering Letter/Written Script which informs the prospective participants about the a proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form.

Guidance on how to complete this form is at:

<http://www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/11/43/27/Application%20Guide.pdf>

Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate email it to the:

Either

Ethics Administrator if you are a member of staff.

Or

Secretary for your programme/course if you are a student.

NOTE

- Staff and Post Graduate Research (EdDII/PhD) requires 3 reviewers

- Undergraduate and Taught Post Graduate requires 1 reviewer – **low risk**
- Undergraduate and Taught Post Graduate requires 2 reviewers – **high risk**

I am a member of staff and consider this research to be (according to University definitions)
 : **low risk**

high risk

I am a student and consider this research to be (according to University definitions):
low risk

high risk

*Note: For the purposes of Ethical Review the University Research Ethics Committee considers all research with 'vulnerable people' to be 'high risk' (eg children under 18 years of age).

COVER SHEET

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| <p>I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a method to inform prospective participants about the project</p> <p>(eg 'Information Sheet'/'Covering Letter'/'Pre-Written Script'?:</p> | |
| Is relevant | Is <u>not</u> relevant |
| <p>Yes</p> <p>See Appendix II (participant information sheets, consent forms)</p> | |

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| <p>I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a 'Consent Form':</p> | |
| Is relevant | Is <u>not</u> relevant |
| <p>Yes</p> <p>(See Appendix II)</p> | |

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| <p>Is this a 'generic "en bloc" application</p> <p>(ie does it cover more than one project that is sufficiently similar)</p> | |
| Yes | No |
| | <p>No it is not.</p> |

I am a member of staff

I am a PhD/EdD student

I am a Master's student

I am an Undergraduate student

I am a PGCE student

The submission of this ethics application has been agreed
by my supervisor

Supervisor's signature/name and date of agreement

.....
.....

I have enclosed a signed copy of Part B

University of Sheffield School of Education
RESEARCH ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

PART A

A1. Title of Research Project The Experiences of Pakistani Young People at a Primary School

A2. Applicant (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised research projects):

Title: Mrs First Name/Initials: Rubia Last Name: Rizwan
 Post: Trainee Educational Psychologist Department: Education
 Email: edp11rr@sheffield.ac.uk Telephone: 01142438648

A.2.1. Is this a student project? Yes

Dr. Anthony Williams email: anthony.williams@sheffield.ac.uk
 School of Education telephone: 01142228119
 388 Glossop Road
 Sheffield
 S10 2JA

A2.2. Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable:

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

| Title | Full Name | Post | Responsibility in project | Organisation | Department |
|-------|-----------|------|------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| | | | | | |

A3. Proposed Project Duration:

Start date: January 2012

End date: July 2014

A4. Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:

| | |
|----------|--|
| x | Involves children or young people aged under 18 years |
| | Involves only identifiable personal data with no direct contact with participants |
| x | Involves only anonymised or aggregated data |
| | Involves prisoners or others in custodial care (eg young offenders) |
| | Involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness |
| x | Has the primary aim of being educational (eg student research, a project necessary for a postgraduate degree or diploma, MA, PhD or EdD) |

A5. Briefly summarise the project's aims, objectives and methodology?

I am interested in exploring the experiences of six young people (aged 10-11) in mainstream primary schools who are from Pakistani backgrounds. I am from a Pakistani background and this is the group I identify with the most. Ethnic minority young people from Pakistani Muslim backgrounds can have considerable cultural differences from the mainstream culture which can create stress and conflict for the young person as they move through the education system. The six young people (both males and females) selected will be in year six from the same class and all from Pakistani backgrounds. The implications for the school will be inferred from the themes and these will be submitted to the school as a report. The year six teacher has agreed with me that I will discuss these themes in a presentation to the staff at the school. The research will use a case study approach, investigating six young people's experiences in one urban primary school.

In order to gain an understanding of their experience of school in depth, I will carry out semi-structured interviews with Pakistani young people of mixed gender from the same year six class at the school. It is estimated that the interviews will take 50 minutes each.

The interviews will be recorded and then transcribed and analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) which is used to draw out sub-ordinate and super-ordinate themes. All the data will be anonymous. I will follow up the interviews by checking quotations and feedback. Permission for the use of direct quotations will be sought from the participants. Participants will be assigned with a pseudonym so that the researcher can remove data should consent be withdrawn at any time.

The year six pupils in my study will be close to leaving primary school and starting secondary school. These Pakistani pupils will have a safe platform to speak about their experience of school providing a unique and personal perspective which will be sensitively handled by the researcher.

My research may feed into existing research and knowledge of parent and child voice in the local authority where I am based so that cultural issues may be addressed through the practice and training of teachers and other professionals that work with young people including educational psychologists. This way the voices of young ethnic minority people may be heard and will potentially help inform practice development.

A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?

The age of the pupils (aged 10-11) and the sensitivity of the topic (cultural differences, relationships between pupils and teachers) pose significant ethical issues. Please see Appendix II (iv) for a copy of the consent form used with pupils. This form follows guidelines given by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2004) and the British Psychological Society (BPS) (2006). The pupils will be under 18 so parental permission will be gained through the consent form (Appendix II (iii)) and follow up discussion prior to the interviews. I will also conduct an introductory session prior to the individual interviews. In the introductory session I will introduce myself and build rapport with the participants who have given consent. I will include child-friendly activities to introduce ethical boundaries and anonymity that will be in place during the focus group and individual interviews. For example, I will ask the pupils if they would feel comfortable telling a friend, teacher, parent or stranger a secret and whether they would stand on the “yes” “no” or “do not know” space for each person. I would ask the pupils if they would feel comfortable speaking about their likes and dislikes for each person and again which space they would stand in to show their comfort level. These activities are aimed at helping the children to identify experiences they would like to share about school and which they would not. We will also talk about having a pseudonym so that they will not be identified in the report. This session will ensure that the young people have full knowledge about the aims of the research and then can make an informed choice whether they want to continue. The participants will also

gain confidence that their voice will be sensitively heard and they will not be identifiable through the presentation of themes or the final thesis. This introduction will also be recorded so that participants will become familiar with audio recording for the interviews. Immediately after this session the recording will be deleted. I will also go through the parent/pupil information sheet (Appendix II (ii) and II (i)) and explain that if a participant would like to discuss a topic or incident further following on from the interview with a member of school staff then there will be the opportunity to do so. The class teacher and the teaching assistants will be made aware by me that the participants may want to discuss interview topics in greater detail with them. I will ask the participants at the end of the interview if they would like to discuss any aspects of the interview with a member of staff and then I will pass this information onto the relevant member of staff.

I will transcribe the interview and return the transcript to the young person on a set pre-arranged date to allow for them to read through and debrief the interview. This meeting will allow the young person to clarify any inaccuracies within the transcription and to omit any sections that the young person does not want to be analysed and therefore shared with the school and available publically via the thesis. This meeting will take place while the participants are still at primary school. I will make it clear to the participants that although I will ensure their information remains anonymous, I cannot guarantee confidentiality because example excerpts from the transcripts of the interviews will be included in my thesis and themes taken from the interviews will be presented and discussed with class teachers. During debriefing, the participants will have the opportunity to declare if certain information is not to be shared with school staff or included in the final thesis. However, with the permission of the participants, I will include example excerpts from the transcriptions in the thesis appendices, making the full transcript available only if an examiner so wishes.

All study material will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. The audio material from the interviews will be stored on my password protected computer which I only access. The audio files on my computer will be deleted on completion of my study. Any participants who wish to withdraw from the study will have their data removed from the study. During the writing of the material, all names will be made anonymous and care will be taken to ensure that there are no quotes that may identify an individual child, parent or teacher. During the introductory session I will stress the importance of speaking about teachers generally, rather than describing specific teachers so that no one will be able to identify particular members of staff. A summary of themes will

be submitted to the school for discussion only after the participants have received their individual debriefing (see above) and group presentation of themes from the interviews. I will aim to debrief and present the themes of the interviews to pupil participants before they have left primary school, however, this may not be possible and the group presentation may need to be carried out in their secondary school (the following school term) and the participants will be made aware of the time scales involved. However, no direct quotes or specific incidents will be mentioned in the summary for the school so that potential identification of participants will be minimal. It will be made clear to the participants that they may withdraw at any point in the interviews or to have their data removed from the study. Participants will be able to do this via a stamped addressed postcard to the researcher in order to avoid embarrassment or coercion. If participants would like to stop during the interviews a hand signal will be used which will be practised before the interview commences. A quiet, safe room will be used to ensure that the participants will not be overheard by other pupils or teachers.

After I have presented and discussed themes taken from the interviews with the class teachers, I will offer a debriefing session for school staff if anyone would like to discuss these further.

The proposed process:

Introductory session

Individual Interviews

Individual debriefing and clarification meeting with participants using the transcriptions (at primary school)

Group presentation of work for participants (primary or secondary school)

Presentation of work for staff at the primary school

Debriefing session offered to school staff

A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project and, if yes, explain how these issues will be managed? (Especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises.)

The interviews will be prearranged during school hours and the room booked with the class teacher's consent. The office staff will be made aware of the timings of the interviews.

A8. How will the potential participants in the project be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?

The participants for the semi-structured interviews will be three boys and three girls from Pakistani backgrounds in the same year six class. These young people are already familiar to the researcher because of my work as an educational psychologist and pilot study which I carried out with some of the pupils in the year six class. None of the participants in the pilot study or for the semi-structured interviews will be selected from cases I am already working with or have previously worked with as a TEP. This is to ensure that the boundaries between researcher and professional role are minimised.

I will share the parent and participant information sheets (Appendix II (ii) and II (i)) with the head teacher of the school so that the staff are fully informed about my research before I will seek consent from the participants or their parents. This way I will gain verbal consent from the head teacher for my research to be carried out in her school before parental and participant consent is sought.

The class teacher will explain my study to the pupils in his class and will select all the pupils who show interest in participating who are from Pakistani backgrounds. Any pupils who I have worked with or am currently working with for casework purposes through the Educational Psychology Service will not be included. I will informally talk to these young people about my study and provide the pupil information sheet (Appendix II (i)) for them to keep. I will explain to the young people that I will speak to their parents about the project and will need to gain their consent if the young people want to participate in the project. If parental consent (Appendix II (iii)) is given then I will also ask for participant consent using the appropriate consent form (Appendix II (iv)). This way parental signature will not be accepted in isolation from the consent of the child. This will provide a clear and transparent procedure for gaining the consent from the head teacher, parents and the participants.

A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?

Yes

No

If informed consent is not to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at <http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/researchethics/policy-notes/consent>

Only under exceptional circumstances are studies without informed consent permitted. Students should consult their tutors.

A.9.1 How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):

The consent process

1. Information sheets (Appendix II (i) and I (ii)) shared with the head teacher and verbal consent obtained
2. The class teacher discusses the project with the class and obtains the names of interested pupils from Pakistani backgrounds
3. Informal talk by me with selected pupils about the project
4. Interested pupils to invite their parents to a meeting with me via the pupil information sheet (Appendix II (i))
5. Meeting with selected pupils' parents' to share information sheets (Appendix II (ii)) and leave consent form (Appendix II(iii))
6. Parental consent form signed
7. Introductory session with pupils with parental consent
8. Pupil written consent obtained using Appendix II (iv) and witnessed by the class teacher
9. I will also sign the parental consent form (Appendix II (iii)) in the presence of the participants
10. Parents and pupils to keep copies of information sheets and signed consent forms (Appendix II (i), (ii), (iii), (iv))
11. Verbal consent obtained from the participant before the interview commences

I will firstly share the information sheets and consent forms with the head teacher and ask for her verbal consent to the project. After gaining the consent from the head teacher, the class teacher will talk to the pupils about my project and ask for expressions of interest from those pupils who are from Pakistani backgrounds. The class teacher will pass on to me the names of the pupils who are from Pakistani backgrounds and are interested in participating in my project. I will have an informal discussion with these pupils about the project and my aims and will leave the pupil information sheet (Appendix II (i)) with the participant. I will ask the pupils who show an interest in taking part in my study to ask their parents to meet me after school in their classroom on the date given on the pupil information sheet (Appendix II (i)). If this is not possible then an alternative venue or time will be arranged via the class teacher (please refer to Appendix II (i), the last paragraph). When I meet with parents on this date (or on an alternative date) I will then use the parent information sheet (Appendix II (ii)) as a prompt during my discussion with the parents of potential participants. It is possible that some parents may not speak English and therefore I will go through Appendix II (ii) in Urdu or Punjabi if required so that parents are fully informed about the project. I will then leave the parent information sheet and consent forms (Appendix II (ii) and II (iii)) with the parents to be returned to the class teacher so that they can process the information and sign consent if they wish their child to participate. This way I will not pressurise the parents into signing consent on the spot. I will also leave my phone number (from the Educational Psychology Service) so that the parents can contact me if they have any questions or would like to discuss the project further or to leave any questions with the class teacher. When the signed consent forms are returned I will carry out the introductory session with the participants in order to explain the method, anonymity, the right to withdraw at any point and to answer any questions. After the introductory session I will provide cards specifically asking for the young person's consent (please see Appendix II (iv)). I will be present with the participant when consent is signed for alongside a school representative. This will be the class teacher who will join us after the introductory session. I will also sign the parental consent letter (Appendix II (iii)) in the presence of the participants and the class teacher. Copies of the consent forms (Appendix II (iii) and II (iv)) will be kept by the researcher and the participants. The participants will be free to sign or to withdraw from the process by giving the card (Appendix II (iv)) back to the researcher. Parents will also receive copies of the signed consent forms. Verbal consent from the participants will also be sought before the interviews. A hand signal prior to the interview will be practised to inform the researcher if a participant wishes to stop the session.

A.10 How will you ensure appropriate protection and well-being of participants?

The introductory session prior to the focus group will help participants feel safe and valued. The participants will be informed about their right to withdraw at any time throughout the interview process. A hand signal will be used to stop the session and/or to avoid answering any uncomfortable questions. The consent card is stamped and addressed which can be posted any time during the study to indicate withdrawal from the study. Participants will be informed that if they post their consent cards then none of their material will be used in the study and will be destroyed. Participants will not need to explain their withdrawal to anyone. Participants will be given the researchers details in case they would like to discuss the research at any point. Potential power imbalances between the researcher and the participants will be addressed through checking responses during the interviews when appropriate and during the analyses by returning to the school and discussing outcomes with the participants.

During the introductory session and after the interview I will explain to participants that if they would like to discuss any aspect of the interviews with a member of school staff they will have the opportunity. I will be able to pass on this information to relevant members of staff who will be able to talk through any aspects with the participant after the interview or during the next few weeks if needed.

A.11 What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?

All personal information about the participants will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. The audio files will be saved on my password protected computer and deleted from the recorder. The participants will be given a mutually agreed pseudonym at the start of the interview to protect their real identity but also so that I can identify them on the audio recordings and transcription. Upon completion of the project, all information will be destroyed and audio files will be deleted from the researcher's computer. Any participants who choose to withdraw from the study will have their data deleted. Permission from the participants will be sought in order to retain a sample of the transcripts of the interviews in the appendices of the thesis. Participants will be invited to attend a group presentation of the work and can have a copy of the thesis if required. The participants will also be informed that themes from

the interviews will be included in a report and presented to the teachers in school. However, the participants will not be able to be identified because the data will be anonymous and no quotes will be used in the presentation to school staff. Similarly, anonymity of the participants and the people they talk about will be ensured within the thesis because the participants will have a pseudonym and other names will be anonymised. No specific incidents or descriptions of teachers or pupils will be used so that the identification of individual teachers or pupils will be minimised.

A.12 Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided.)

| | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

A.13 Will the research involve the production of recorded or photographic media such as audio and/or video recordings or photographs?

Yes

No

A.13.1 This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded or visual media:

How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media or photographs may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?

The introductory session prior to the interviews will explain the recording of the interviews and permission will be gained before any recording is carried out. With permission, a small portion of the introductory session will also be recorded so that participants can become familiar with the recording device. Participants will be informed about where their data will be stored and the deletion procedures.

Any participants who choose to withdraw from the study will have their data deleted. Transcriptions will also be destroyed through a paper shredder.

PART B - THE SIGNED DECLARATION

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's '*Financial Regulations*', '*Good research Practice Standards*' and the '*Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue*' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

In signing this research ethics application I am confirming that:

1. The above-named project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue':
<http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/researchethics/index.html>
2. The above-named project will abide by the University's 'Good Research Practice Standards': <http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/researchethics/general-principles/homepage.html>
3. The research ethics application form for the above-named project is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.
4. There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.
5. Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.
6. I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my supervisor or the Ethics Administrator as appropriate

7. I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CICS).
8. I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.
9. I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (eg the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers/supervisors) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
10. If this is an application for a 'generic'/'en block' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.
11. I will inform the Chair of Ethics Review Panel if prospective participants make a complaint about the above-named project.

Signature of student (student application): Rubia Rizwan

Signature of staff (staff application):

Date:

Email the completed application form to the course/programme secretary

For staff projects contact the Ethics Secretary, Colleen Woodward

Email: c.woodward@sheffield.ac.uk for details of how to submit

APPENDIX II (i)

Pupil Information Sheet

The Experiences of Pakistani Young People in a Primary School

Who am I?

I am Rubia Rizwan, a trainee educational psychologist based at Rotherham Educational Psychology Service, studying at the University of Sheffield. This means I am still learning to be an educational psychologist. Part of my job is to talk to young people, teachers and parents and find out how I can help them in school. My course requires me to carry out a project which is why I have come to your school to see if you could help me with this task.

The Project

I am interested in exploring the experiences of school by young people (aged 10-11) from Pakistani backgrounds which is why you have been chosen. I am from a Pakistani background and this is the group I identify with the most. I would like to find out more about how you feel about your school and the relationships you have with other people such as your teachers.

Your Help

This is a chance for you to talk about yourself and your experiences of school which will begin to help other people such as teachers to educate you in a better way as well as to find out what aspects of school life you really value.

I will need up to six pupils to carry out individual interviews about your school life. The individual interviews will take about 50 minutes which will be carried out in a room in the school and will not clash with important lessons or SATs tests. You will not need to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. If pupils are absent on the day of the interview, another day will be offered to take place at a later date. Not all children who bring back consent forms will be selected for the interviews. Conversations during the individual interviews will be recorded and later typed. Your name will not be used so that what you say will not be linked to your name and anyone who reads the final report will not be able to find out who was interviewed. What you say will be written down, stored in a locked cabinet and the recorded interviews will be saved on my password protected computer. Audio-recordings will only be accessed by me and will be destroyed at the end of the project.

I have explained my project to the head teacher and she has agreed for this study to take place in this school. If you would like to take part in the interviews then I will first speak to your parents in school about this project and they will need to sign the form for you to take part. I will then come to school and introduce my project to you in detail and ask if you would still like to take part. Even if you agree to the interview, and later you decide that you do not want your words included in the project then I will remove and destroy this information. No names will be used in the write up and I will not use your direct words when I feed back about the project to the school. I will also present my findings to you when the project is complete before I feedback to the school. Although no one will know your real name, they will be able to read examples of what you said in the final report so our discussions will not be confidential and will not just be between us.

You will be free to leave the project whenever you want just by returning the consent form to me directly or by post. If this happens then your information will be destroyed immediately.

Any Questions?

If you have any questions you can write them down and leave them with your teacher who will pass these onto me.

I hope you do volunteer to take part in my project and I look forward to hearing your ideas.

This information sheet is yours to keep.

Thank you for listening to me about my project.

If you would like to take part in my project I will need to speak to your parents about my project. I would like to meet with your parents on XXXX at 3pm in your classroom. If this is not possible please leave a time and date with your class teacher when your parents would be available.

Yours Sincerely

Rubia Rizwan

APPENDIX II (ii)

Parent Information Sheet

The Experiences of Pakistani Young People in a Primary School

Your child is being invited to take part in a research project carried out by Rubia Rizwan, a trainee educational psychologist based at Rotherham Educational Psychology Service, studying at the University of Sheffield. This information sheet explains why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss with others if you wish. My contact details are detailed below if there is anything you would like to discuss. I also speak Urdu and Punjabi and can translate and explain this information for you if required. Please take your time to decide whether or not you wish your child to take part. Thank you for reading this information. I have explained my project to the head teacher and she has given consent for this study to take place in this school.

I am interested in exploring the experiences of six young people (aged 10-11) in mainstream primary schools who are from Pakistani backgrounds. I am from a Pakistani background and this is the group I identify with the most. Ethnic minority young people from Pakistani Muslim backgrounds can have cultural differences from the mainstream culture which can create stress and conflict for the young person as they move through the education system. The aim of the project is to give an opportunity for children from Pakistani backgrounds to voice their views and for teachers to understand the experiences of Pakistani young people better. Your child has been chosen because you are from a Pakistani background. For the study up to six children will be recruited to take part in individual interviews about their experiences of school.

You are under no obligation to take part in this study and consent is voluntary. If you decide to allow your child to take part you will be given this information to keep and be asked to sign the consent form. Even after this you or your child will be able to withdraw at any time. You can choose to withdraw by either contacting me using the details below or letting the class teacher know who will pass this information on to me and the interview with your child will not take place or if it has the recordings and any transcription will be removed and destroyed. You will not need to provide an explanation for withdrawing. Your child can also withdraw by sending their consent card back. This information will also be explained to your child so that their verbal and written consent can also be given and to ensure their understanding of the project. Consent from both parent and child will be needed before the interviews can start.

our child will be asked to take part in an individual interview. This individual interview will be about 50 minutes. I will schedule the interviews around the timetable of the class to ensure that children do not miss any important classroom activities. There will be an introduction session prior to the interviews so that I can get to know the children a little more and to ensure that children speak about issues sensitively and in confidence without naming other pupils or teachers. I hope the sessions will be fun and children will enjoy the chance to share their ideas. The interviews will be carried out at the school with the full knowledge of school staff.

Conversations during the individual interviews will be digitally recorded so that they can be accurately transcribed, that is written word for word but once that process is complete the recordings will be destroyed though anonymised written transcripts will be retained for analysis and will be included in the write up of the project. It is important that this happens so that the data is accurate and fully analysed. Your child will not be identifiable in any way during this process. Audio-recordings will be stored securely on my password protected computer and will only be accessed by me. The transcribed information will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet. Pupils will be asked whether they are happy to take part and can choose to withdraw from the project at any time. Your child will not have to answer any questions they may feel uncomfortable with. I have CRB enhanced disclosure and have received appropriate training for work with children and young people.

The Y6 class teacher is the main in-school contact for the project and I am working closely with him and other members of staff to plan and deliver the interviews. I would really appreciate you giving your consent for your child to take part so that this worthwhile project can go ahead. I intend to provide feedback to children who take part and will later present my findings to school staff.

If any serious concerns are raised during the interviews, this will be discussed with the class teacher and followed up by the head teacher if necessary. The school will not have access to the interview data and will not be identified in any reports or published information.

If you would like to discuss anything about my research please contact Rubia Rizwan on 01709 22592 or email edp11rr@sheffied.ac.uk or my supervisor Dr. Antony Williams on 01142228119.

Yours Sincerely

Researcher: Rubia Rizwan

Supervisor: Dr. Anthony Williams

APPENDIX II (iii)

Parent Consent Form

Title of Project: The Experiences of Pakistani Young People in a Primary School

Name of Researcher: Rubia Rizwan

Participant Identification Number for this project:

initial box

Please

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated *[insert date]* for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that he/she is free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. I can also withdraw my child from the project at any point until the write up of the project (1st September 2013) through contacting the researcher or the class teacher (*contact Rubia Rizwan 0170922592*).

3. I agree for my child (son/daughter) _____ to take part in the above research project (please insert name)

4. I understand that my child's (son's/daughter's) responses will be recorded, transcribed and then anonymised before analysis and example excerpts will be presented in the final thesis. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to the anonymous responses.

Name of Participant

Parent's Name

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

| | | |
|-----------------|-------|-----------|
| _____ | _____ | |
| Lead Researcher | Date | Signature |

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/pre-written script/information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy for the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.

APPENDIX II (iv)

Pupil Consent Form

The Experiences of Pakistani Young People in a Primary School

My name is _____



I understand that in this session:

1. I have received the information sheet

2. I have attended the introductory session

3. I will share my ideas about my experience of school

4. I don't need to speak when I don't want to

5. I understand my conversation will be recorded, the words written down with my name removed and the information used to understand more about my experiences of school

I WOULD like to take part

APPENDIX II(v)

Ethics Approval Form



The School Of Education.

Rubia Rizwan
DEdCPsy

Head of School
Professor Cathy Nutbrown

School of Education
388 Glossop Road
Sheffield
S10 2JA

10 May 2018

Telephone: +44 (0)114 222 8167
Email: dedcp@sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Rubia,

ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

The Experiences of Pakistani Young People at a Primary School

Thank you for submitting your ethics application. I am writing to confirm that your application has now been approved.

We recommend you refer to the reviewers' additional comments (please see attached). You should discuss how you are going to respond to these comments with your supervisor BEFORE you proceed with your research.

This letter is evidence that your application has been approved and should be included as an Appendix in your final submission.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'D. Goodley'.

Professor Dan Goodley
Chair of the School of Education Ethics Review Panel

Cc Tony Williams

Enc Ethical Review Feedback Sheet(s)

APPENDIX III

Chronology of Methods

1. Pilot Study (through the EPS) - I carried out a focus group with young people from ethnic minorities in a primary school from Year Six.
2. Research proposal - to carry out another focus group with Pakistani young people from Year Six. I would then take the themes from this focus group and structure my questions for the individual interviews.
3. Research proposal presentation – through discussion with university tutors, an additional focus group was deemed unnecessary because there was sufficient information and reflection from the previous focus group (1) and the literature review.
4. New research design – the focus group was taken out, leaving the individual interviews as the research focus.
5. Interview with Aeysha kept as a pilot due to leading questions. Please refer to the following Appendix III (ii) for the questions used with Aeysha
6. Final interviews commenced after restructuring the interview schedule, the new interview schedule is presented in Appendix III (iii)

APPENDIX III (i)

Interviewing Aeysha

Aeysha was the quietest participant of the sample. Aeysha wore the hijab and was passionate about her culture and religion. Away from the interview situation, Aeysha was curious and cheeky, often wanting to look in my bag or ask personal questions. However, during the one to one interview, Aeysha was very quiet and was limited in her replies. I found this a little frustrating and was frankly unprepared. I was under more pressure because it was the first interview so I had not developed a rhythm or confidence in my delivery of questions or ability to elicit thicker descriptions. This posed an ethical conundrum for me at the end of the interview. Aeysha's voice was valid and she had made some valuable contributions in her interview. However, the questions for the remaining interviews changed due to my reflections over my performance during her interview. This change made Aeysha's interview stand apart from the other interviews in depth and richness. I also felt that an interview was an inappropriate method to elicit Aeysha's voice and my questions were far too leading. This required urgent action on my part in order to change my interviewing style and significantly rework my questions and prompts for further interviews. I reworded my interview questions and style through supervision with my research tutor and revisited the literature on interview techniques, such as Smith et al., 2009, Frosh et al., 2002 and Hollway and Jefferson (2000). I was then able to find an approach which I found ethically comfortable without leading the participants but also eliciting a rich narrative providing thicker descriptions. I found this process difficult and revelatory. I had assumed that I was a good communicator and felt I was able to work with children easily particularly with my background in teaching and being a mother of two young boys. However, my interview transcription revealed in stark black and white how woefully unprepared I was and there was much for me to learn.

I then had to make a decision to drop Aeysha's interview without mentioning my struggles as an interviewer; to keep Aeysha's interview and bear the

consequences of questions regarding my leading demeanour and vastly differing representations compared to the latter interviews or to include Ayesha's interview as a pilot and be transparent about my motives and reflections. I chose to include Aeysha's interview as a pilot because of the important lessons I learned regarding interviewing; I could not bear to simply leave out this important factor in my research journey and to point out that research is not always simple but can be fraught with difficulties which adds to the researcher's experience and the richness to the narrative.

APPENDIX III (ii)

Interview schedule used with Ayesha

- How would you describe yourself?
- How would your friends describe you?
- Tell me more about school
- Describe the experience you have had at school
- Describe the worst experience you have had at school
- What is coming to school like?

APPENDIX III (iii)

Final Interview Questions

Interview Questions/Prompts

- Tell me what a typical day looks like at school
- What do you do after school?

- Going deeper:
 - Why?
 - How?
 - Tell me what you were thinking?
 - How did you feel?

- What is coming to school like? Repeat going deeper questions

- Tell me about your class mates

- What kind of activities are you involved with in school – clubs, etc?

- What activities would you like to be involved with?

- (Prompts) Please tell me more about ... I'm really interested in...

- How would you like the new school to be (same or different)?

Extra Questions

- Could you tell me about your best experience at school? Why?
- Could you tell me about your worst experience at school? Why? What happened?
- How would you describe your relationship with other people – teachers, friends, parents, siblings, other pupils in the class?

APPENDIX III (iv)

Bonding Through Play Activities

These activities were used to build rapport and trust prior to the interview.

- Special Handshake: make up a special handshake together, taking turns adding new gestures, for example, high five, wiggle fingers, and so on.
- Bubbles: adult blows bubbles and the young person pops them with their finger. Create challenges by asking the young person to use their elbow or foot to pop the bubble when a “magic” word is said.
- Newspaper toss: challenge the young person to throw a rolled up newspaper into the bin at different distances.

Around five to seven minutes were spent on these activities before the interview.

The activities were taken from The Theraplay Institute (2009), 3330 Old Glenview Road, Suite 8, Wilmette, IL 60091.

APPENDIX III(v)

Interviewing Aeysha

Aeysha was the quietest participant of the sample. Aeysha wore the hijab and was passionate about her culture and religion. Away from the interview situation, Aeysha was curious and cheeky, often wanting to look in my bag or ask personal questions. However, during the one to one interview, Aeysha was very quiet and was limited in her replies. I found this a little frustrating and was frankly unprepared. I was under more pressure because it was the first interview so I had not developed a rhythm or confidence in my delivery of questions or ability to elicit thicker descriptions. This posed an ethical conundrum for me at the end of the interview. Aeysha's voice was valid and she had made some valuable contributions in her interview. However, the questions for the remaining interviews changed due to my reflections over my performance during her interview. This change made Aeysha's interview stand apart from the other interviews in depth and richness. I also felt that an interview was an inappropriate method to elicit Aeysha's voice and my questions were far too leading. This required urgent action on my part in order to change my interviewing style and significantly rework my questions and prompts for further interviews. I reworded my interview questions and style through supervision with my research tutor and revisited the literature on interview techniques, such as Smith et al., 2009, Frosh et al., 2002 and Hollway and Jefferson (2000). I was then able to find an approach which I found ethically comfortable without leading the participants but also eliciting a rich narrative providing thicker descriptions. I found this process difficult and revelatory. I had assumed that I was a good communicator and felt I was able to work with children easily particularly with my background in teaching and being a mother of two young boys. However, my interview transcription revealed in stark black and white how woefully unprepared I was and there was much for me to learn.

I then had to make a decision to drop Aeysha's interview without mentioning my struggles as an interviewer; to keep Aeysha's interview and bear the consequences of questions regarding my leading demeanour and vastly differing representations compared to the latter interviews or to include Aeysha's interview as a pilot and be transparent about my motives and reflections. I chose to include Aeysha's interview as a pilot because of the important lessons I learned regarding interviewing; I could not bear to simply leave out this important factor in my research journey and to point out that research is not always simple but can be fraught with difficulties which adds to the researcher's experience and the richness to the narrative.

APPENDIX III (vi)

Aeysha's Interview Transcription

Key

R Researcher

A Ayesha

... Pause

Line transcript

1. R So that's recording now. Thank you for taking part in this interview.
How are
2. you today?
3. A Okay
4. R so I'm just going to ask you some questions. You are free to talk
about
5. anything you want to and you don't need to answer any questions you
don't
6. want to. Is that okay?
7. A Yes
8. R this study is about your experiences of school. So talk about
school, talk
9. about home life, talk about mosque what is important to you. Is that
okay?
10. A Yes
11. R **so how would you describe yourself Ayesha?**
12. A err err kind person
13. R how do you think your friends would describe you?
14. A kind
15. R why do you think your kind
16. A I never ... I never ...break up friends with them
17. R that's nice a good way to be. And how would your family describe
you?
18. A Okay
19. R **tell me a bit more about school... what would you like to say about
school**
20. **...how do you find school?**
21. A SATs it's not that hard and er got a lot of subjects
22. R **so do you want to talk more about your friends? Who are your
friends?**

23. A XXXX she's really kind she never likes breaks up XXXX sometimes doesn't
24. be my friend. XXXX always my friend I've been with her for 7 years that's it
25. R so there all in your class?
26. A Yes
27. R so you've got quite a lot of friends in your class. So how does that make
28. you feel that you've got lots of friends
29. A happy
30. R so you stay friends with everybody you don't break up and that's why you
31. said that your kind
32. What about the other people in the class. How do you get on with other

APPENDIX IV (i)

Example of an annotated page from Hussain's transcript

| Emergent Themes | Original Transcript | Exploratory Comments |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| Fearful of starting school | 1. R: Hello Hussain how are you? 2. H: I'm fine 3. R: We are going to find out about your experiences 4. of primary school. Is that ok? 5. H: Yes 6. R: So how long have you been in this school? 7. H: Since F1 8. R: So it has been a long time. 9. H: Yeah 10. R: From F1 all the way to Y6. So can you tell me a bit more 11. about that? What was it like coming to school in F1? 12. H: A bit scary. 13. R: In what way? 14. H: I didn't know no one and I didn't want to leave my 15. mum. I didn't want it. 16. R: Did school do anything to help? 17. H: I made friends I wasn't scared any more. It was okay. 18. R: So how have things changed from the first time 19. you started when you were a bit scared? 20. H: I didn't used to talk; now I talk a bit more. 21. R: So you talk a lot more? 22. H: Yeah 23. R: That's a good change. What is it like coming to school for 24. you? 25. H: Good 26. R: In what way? 27. H: I want to learn and like be clever. 28. R: Is that an important part of school? 29. H: Yeah 30. R: What else about school? 31. H: Don't know 32. R: That's fine. What was it like in Y1? Can you look back at 33. your past experience? 34. H: There were more people that helped me, more teachers 35. they told me that don't be scared nothings gonna happen to | <p>Long time at school, from F1 until Y6</p> <p>Fearful of school because it was full of strangers and leaving his mother</p> <p>Overcoming fear through finding friends and feeling better</p> <p>His own explanation of how he has changed. He has become more talkative. <i>Uses "bit" rather than a lot, he talks more but not overly so. Bit repeated from earlier, bit scary.</i></p> <p>Reasons for going to school are learning and being clever. <i>Use of "like" so he could be "like clever" rather than just "clever." He does not feel clever so he needs to go to school to become clever.</i></p> <p>Repetition of fear and teachers helping him. Help was increased. <i>Repeats the use of "scared" "scary" from earlier description of school. <u>What is he scared of? Scared of the unknown? The school represents a</u></i></p> |

Key to comments: black text= descriptive comments; comments in italics= linguistic comments; underlined comments= conceptual

APPENDIX IV (ii)

Example of an annotated page from Ali's transcript

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Cultural capital Filling experiential gaps Outside the classroom</p> | <p>348. think. 349. R: How did you feel about planting the tree and the flowers? 350. A: Because it was good because you always get to see those 351. flowers and that tree and you know which one is yours 352. because they different colours. And the tree it <u>grewed</u> quite big 353. and quick and I like doing that because I can always check on 354. the tree and see and see it.</p> | <p>Personal, fulfilling experience</p> |
| <p>Good behaviour</p> | <p>355. R: <u>Erm</u> you said that you never got into trouble, you never had 356. your name on the board.</p> | |
| <p>Behaviour management</p> | <p>357. A: Because I was good in Year Five and Year Four. And 358. people that like mess about they have to like miss play or have 359. their name on the board or if they go to consequence there's 360. three, the first one, the second one and then there's 361. <u>consequence</u>. Consequence that takes it to like miss some 362. <u>playtime</u>, like five minutes, do it again it's ten minutes. Do it 363. <u>again</u> and it's like a letter home, tell your parents. Like that's in 364. <u>one week</u> and they like rub it off when a week's passed. So 365. <u>then erm</u> that's it.</p> | <p>Description of behaviour management strategy</p> |
| <p>Other children misbehaving</p> | <p>366. R: Has that ever happened to you? 367. A: No</p> | <p>Description of other pupils misbehaving</p> |
| <p>Wanting to learn</p> | <p>368. R: You said that you were good, can you explain a bit more 369. about that? 370. A: Like people they always talk and like during when he was 371. teaching and <u>er</u> people were talking like when he was turning 372. round and he <u>er</u> people they be talking when he turns round.</p> | |
| <p>Cultural capital Trips</p> | <p>373. R: So this is the Year Five teacher? 374. A: Yeah and then when he turns back and he sees them 375. talking he puts them on the pole. And I like didn't talk because 376. I wanted to learn about how much the things like because 377. <u>some</u> they don't want to like learn. They just like <u>er</u> they do 378. <u>wan</u> to learn but they don't put any effort in it. So that's it. 379. R: So what about Year Six then? 380. A: (laughs) Year Six we went to <u>Knowsley</u> Safari Park and we 381. <u>there</u> were elephants. And they were quite big and (laughs) 382. <u>massive</u> yeah. And then we went there and we saw the 383. elephants, we saw giraffes, we saw loads of animals and we 384. saw the tiger (laughs) and <u>er</u> ... we saw some other things like 385. <u>rhinos</u> and we saw lions. <u>Erm</u> I liked that one because you got 386. to see different animals because I never saw a tiger or a lion</p> | <p>Battle for control between the teacher and pupils <u>Attitude towards learning, importance of learning for Ali, effort and hard work</u></p> |
| | | <p><i>"quite big and (laughs) massive yeah."</i> <i>Wonder at the size of the elephants, innocent, naive response, ability to be curious, amazed by experiences, open to new possibilities, empty vessel to be filled with learning</i> <i>"sometimes I don't get chance to see"</i></p> |

Key to comments: black text= descriptive comments; comments in italics= linguistic comments; underlined comments= conceptual

APPENDIX IV (iii)

Example of an annotated page from Farah's transcript

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Divisions between cultures and communities</p> | <p>191. left and <i>erm</i> the rest of the years have been teachers that are still 192. here ... yeah. 193. R: What fun stuff did you do? 194. F: Like go on trips and <i>erm</i> pretend that we're in the cinema, have 195. Eid parties, have Christmas parties which I didn't really like that much 196. because it were like only <i>goray</i> that were there and were like "why 197. you doin <i>goray</i> stuff for?" Like Eid, half of the <i>goray</i> would come and 198. they wouldn't say anything to <i>em</i> but on Christmas if we don't come, 199. they will say "why didn't you come?" 200. R: Come where? 201. F: Like to the Eid party and stuff. 202. R: Where does the party take place? 203. F: In the class room. 204. R: So you don't have to come if you don't want to? 205. F: No, we do have to come but like one or two of <i>em</i> won't come. 206. They'll say, like we're sick or we're poorly. I tried to pull a scam like 207. that as well (laughs)! Last time, I had half of the day and at 208. lunchtime my dad came to pick me up and said, "I've a doctor's 209. appointment go in the car." I <i>were</i> like "eh? I don't have a doctor's 210. appointment, mum never told me" and then when I get in the car my 211. <i>uncle's</i> going to take me to the zoo! 212. R: Okay (laughs) 213. F: I'm letting it all out stuff that I shouldn't be letting out (laughs)! 214. R: No that's okay, that's fine (both laugh). So when you have what's 215. the Eid party about then? 216. F: It's like have cake and have <i>ras malai</i> and have kebabs and have 217. everything like that and they'll make everyone participate and bring 218. something in like biscuit's and stuff like that. And <i>er</i> we'll watch a <i>dvd</i> 219. and we'll go in the hall and we'll play and we'll get dressed up. 220. (laughs)</p> | <p><i>Bossy implies a negative characteristic, of having to follow their rules, power struggles between pupils and teachers. Bossy teachers assert their authority of children, they are the "boss" of the class</i> <i>Fun stuff includes trips, cinema, Eid parties</i> <i>Conflict with joining other religious or cultural activities seen as "goray (white) stuff," "only goray" implies that children from other communities were not present. A visible division between communities at school and open protest or refusal to join in with different cultural festivals. Reflects wider social and cultural divisions with people not joining or sharing cultural activities</i> <i>Unfairness of being singled out as not joining in with white. Christmas parties but neglecting to point out to those who do not join in with the Eid parties. Reflects societal claims of closed communities that do not participate in western culture but do not acknowledge westerners not joining in with other cultural festivals like Eid</i> <i>Switches from a serious topic to talking about "scams" and absenting from school generally, turns this into a joke, a tactic employed to defuse the earlier serious statement that implies racism to a lighter note. Awareness of the interview situation of not revealing all, confidentiality is not guaranteed, cautious, guarded in a humorous way</i> <i>Voices her indiscrete admissions, not able to control her words or thoughts, tension between the two – "letting it all out" – out of control, breaking the rules, the norm of not talking about breaking school rules with adults</i> <i>Ras malai, kebabs are traditional Pakistani celebratory foods</i></p> |
| <p>Absenting from school Breaking the rules</p> | <p>221. R: What do you get dressed up in? 222. F: Like I'll get dressed up in one of my <i>erm</i> Pakistani dresses, like a 223. big, flashy thing (both laugh)! 224. R: What does a big, flashy thing look like? 225. F: Like a big dress 226. R: Yeah 227. F: Purple and cream and <i>erm chapliya</i> and all my hair back with a 228. <i>hair</i> band on and that's it. 229. R: How do you feel about getting dressed up?</p> | <p></p> |
| <p>Traditional culture</p> | <p></p> | <p></p> |
| <p>Traditional clothes</p> | <p></p> | <p></p> |

Key to comments: black text= descriptive comments; comments in italics= linguistic comments; underlined comments= conceptual

APPENDIX IV (iv)

Example of an annotated page from Tanya's transcript

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Learning and fun at home | 153. T: I've got my mum, my dad and my two brothers. | |
| | 154. R: And all of them get involved like with the chunking? That | |
| Sensible student | 155. sounds really cool, that sounds really good. (laughs) | Fun and learning more effective tools |
| | 156. T: It is like, you get a little bit of fun and you get learning at the | in education |
| | 157. same time. Like it's really good. | Would like school to reflect the learning at |
| | 158. R: How do you feel about learning like that? | home but recognises that it would not suit |
| | 159. T: I wish the school learning was like this as well so like it | the class. Not everything is straight |
| | 160. would be easier to learn. | forward, other issues need to be taken |
| | 161. R: Is that do you think a good way of learning? | into account, a mature and sensible |
| | 162. T: Be alright but this way the way Mr Shaw cheats us is | attitude |
| | 163. (laughs) teaches us is alright as well. But I think that way is | <i>"really really" emphasises how difficult the</i> |
| | 164. more helpful that cos again to have some more fun. But I think | <i>pupils are</i> |
| | 165. that if you have a class, the children are really, really, giddy | <i>"giddy" describes dizzying, unsteady, loud</i> |
| | 166. about when you do something good I think it's not going to be | <i>and uncontrolled or unstable behaviour,</i> |
| | 167. that such a good way though ... if it's like that. | <i>interesting choice of word. Tanya</i> |
| Fun and learning not suited | 168. R: So you think it doesn't always work? | <i>separates herself from the class, she is</i> |
| to class | 169. T: No but if you like have sensible students like me. (laughs) | <i>not included in the giddy behaviour</i> |
| | 170. R: Do you think you're sensible? | <i>"Sensible students like me" "students" not</i> |
| | 171. T: Not that but my mum and dad always say you're very | <i>normally used to describe primary school</i> |
| Sensible, reinforced by | 172. sensible, you're very capable so we can trust you for this we | <i>children, usually for university students.</i> |
| parents | 173. can trust you for that. | <i>Could be pitching herself with higher</i> |
| | 174. R: That sounds really nice. | <i>education or using the language that her</i> |
| | 175. T: I got £100 for my Eid money. | <i>parents use. "Sensible" is internalised, of</i> |
| | 176. R: Really? | <i>being practical, dependable, polite,</i> |
| | 177. T: From my dad. | <i>trustworthy, compliant – traits valued in</i> |
| | 178. R: Wow | <i>school and at home contrasting with the</i> |
| | 179. T: I got £100 from my mum, my aunties gave me £50 each so | <i>other pupils in class – a model and an</i> |
| | 180. altogether I had £500 so I gave my mum £250, I gave my dad | <i>ideal pupil</i> |
| | 181. £250 because they didn't want it and then I said, "I'm not | <i>"you're very sensible, you're very</i> |
| | 182. talking to you now!" (laughs) So they kept it. | <i>capable" parents reinforcing and</i> |
| Wealth of family | 183. R: That's a lot of money isn't it? | <i>encouraging Tanya to feel confident in</i> |
| | 184. T: Yeah but they didn't buy anything for themselves. They | <i>her abilities and they recognise those</i> |
| | 185. bought this erm <u>lpad</u> for me. | <i>abilities – part of Tanya's internalisation of</i> |
| | 186. R: <u>Ahh</u> so do you use it? The <u>lpad</u> ? | <i>being sensible and capable</i> |
| lpad – resources for learning | 187. T: Yeah, mainly it's Islamic games and school work. My | <i>Important for a child to feel good about</i> |
| and fun | 188. parents, my dad said it doesn't just have to be schoolwork you | <i>themselves in order to perform well in</i> |
| Cultural capital | 189. can have what you like. | <i>school and wider society, family</i> |
| | 190. R: <u>Uhhh</u> | <i>producing confident children</i> |
| | 191. T: And I wrote, I just got some games as well but I don't, my | <i>Sensible</i> |
| | | <i>suggests anti-rebellion, harmony with</i> |
| | | <i>existing structures and authority rather</i> |
| | | <i>than opposition, to make the right choices</i> |
| | | <i>which will reinforce calm rather than</i> |
| | | <i>challenging the social order</i> |

Key to comments: black text= descriptive comments; comments in italics= linguistic comments; underlined comments= conceptual

APPENDIX IV (v)

Example of an annotated page from Samina's transcript

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Stories Knowledge of Islam Comparing religions</p> <p>Child voice, sharing knowledge</p> <p>Thirst for knowledge</p> <p>Different responses by Christians and Muslims</p> <p>Distinction between Pakistanis and Muslims Divisions between Muslims</p> <p>Sticking to own beliefs</p> <p>Creative outlet at home</p> | <p>75. S: Okay cos I know like a lot of Islam cos my dad <u>tached</u> me and when I go 76. Mosque they teach me as well. So I know a lot about it and buy some books 77. <u>so</u> got loads of books at home. I can learn things from there. 78. R: And what about the other kids in the class when you talk about the stories 79. in Islam and you share what you've learnt from Mosque and from the 80. <u>books</u>... what do they do? 81. S: Like the Christians, they enjoy it like because they don't know like some of 82. <u>em</u> enjoy it because they don't know these kind of stories, they find it good 83. but some Pakistanis not Pakistanis, Muslims they think that like some have 84. different beliefs in Muslims and they think that's wrong and they keep arguing 85. <u>that</u> this is wrong and this is right. So the Christians they like it cos they enjoy 86. it and they've never heard these before, they don't have books at home 87. <u>about</u> Islam so they enjoy listening to them. 88. R: And how do you feel sharing that information? 89. S: Good cos like if someone didn't know about like someone doesn't know 90. what I know then I can share it and if I don't know something, someone can 91. <u>share</u> it to me. So I like it and get to know more about Islam. 92. R: Can you give me an example of when you did share something with them? 93. S: <u>Em</u> I shared something about like the five pillars and I said <u>em</u> like you 94. can go to hajj only if you like, god said that you can go to hajj only if you have 95. <u>money</u> and if you don't have money it doesn't really matter. And what 96. <u>happens</u> when you go to hajj and when do you go and told stuff like that. 97. R: And how did the other people respond? 98. S: Okay, they didn't really like cos they know as well some of them 99. know so they didn't really care like if it was right or wrong cos they 100. <u>know</u> what's right for them and I know what's right for me. It's okay. 101. R: Okay so you also said that you like literacy. What do you like 102. <u>about</u> literacy? 103. S: Like I just like writing stories, them play scripts even at home I've 104. <u>got</u> a book and I write lots of play scripts and stories in it. 105. R: What sort of stories do you write? 106. S: Just write like I mix <u>em</u> up sometimes like Cinderella just 107. <u>like</u> write my own version of that. 108. R: Really? 109. S: Yeah (laughs) 110. R: And what do you do with these play scripts you make? 111. S: Yeah, play scripts, like I put my cousins in or my sisters. Then we 112. <u>like</u> we act it out sometimes. 113. R: Really?</p> | <p><u>religions which appears an important matter for her, particularly sharing important figures but having differing details regarding the significance of those figures</u> Open invitation to share Sources of learning; her dad, mosque and books – "loads of books" reflecting her interest in reading and gaining knowledge, shared by and supported by her family Distinguishes between the Christian and Muslim responses to her stories. The Christians enjoy the stories, increases their knowledge because "they've never heard... don't have books about Islam" reflecting Samina's desire to share knowledge where it is lacking – reflecting wider society where less factual information is shared or sought about Islam but many opinions exist Distinguishes between Pakistanis and Muslims, the Muslims objecting to her stories were not Pakistanis indicating that there are differences and divisions within Islam within different Muslim communities that originate from other countries – creating arguments and conflict, much like historical tensions between Sunni Muslims and Shiites Shows a thirst for sharing and increasing her own knowledge from others Repetition of "what's right" suggests that opinions could not be changed or challenged by these stories because they still remain steadfast with their own beliefs – <u>begging the question does sharing information about religions reduce ignorance and prejudice or make no difference?</u> <u>Interest in religious stories extends to writing stories and plays, reflecting her studious nature and love of literacy</u></p> <p>Acting out play scripts, creative outlet at home with her cousins</p> |
|--|---|---|

Key to comments: black text= descriptive comments; comments in italics= linguistic comments; underlined comments= conceptual

APPENDIX IV (vi)

Example of an annotated page from Ada’s transcript

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Gender swearing | 75. <u>goray</u> you know. Don't like to be with them, I like to be with Pakistani | <i>Hostility?</i> |
| Against Whites Preference for Pakistani girls | 76. <u>girls</u> not boys, they give you boys. I don't like being with boys. 77. R: What is it like being with boys that you don't like? 78. A: Not like, some boys are okay. But some of <u>em</u> they just start | <i>Short sentences, cannot find the words to explain or not wanting to explain – not comfortable, anxious, uneasy, tense, troubled – not in a state to learn when with other people</i> |
| Against boys | 79. <u>saying</u> stuff, that's why. Start saying like nicknames, swearing at <u>yer</u> . 80. <u>so</u> I don't like it. 81. R: What sort of things do they say? | <i>Repeats "don't like to be" "whites" is a problem, distinguishing between ethnicity is important for her. Repeats "boys" a particular source of stress and anxiety which is reinforced by being paired with boys repeatedly. Shows the teachers are not sensitive to her needs or feelings – "they" shows her detachment from the school and its inhabitants, also against her not with or for her benefit</i> |
| Detachment from School | 82. A: They make fun out of my name and do you know my aunty, <u>er</u> . 83. don't know, most people in school they say stuff about my aunty and 84. <u>they</u> call her all sorts of stuff. So I don't like being with people who 85. <u>say</u> that. 86. R: How do they know your aunty? | <i>Difficult relations with boys (not all) "swearing nicknames" finds it offensive, nicknames are usually a sign of familiarity and friendliness, here they are used to upset her and alienate her further from school</i> |
| Difficult Relations with Boys Some Boys are Okay | 87. A: I don't know how, do you know my cousins, yeah, they used to 88. <u>come</u> to this school. Like most of <u>em</u> used to come to this school 89. <u>and</u> when they used to be here... I don't know when all this started. 90. But they did start saying stuff and they've been saying stuff to me as | <i>Using her name is directly attacking her identity and ethnicity because it is a Muslim name. Talking about her aunty makes the attacks even more personal – deliberately baiting her to produce an emotional reaction, hard to ignore</i> |
| Nits | 91. <u>well</u> . You know like Yousef Ali? He's okay. There's some people 92. that are okay, a few boys that are okay with me but some act smart 93. <u>and</u> all that. 94. R: In what way do they act smart? | <i>Cousins should be allies but are a source of torment – started a while ago, unaware of origins making the taunts appear illogical, hard to understand or explain. Ignorance is a weapon used against her here</i> |
| Swearing and Nicknames | 95. A: They just say stuff to <u>yer</u> and they say that oh <u>erm</u> . Like do you 96. <u>know</u> Riaz? Him, yeah he's the one who started it been saying stuff 97. <u>about</u> me and my aunty. He says that we're that, we're this, and he 98. <u>says</u> that we've got nits and all that. And I was like, why you saying 99. <u>that</u> ? It's a little bit you know, rude. He was just saying that "you've | <i>Repeats "stuff" implying that the words are too numerous and painful to recount</i> |
| Attacking Identity and | 100. <u>got</u> nits" and all sorts and I don't like that. 101. R: And what happens when he says things like that? 102. A: We tell the teacher and <u>er</u> sometimes he swears and I told 103. the teacher and he says that, "I didn't swear, I didn't swear, 104. <u>she's</u> lying, she <u>swears</u> at me." When I don't even swear. 105. And do you know about my cousin? Alisha, the one that didn't 106. <u>bring</u> a letter, <u>er</u> do you know her, yeah. She comes to school 107. <u>with</u> me, we always, they always used to say stuff to me. I told 108. my aunty but even if you tell their parents, tell them to stop it, 109. <u>they</u> just start saying it. So I don't like them. 110. R: And how do you feel about that? 111. A: ...I feel upset. Like do you know <u>Ribat</u> , my friend, he says 112. <u>stuff</u> to them as well. He says she's fat, yeah, she's the fattest 113. <u>girl</u> and all that. And that's not nice, if you say fat. Like do you | <i>Careful to point out that it is not all the boys, "some are okay" not brilliant to her but leave her alone, do not cause pain or torment</i> <i>Wants me to know the names of the perpetrators, the guilty person and the originator of her problems. Saying she has nits implies she is dirty, catching so keep her at a distance, untouchable, undesirable, aimed at spreading the message to keep away from her and repeat the words to others – the torment spreads, public humiliation – treated like a leper</i> <i>Repetition of "swear" reinforcing how it is alien to her and the ultimate insult not used by her. Boys know how to protect themselves and to protest the loudest</i> |

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APPENDIX V (i)

Table of Super-ordinate Themes for Hussain

| Super-ordinate and subordinate themes | Page/line | Key words |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Learning at school</p> <p>a) Fear of starting school b) Teachers helping c) Differences in academic ability d) Differentiation e) Extra support f) Enjoyable Subjects g) Gendered roles and subjects h) A good teacher</p> | <p>1.12, 1.14-15 1.34-36 8.301-304 4.127-129, 5.176-177 9.310-311 4.133, 8.297-299 5.186-187, 11.420-423 4.117, 4.119-122</p> | <p>A bit scary Don't be scared I'm not like that bright at maths or anything Drawing, colouring, boring An extra lesson Like art and clay and PE Don't do gymnastics or dancing She never used to shout</p> |
| <p>Cultural capital</p> <p>a) Importance of trips b) Share achievements with family c) Parents not attending assembly</p> | <p>2.42, 4.149-151 5.159-160, 6.195-196 2.72-73, 3.82-83 3.85, 3.88 3.90-91, 3.99-101 2.73,3.75</p> | <p>We've been to more trips Assemblies and that They don't come</p> |
| <p>Power Dynamics</p> <p>a) Teachers sharing private information b) Teacher's not believing pupils c) Teachers reinforcing feelings of being bullied d) Not given chance to explain e) Wants understanding of needs, feelings and abilities</p> | <p>7.266-267, 8.269-275 10.382-384,11.386-388 9.329-330, 9.332-334 9.338-341, 9.343 11.390-391 10.362-363 5.172-173</p> | <p>Make a big scene They don't believe me They don't stop talking about it no, no, yer lying A teacher that gets us</p> |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Anonymity and Privacy</p> <p>a) Anonymity</p> <p>b) Friends betrayal</p> <p>c) Shame in public humiliation</p> <p>d) Mutual respect, privacy and trust</p> | <p>6.203-205, 6.209-210</p> <p>9.317-322</p> <p>6.223-226</p> <p>10.367-371</p> | <p>you don't know who said what tell everyone people start to laugh at me</p> <p>he doesn't tell no one</p> |
| <p>Bullying, Peer Relations and Isolation</p> <p>a) Bullying</p> <p>b) Violence</p> <p>c) Isolation</p> <p>d) Feeling inferior</p> <p>e) Racism, threatening, sinister language</p> | <p>7.230-232, 11.393-398</p> <p>8.279-285</p> <p>11.400-404</p> <p>7.238-241, 7.243-244</p> <p>7.249-250, 7.252-253</p> <p>14.527-534</p> | <p>only the wind hears you they hit me I was alone better than what I say</p> <p>So now we know</p> |
| <p>The Power of Language and Communication</p> <p>a) Secret language</p> <p>b) Swapping languages</p> <p>c) English children speaking in Urdu</p> <p>d) Difficulties with language</p> <p>e) Funny Accents</p> <p>f) Easier in mosque</p> <p>g) Having a Pakistani teacher</p> | <p>13.483-485, 13.491-493</p> <p>13.498-500, 13.502-503</p> <p>15.548-549</p> <p>16.594, 16.596</p> <p>14.527-534, 14.536-538</p> <p>15.543-545</p> <p>14.508-510</p> <p>15.556-570, 15.574-576</p> <p>15.577-580</p> <p>13.464-466</p> <p>14.515-523</p> | <p>we don't want them to know about it</p> <p>In Mosque English in school Urdu. They say like the swear words I speak in Urdu better than English. it's not like the language</p> <p>we get to speak in our own language started saying, "Assalamualaikum (Peace be upon you – Arabic greeting)</p> |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>The Threat of Lithuanian Communities</p> <p>a) Threat of Lithuanians b) c) Lithuanians being believed, Pakistanis being blamed unfairly d) Lithuanian girls pretending in front of teachers e) Empathy with whites f) Lithuanians lying g) Fighting with Pakistanis</p> | <p>17.634-641, 17.644-646 18.696-700, 19.709-714 18.682-686, 18.688-693 17.649-650,17.656-659 18.661-664 18.669-675 18.685-686</p> | <p>but now there's like Lithuanians we don't want any of those fibs teachers think they are all good How they feel they lie and they lie start fighting</p> |
|---|--|---|

APPENDIX V (ii)

Table of Super-ordinate Themes for Ali

| Super-ordinate and subordinate themes | Page/line | Key words |
|--|---|-----------------------------|
| Linguistic Techniques used During the Interview | | |
| a. Ending the subject | 1. 16, 8.288 9.344, 10.365 10.378 | that's it |
| b. Inarticulate | 1.7-8, 3.78-84 | Er, good |
| c. Detached | 4.129-135, 7.269 | Get back up |
| Passion for Learning | | |
| a. Value school and learning | 3.86-93, 10.374-378 | Get to learn |
| b. Teachers Assessment | 5.171-179 | Marks it at home |
| c. Differentiation | 5.159-167 | A bit clever |
| d. Enjoys maths and science | 6.207-209, 13.466-470 | Favourite subjects |
| e. Fun and learning | 7.234-240 | Fun stuff inside |
| Gender, Roles and Power | | |
| a. Ladies without identity | 2.39-40 2.47-49 | Tuesday and Thursday ladies |
| b. Gendered activities | 1.24-30, 2.49-51 | Different activities |
| c. Power and roles | 2.40-49 | Sort everything out |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>The Importance of Sports</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Cheating b. Learning and sports c. Sportsmanship d. Fairness e. Status of masculine sports | <p>2.57-60, 2.67-76 7.232-234 4.142-146, 4.150-156 3.96-102, 12.443-447 12.450-453, 12.456-460 1.32-35, 16.597-598</p> | <p>Tall people That's still learning Just help me It's fair Know the rules</p> |
| <p>Difficulties with Literacy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Difficulties with literacy b. Essential elements c. Support | <p>6.208-209, 13.474-478 13.480-487 13.491-496</p> | <p>Don't like writing Loads of stuff Okay with literacy</p> |
| <p>The Suggestion of Conflict</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Dislike confrontation b. Physical, concealed bullying c. Difference between friends and others d. Separation of playground | <p>2.62-64 3.109-113 4.116-118, 4.137-140 4.123-126</p> | <p>I didn't wanna go in Someone's hitting me Keep on playing Wall bit blocking</p> |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Cultural Capital</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Life skills b. Trips and filling experiential gaps c. Planting d. Continuing experiences | <p>7.242-249 6.216-219,8.298-301 10.380-396 9.327-344, 10.350-354 11.403-411, 11.413-418</p> | <p>Real life First time I saw a shark Grew quite fast Few times</p> |
| <p>Characteristics of teachers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Behaviour management styles b. Power and Control c. Blamed wrongly d. Different approach e. Authority Figure | <p>13.498-501, 14.512-521 10.357-365 8.302-312,10.370-372 10.374-375 13.503-506 9.312-322 3.102-106</p> | <p>First warn yer Sees them talking For nothing Sporty teacher Sort the rules out</p> |
| <p>Career Ambitions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Goals b. Links Quran with Employment c. Hard work and struggle | <p>6.199-201, 6.203-205 15.578-581, 16.583-584 5.181-185,14.528-536 15.545-549</p> | <p>Doctor or a dentist When I finish Not gonna get anywhere</p> |
| <p>Changing Friendships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Best friend leaving b. Shared attributes c. Guilt d. More compatible friend | <p>7.254-256, 7.269-270 7.261-265 8.274-278 8.280-282, 8.284-288</p> | <p>Used to be best friends Small like me Because I forgot New best friend</p> |

APPENDIX V (iii)

Table of Super-ordinate Themes for Farah

| Super-ordinate and subordinate themes | Page/line | Key words |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Using humour to mask anxiety in school subjects</p> <p>a) Difficulties in maths b) Difficulties with literacy c) Inadequate differentiation</p> | <p>5.179-182 2.46, 4.115-124 14.533-545, 15.547-550 1.13, 5.168-172 10.351-355, 10.359</p> | <p>it's like "what?" and I were like (gasps) "that's so easy"</p> |
| <p>Rebelling Against Rules</p> <p>a) Rule bound teachers b) Breaking school rules c) School rules d) Argumentative with teachers</p> | <p>4.147-149 9.314-319 9.335-339, 16.601-604 1.29-33, 15.559-566</p> | <p>She's always with the rules. I was lazy won't send you home doesn't make sense</p> |
| <p>The Power of Friendships</p> <p>a) Need to share b) Strong friendships c) Trust in friendships d) Differences in friendships</p> | <p>14.524-526 11.401-404 14.505-510, 14.517-521 14.523-524 11.387-399</p> | <p>whole world like that always forgive me sprog it Did you see Starparivaar?</p> |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Suppression of Identity</p> <p>a) Self-expression and identity</p> <p>b) Suppression of identity and uniform</p> <p>c) Political ambitions</p> | <p>6.222-223, 6.227-228 7.235-237, 7.240-241 7.251-255, 7.257-263 12.444-450, 12.457-463 13.467, 13.472 7.230, 7.232-233 7.268-269, 8.275-282 13.475, 13.499-502, 14.512-514 13.491-496</p> | <p>Pakistani dresses</p> <p>Trapped</p> <p>Take over the assembly</p> |
| <p>Rejecting English culture and education</p> <p>a) Absenting from school</p> <p>b) Rejecting schoolwork</p> <p>c) Rejection of mixed schools</p> | <p>6.205-211, 16.610-617 9.345-349 17.638-648, 17.650-652 18.662-663</p> | <p>Pull a scam</p> <p>I won't do anything</p> <p>Don't wanna go</p> |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Painful Changes</p> <p>a) Disempowered</p> <p>b) Growing up and changing</p> <p>c) Anger and frustration</p> <p>d) Physical symptoms of frustration</p> | <p>7.246-247, 13.479-481 15.578-580, 16.582-585 16.595-596, 8.288-293, 8.295-307</p> <p>9.316-319, 9.343 10.353-355, 10.359 11.403-404, 11.406-419 16.586-587</p> <p>9.327-339, 15.573-578 16.598-608</p> | <p>We're not capable</p> <p>I'm participating</p> <p>Really angry</p> <p>Headache</p> |
| <p>Clashes with other Communities</p> <p>a) Divisions between communities</p> <p>b) Lithuanians and racism</p> <p>c) Adult Responses</p> | <p>6.195-199, 6.205-206 11.422-424</p> <p>12.428-429, 12.431 12.441-443 12.436-439</p> | <p>Only goray</p> <p>Hickory dickory dock</p> <p>Doesn't matter</p> |

APPENDIX V (iv)

Table of Super-ordinate Themes for Tanya

| Super-ordinate and subordinate themes | Page/line | Key words |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Family Providing Educational Support</p> <p>a) Family offer practical support for difficult school topics</p> <p>b) Parents set routine and provide encouragement and resources for SATs and learning</p> <p>c) Cultural capital</p> <p>d) Learning made fun at home</p> | <p>3.102-107, 4.125-128</p> <p>4.131-138, 4.140-141 3.98-102</p> <p>5.184-185, 5.187-189 5.191-198</p> <p>5.156-157, 5.159-160</p> | <p>Chunking</p> <p>Learn it again</p> <p>Ipad</p> <p>Bit of fun</p> |
| <p>School Achievement</p> <p>a) Confidence in her achievements</p> <p>b) Early intervention and support</p> <p>c) Literacy project to empower young people</p> <p>d) Skilled in cricket</p> <p>e) Tournament</p> | <p>4.137-138, 12.432-433</p> <p>9.322-329, 9.333-334 9.336-345</p> <p>2.40-41, 2.45-47 2.49-50</p> <p>2.54-55, 2.63-65 17.659-665</p> <p>17.639-643, 17.647-651</p> | <p>39 out of 40</p> <p>ELS group</p> <p>Write a story</p> <p>Good at batting</p> <p>They get a trophy</p> |
| <p>Personal Qualities</p> <p>a) Sensible student</p> <p>b) Fear of being naughty – thrown out of school</p> <p>c) Accepting adult decisions</p> | <p>5.169, 5.171-173</p> <p>7.252-257</p> <p>17.653-655</p> | <p>We can trust you Might kick you out</p> <p>Fair</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Classroom Divisions</p> <p>a) Fun and learning not suited to class</p> <p>b) Good versus naughty</p> <p>c) Not sharing spiritual activities with teachers and class</p> | <p>5.162-167</p> <p>11.408-409, 11.411-423</p> <p>19.734, 19.736-738 20.749, 20.751-752</p> | <p>Really, really giddy</p> <p>You're not trustable</p> <p>Cos I'm scared</p> |
| <p>Religion and Life Changes</p> <p>a) Umrah and life change</p> <p>b) Resilience and strength from faith</p> <p>c) Controlling anger</p> <p>d) Philosophical support</p> <p>e) Absolute trust in faith</p> <p>f) Dedicated, practising Muslim</p> <p>g) Grief for grandparents triggered life change</p> | <p>7.260-272</p> <p>8.301-304</p> <p>12.445-446</p> <p>13.498-500, 14.504-508 22.839-847</p> <p>22.849-853</p> <p>18.693-697, 19.713-718 19.724-725 19.728-729, 21.796-803 21.789-796</p> | <p>The way I should</p> <p>Have to do this</p> <p>Control my anger On the truth</p> <p>He's our lord</p> <p>They're fasts</p> <p>Be a proper Muslim</p> |
| <p>Transition</p> <p>a) Fear of teachers leaving and changing classes</p> <p>b) Support mechanisms</p> <p>c) Benefits of the same teacher</p> | <p>10.356-360, 10.362-365 10.367-377</p> <p>10.377-382</p> <p>11.399-406</p> | <p>I feel really nervous</p> <p>Look after you</p> <p>Same voice</p> |

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Segregation Between Communities</p> <p>a) Difficult relations between Lithuanians and Pakistanis</p> <p>b) Segregated Lithuanians</p> <p>c) Segregation continues despite intervention</p> <p>d) Teacher skilfully managing a sensitive situation</p> <p>e) Rewarded for working together</p> | <p>12.436-441, 15-571-575 15.577-580</p> <p>16.584-586</p> <p>16.587-598, 16.601 16.604-607</p> <p>12.448-455</p> <p>16.598-599,16.608-609 16.611</p> | <p>This Lithuanian</p> <p>Work with each other We'll work together</p> <p>Sorted it out</p> <p>Another five points</p> |
| <p>Turbulent Gender Relations</p> <p>a) Boys being nasty</p> <p>b) Unfair blame and punishment</p> <p>c) Male physical violence against females</p> <p>d) Teacher gathering evidence</p> <p>e) Divisions between sexes</p> | <p>13.466-470, 13.478-482 13.470-473, 13.482-498 13.501-504, 13.508-514 15.552-553</p> <p>15.553-560</p> <p>18.672-674</p> | <p>They say stuff Blamed it all on us</p> <p>Kicked me again</p> <p>I'm gonna sort it</p> <p>Go to a girl mosque</p> |
| <p>The Power of Friendship</p> <p>a) Strong friendship</p> <p>b) Share friendships</p> <p>c) Inclusive and expanding friendships</p> | <p>10.614-617</p> <p>16.617-620</p> <p>17.623-630</p> | <p>Never fought We don't deny No matter who</p> |

APPENDIX V (v)

Table of Super-ordinate Themes for Ada

| Super-ordinate and subordinate themes | Page/line | Key words |
|--|--|---------------------------|
| Subversive Behaviour | | |
| a) Problems with Routines | 1.30-34, 2.38-39 2.43-46 | wake up right late |
| b) Bored at home | 2.48-50 | proper bored |
| c) Attendance Issues | 2.58-63, 2.66-70 | don't like to come |
| Positive Aspects of School | | |
| a) Infants Preferred | 2.63-64, 7.245-246 7.257-264 | Quite fun |
| b) Cultural Capital | 7.246-250, 7.252-254 8.284-286, 9.313-320 | First time |
| c) Positive traits in adults | 7.266, 7.268-271 8.288-297 | Entertaining |
| Rejecting Secular Education | | |
| d) Teachers Inaction | 4.143-145 | Keep quiet |
| e) Teachers Disbelieving | 12.448-449, 12.451-454 | Just believe her |
| f) Detached from school | 5.170-172, 15.556-559 | Tell ustadji |
| Unity of Pakistani Girls | | |
| a) Strong Friendships | 10.356-361, 10.368-371 10.376-380, 15.550-554 | Nice spending time |
| b) Dispute Between Close Friends | 17.635-649, 17.651-656 | Broke up |
| c) Personality Clashes | 9.335-341 | Keeps talking and talking |
| d) Friends Separating | 10.351-354 | Don't know |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Difficult Relations with Classmates</p> <p>a) Unwelcoming and Unfriendly classmates</p> <p>b) Discriminating Against Whites</p> <p>c) Preference for Pakistani girls</p> <p>d) Problems with Pakistani boys</p> <p>e) Problems Unresolved</p> | <p>2.72, 11.408-415</p> <p>2.74-75, 10.380-381</p> <p>3.75-76, 10.381-383</p> <p>3.78-80, 3.82-85 3.87-93, 3.95-100 3.102-109, 3.111-117 4.119-125</p> <p>12.456-464</p> | <p>Don't feel comfortable</p> <p>Don't like</p> <p>Pakistani girls not boys</p> <p>Swearing at yer</p> <p>Problem still be's there</p> |
| <p>Identity</p> <p>a) Muslim destroying a Muslim Flag</p> <p>b) Questions over Identity</p> <p>c) Abandoning Religion</p> | <p>4.132-134, 5.184-191</p> <p>6.198-209</p> <p>6.212-216</p> | <p>Disrespectful</p> <p>Who are you</p> <p>He's a gora</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Religious and Cultural Identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Own Language and Culture b) Half English Half Pakistani c) Respect for Ustaadji d) Sharing religion in school e) Dilemma of bringing the Quran to school f) Whites not listening | <p>10.385-394</p> <p>11.396-401, 11.404-406</p> <p>15.561-565, 15.568-570</p> <p>16.588-592</p> <p>15.574-585</p> <p>16.599-605</p> | <p>Own stuff</p> <p>Half English, half that that Ustaadji says</p> <p>It's better like</p> <p>All the haram stuff</p> <p>You should listen</p> |
| <p>Turbulent Relations with Lithuanians</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Racist and Prejudice b) Lithuanians Believed c) Physical Battles for Superiority d) Compromised with Whites e) Problem Saturated despite exceptions f) Lithuanians Stealing | <p>4.148-151, 6.224-227</p> <p>6.229-237, 13.497-500</p> <p>4.151-156</p> <p>12.464-469</p> <p>13.495-496</p> <p>13.500-505</p> <p>13.476-489</p> | <p>Disgusting stuff</p> <p>Teacher believes them Wants a fight</p> <p>They're okay</p> <p>It's the boys</p> <p>They nick stuff</p> |

APPENDIX V (vi)

Table of Super-ordinate Themes for Samina

| Super-ordinate and subordinate themes | Page/line | Key words |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Importance of learning</p> <p>a) Subjects found enjoyable</p> <p>b) Value in learning foreign language</p> <p>c) Ambition to be a doctor</p> <p>d) Love of literacy</p> | <p>2.44-49</p> <p>7.248-251</p> <p>7.262-263</p> <p>3.103-104, 3.106-107 3.111-112, 15.571 15.573-576, 15.578-582</p> | <p>I like literacy</p> <p>Learn other languages</p> <p>Grow up</p> <p>Can't stop reading</p> |
| <p>Friendships</p> <p>a) Strong, lasting friendships</p> <p>b) All Muslims together</p> <p>c) Anxiety of new people, separation from friends</p> | <p>2.39-40, 4.126-127 4.133-134, 8.276-280</p> <p>11.396-399, 13.484-485 18.683-688</p> <p>8.284-289</p> | <p>Tell my friends</p> <p>Always together</p> <p>Separate yer</p> |
| <p>Comparing Religions and Cultures</p> <p>a) Differences between Islam and Christianity</p> <p>b) Stories</p> <p>c) Child voice, sharing knowledge</p> <p>d) Different responses by Christians and Muslims</p> <p>e) Comparison between mosque and school</p> | <p>2.51-57, 2.68-70</p> <p>2.59-61, 2.63-66 3.89-91</p> <p>3.81-87, 3.98-100</p> <p>18.670-690</p> | <p>Islam's more stricter</p> <p>We could tell I can share</p> <p>Different beliefs</p> <p>Different rules</p> |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Classroom Power and Politics</p> <p>a) Laughter and power</p> <p>b) Bullying and racism</p> <p>c) Adult inaction</p> | <p>4.132-133, 4.140-145 4.147-151, 5.153-154 5.156-160, 15.563-567 9.321-322</p> <p>5.160-162, 5.165-175 5.180-181, 5.185-187 5.191-199, 7.237-244</p> | <p>All start laughing</p> <p>Call me black</p> <p>Believe the liars</p> |
| <p>Styles of Teaching</p> <p>a) Caring females</p> <p>b) Dictatorial management style</p> <p>c) Laid back approach</p> <p>d) Power hierarchy</p> <p>e) Help with SATs</p> <p>f) Changes in Key Stage Two</p> | <p>8.292-293, 8.297-300 17.637-643, 10.352-354 10.357,17.645-647</p> <p>8.300-302, 9.314-317 9.322-325, 9.336-337 9.341-345</p> <p>8.307-309, 9.338-340 6.202-208</p> <p>19.708-711, 19.716-737 10.384-390</p> | <p>Care for yer</p> <p>Bad class</p> <p>Lots of places</p> <p>Don't tell yer Try to help You'll live</p> |
| <p>Cultural Capital</p> <p>a) Topic linked trips</p> <p>b) Enjoyment in Cricket</p> <p>c) Exciting cultural experiences</p> <p>d) Tournament and training</p> | <p>20.740-746</p> <p>14.525-532, 15.558-560</p> <p>8.303-304, 20.748-754 20.756</p> <p>15.549-552, 15.554 15.556-561, 15.563-569</p> | <p>Topic type More fun</p> <p>The Beatles</p> <p>Started shouting at yer</p> |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Group prejudice and discrimination</p> <p>a) Divided communities</p> <p>b) Lithuanians swearing</p> <p>c) Discriminatory policies</p> <p>d) Finding exceptions</p> <p>e) Pakistani ally – staff believed</p> | <p>11.399-405, 11.422-427 12.431-432, 12.434 13.492-495</p> <p>6.212-214, 11.405-408</p> <p>11.408-419, 12.436-441</p> <p>11.428-431, 13.488-492</p> <p>6.215-217, 6.221-224 6.228-231</p> | <p>You're black and kaali</p> <p>Whose learnt em</p> <p>Only English</p> <p>Sometimes supports us She like translates</p> |
| <p>Gendered Power Struggles</p> <p>a) Separation of girls and boys</p> <p>b) Female subjugation by males</p> <p>c) Hidden male problems</p> <p>d) Gendered football</p> <p>e) Boys are special</p> <p>f) Girls punished unfairly</p> <p>g) Imposing Islamic Rules</p> <p>h) Uncertainty and guilt</p> | <p>10.364</p> <p>7.231-234 10.367-372, 12.444-455</p> <p>10.373-374</p> <p>13.497-504 12.456-459,</p> <p>13.471-478</p> <p>10.358-362, 10.376-381 14.508-518 14.520-523</p> | <p>Different side</p> <p>They're just nasty</p> <p>They're just fine</p> <p>Boys kind of stuff Boys are more special Wasn't my fault</p> <p>Not mosque</p> <p>Uncomfortable</p> |

APPENDIX VI

Table of Recurrent Superordinate Themes

| <u>Superordinate themes</u> | <u>Hussain</u> | <u>Farah</u> | <u>Samina</u> | <u>Ada</u> | <u>Ali</u> | <u>Tanya</u> | <u>Theme present in half the cases?</u> |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--|
| The emotional experience of learning | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| The cultural impact of the school curriculum | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| The importance of enduring friendships | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| The impact of the segregation between communities | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| The impact of gendered power struggles | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| The impact of bullying | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| The impact of cultural identity | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |

APPENDIX VII

Master Table of Joint Super-ordinate Themes

Master table of themes for the group

| 1.The emotional experience of learning | Page/line |
|---|------------|
| (a) <u>Passion for learning</u> | |
| Ali: So I like going school because you don't watch TV and you play with yer friends and you get to learn something and err you be happy there. | 3.91-93 |
| Samina: Like I just like writing stories, them play scripts even at home I've got a book and I write lots of play scripts and stories in it. | 3.103-104 |
| Tanya: I've never gone to Mrs Slee all these years except for, for my gold chart to show her and get prizes | 12.432-433 |
| Hussain: I want to learn and like be clever | 1.27 |
| (b) <u>Difficulties with Subjects</u> | |
| Ali: I don't like writing because erm you have to write erm different different stuff, all the stuff you have to do | 13.474-476 |
| Hussain: Er maths cos I'm not like that bright at maths or anything and they ask me a question and I get the wrong answer | 8.301-302 |
| Farah: I just hate reading tests and writing tests. I'm not good at writing; I'm not good at reading | 15.543-544 |
| 2.The cultural impact of the school curriculum | |
| (a) <u>Differentiation</u> | |
| Hussain: I don't like it when er one teachers they don't do good exciting stuff they always do like drawing, colouring, boring. | 4.127-129 |
| Farah: I'm like "they were so easy!" (laughs) | 5.170-171 |
| Tanya: he had a hand puppet so she did that with her hand and his mouth would move and she used to teach us how to do maths really, really, easy. | 9.326-329 |
| Ali: I get on quite well because we have like two groups some that struggle a bit and some that a bit clever | 5.159-160 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| (b) <u>Cultural Capital</u> | |
| Samina: he took us to XXXX Park and then he took us to Liverpool the Beatles Museum and XXXX Park and Knowsley Safari Park and different parks, lots of places | 8.307-309 |
| Hussain: if we were good we always watched a movie and sometimes we watched like a normal movie | 4.139-140 |
| Tanya: on my Ipad I've installed this app that you can listen to like teachings of how to do maths or literacy or science or anything and play games at the same time | 6.195-197 |
| Ali: Year Five first time I saw a shark, we went to the SeaLife Centre and I saw sharks | 8.298-299 |
| Ada: And we went to I don't remember which trip, and we went to a farm or something and I liked it there because that was our first trip and I hadn't been to a different trip before, that was like the first time. | 7.246-250 |
| 3.The importance of enduring friendships | |
| (a) <u>Strength and Trust</u> | |
| Ali: They good because erm they won't cheat in a game and when er in PE you go in groups and you can make your own group up so all friends they can get together and play | 3.96-98 |
| Farah: Like if I say someat to em, like if I get angry, I say someat to em, they'll always forgive me, they'll say, "doesn't matter let's go outside let's play" | 11.401-403 |
| Tanya: One of em is like my far far away cousin and we get on like equally | 16.614-615 |
| Samina: Yeah sometimes we have fights like arguments but mostly we get on well. | 13.481-482 |
| Ada: We talk about like in our own language and our own stuff like that. | 10.385-386 |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>(b) <u>Lasting</u></p> <p>Tanya: Like some friends like they fight but we have never fought in all these seven years, not once we haven't like fell out with each other ...erm we always stick together</p> <p>Farah: like they'll always become my friend again</p> <p>Ada: Zenub she goes to Mosque er she goes to the Mosque that I go to as well so it's nice spending time more cos like we've got school and we've got Mosque as well so we like spending time together.</p> | <p>16.615-617</p> <p>11.403</p> <p>15.551-554</p> |
| <p>(c) <u>Unity</u></p> <p>Samina: Aaina and Zeba, Zoya, Zarina ...nearly all the Muslim girls</p> <p>Ada: Then gradually we all came together. And then we were all in one group.</p> <p>Farah: My classmates are fun, they're fun to be with and they're not like bossy or anything</p> <p>Tanya: If we need help we ask each other and any of us we don't deny, we don't say that, "oh, we don't wanna help you" we just work together if we need to.</p> | <p>13.484</p> <p>10.379-380</p> <p>11.387-388</p> <p>16.617-620</p> |
| <p>4.The impact of the segregation between communities</p> | |
| <p>(a) <u>Turbulent Relations</u></p> <p>Hussain: They (Lithuanians) say stuff about us, they always like fight everything and like when we don't do anything and they just and they just, like they start doing it.</p> <p>Tanya: I like to get well on with the Lithuanians as well but then sometimes they don't want to get on with me.</p> <p>Samina: Because they never support yer, they, if you say something like like they just play football so they never know what happens at the other side of the playground and they never support us like if something happened at the other side, they just lie and they say this didn't happen to support their mates.</p> <p>Ada: At first the classes used to be okay, used to be till Year Three. Year Two and Year Three and then all the Lithuanian start coming to England so...then it started going a little bit dirty and everything.</p> <p>Farah: And they'll be saying stuff like that and I'm like proper get frustrated and when they say my name in it, I'm like "I wanna go at their head!"</p> | <p>17.636-639</p> <p>15.571-572</p> <p>11.422-426</p> <p>6.224-227</p> <p>12.441-443</p> |

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| <u>(b) Racism and Discrimination</u> | |
| Ada: now the Lithuanians go past and all the roads streets be dirty, all have rubbish on the floor | 7.232-233 |
| Farah: They'll be tapping me every minute like (small voice) "hickory dickory dock." | 12.438-439 |
| Samina: The others are friends like the Lithuanians with Lithuanians and Muslims with Muslims | 13.492-493 |
| Hussain: Er people like it's alright there's only like a little bit of people in our class only like goray and Muslims but now there's like Lithuanians and they speaking in a different language | 17.634-636 |
| <u>(c) Impact of Language</u> | |
| Samina: But I like it because some people you know like Lithuanians they, I don't know whose learnt em but they like say swear words in our language | 6.213-214 |
| Hussain: Like goray, like when we used to speak Arabic, they didn't have a clue what we were on about. Now Lithuanians, when they speak their language, we don't have a clue. | 17.656-658 |
| Ada: Like sometimes we get Mosque into it and start talking about all sometimes we don't like talk in English | 10.386-387 |
| <u>(d) Adults being unfair</u> | |
| Ada: Like I told you first, they just believe them and they don't believe us | 12.451-452 |
| Samina: And the teacher says you're not allowed to speak like Pakistani, only English. But the Lithuanians, they always speak their language and the teacher never says anything to them. | 11.416-419 |
| Hussain: When we say when they've done something bad they tell the teacher and the teacher says "oh, no they didn't do it so we don't want any of those fibs. They never do anything wrong" | 18.696-698 |
| Farah: Erm that makes me feel like, like angry cos I'm like the teachers won't do anything about it | 12.436-437 |
| Tanya: Miss Slee shouted at us as well that, "oh, erm why did you blame it on her Kelly that she swore at you? You just tried to get her in trouble!" | 13.502-504 |

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| 5.The impact of gendered power struggles | |
| (a) <u>Female Subjugation and Bullying</u> | |
| Tanya: Cos they be nasty to me like they say stuff about my parents, like really hurts me and I don't say things about their parents cos I know how it feels | 13.466-468 |
| Samina: I sit with a boy and he always says it and like whenever if I do something wrong or any time, he just starts saying "pancake face" or "burnt pancake" things like that | 5.185-187 |
| Ada: He says she's fat, yeah, she's the fattest girl and all that | 3.112-113 |
| (b) <u>Segregation</u> | |
| Tanya: I used to go to a different Mosque but then my dad said it's not good for me to get taught by a boy because I'm a bit old now so I should go to a girl Mosque teacher | 18.672-674 |
| Samina: Girls like in different side and boys in different side | 10.364 |
| Ada: I like to be with Pakistani girls not boys | 3.75-76 |
| Farah: Yeah, but all my cousins that are boys they go to XXXX school and I'm like I don't want to go to XXXX school. | 17.650-651 |
| (c) <u>Adults Responses</u> | |
| Ada: They give you boys | 3.76 |
| Samina: So it's not fair for like us lot and the boys they're more the teachers think that boys are more special than girls. We always get picked on by teachers and students. | 12.456-459 |
| Tanya: She hasn't done anything and I know she hasn't done anything cos I've been like keeping an eye on her so and I've also been keeping an eye on you so I know what you've been doing. | 15.558-560 |

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| <p style="text-align: center;">(d) <u>Gendered Subjects</u></p> <p>Samina: The two goriya they always like play football so like there's no point like we don't like football us girls and they do so there's no point being their friend cos like they're different to us</p> <p>Ali: And then the girls get to do the pool and everything and they have different activities out on the table like art and craft.</p> <p>Farah: Did you see what came on this channel yesterday? Did you see Starparivaar and all that?" and I were like "I don't even know what it is! I never even watch it!</p> | <p>11.402-404</p> <p>2.49-51</p> <p>11.390-392</p> |
| <p>6.The impact of bullying</p> | |
| <p>(a) <u>Physical bullying</u></p> <p>Hussain: Like they hit me and I wanted to tell the teacher and the then the teacher kept on telling people and this boy found out and he kept hitting me "oh how come you got bullied then?"</p> <p>Ali: Like when erm people bully yer they're around like er r they like help you like with telling the teacher like if they doing it outside like someone's hitting me against the wall and so no one can see it because the teacher's on the other side</p> <p>Tanya: he like kicked me and then I said, "stop kicking me" and then he kicked me again</p> | <p>8.279-281</p> <p>3.109-112</p> <p>15.552-553</p> |
| <p>(b) <u>Ritual Humiliation</u></p> <p>Hussain: Yeah like the teacher would tell a different teacher and then that teacher tells a different teacher and then they just keep telling teachers and then and then and then and they say and they say and then there's someone there</p> <p>Samina: And then erm we learnt that and then just cos first time we sang it when he learnt us, everyone was looking at me when they said that word and then after that they started calling me like that.</p> | <p>8.269-272</p> <p>5.165-168</p> |

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| <p>(c) <u>Isolation</u></p> <p>Hussain: that I'm making it up and then no one be's with me and they say like "oh, only the only the wind hears you." Samina: In secondary school they separate yer.</p> | <p>11.395-397 8.284</p> |
| <p>7.The impact of cultural identity</p> | |
| <p>(a) <u>Suppression of identity</u></p> <p>Ada: Bilal, he's a Muslim as well, I don't know why he ripped it but he ripped it, no, they ripped it the Pakistan flag and they punched the Saudi Arabia flag. Farah: We're supposed to express who we are, not blumin brown t shirt and things like that! I just don't like it, I don't like school uniforms. Tanya: I don't like talking to the teachers about that or like because sometimes they make ermm</p> | <p>4.132-134 7.232-233 19.736-737</p> |
| <p>(b) <u>Resilience and strength from religion and culture</u></p> <p>Ada: Er ...it feels good because you don't know if you're gonna be alive the next day or not so it's better if you spend more time, not wasting yer time. Farah: I'm like I don't want like you know when I'm in the other clothes, totally different person. I'm like jumping everywhere, jumping around I'm everything. And in school, I'm like laid down and like I'm really shy. Tanya: I felt really angry but then I thought I should control my anger cos you never know what you can do in anger. Samina: it's just like different (from school) cos like there's different people here but in Mosque they understand you more because like we're all the same, like Muslims all there all of em all of em are Muslims.</p> | <p>15.556-558 7.257-260 12.445-446 18.682-684</p> |

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| <p>(c) <u>Disenchantment and rejection of British mixed schools</u></p> <p>Ada: It's okay but sometimes I don't like to come. 2.58 Farah: I don't wanna be like that, I wanna be like in Islamic school where there's only Islamic girls 17.639-640 Samina: But I like like girl teachers because they understand girls more and most of the time we say like, like we want boys on one side and girls on one side but then Mr Smith said it's not Mosque like what you want to happen cos mostly in Mosque it's like boys separate and girls separate. 10.357-361</p> | |
| <p>(d) <u>Religious beliefs and customs</u></p> <p>Ada: I brought some books about Hazrat Eesa and that and the prophets and books like that. Not the Quran you don't know if you can give it or not so why... 16.582-585 Farah: Like last time, I prayed for my aunty and she didn't even know and when she came to our house, I said, "I went around the Khana Khaaba for you" and she were right grateful and she were like "ah thank you" and all that. 18.670-673 Tanya: "it's my home religion, if I don't get used to this then what will I be called or like it's my religion I should like follow it. If I don't follow it then it's just my then it's just wrong so I should follow it." 20.757-760 Samina: Is like, Islam if you're a Muslim you have to like follow the rules but if you are Christian you can choose if you want to go to church and if you want to like be a proper Christian. 2.52-55</p> | |

APPENDIX VIII

Passage from transcript

Tanya's Interview Transcription

Key

- R researcher
T Tanya
... pause

Line transcript

1. R: Right, hello thank you for
2. T: Hello miss
3. R: (laughs) Thank you for taking part and agreeing to do this interview. So we are going to learn a bit more about your experiences of school. I'm just going to ask you a few questions and you can talk freely about that, is that okay?
4. T: Yeah
5. R: Excellent so first of all what is a typical day like at school?
6. T: What's typical?
7. R: Everyday what's it like so normally what do you do?
8. T: We start off with early morning work and on Tuesdays
9. R: Before you even get to school take me through the full day what do you
10. do?
11. T: I wake up
12. R: Yeah
13. T: I get changed
14. R: Yeah
15. T: My mum and my dad have to come in my room several times to wake me
16. up. So then I wake up finally at twenty past eight. I wake up, I wear my clothes
17. I go downstairs. My mum makes me coco pops or bread or cereal or
18. paratha or whatever I want. And then I get ready and she does my hair, and
19. then she sends, she goes to my dad that "drop em off now" and then my
20. brothers' eat and everything and then we go to school. And then we have to

21. do early morning and work and on Tuesdays we don't have to

22. R: After a full day you don't need to go onto the next day. So in the

23. morning after morning work what do you do next?

24. T: Em we go to assembly and after assembly we do guided reading

25. and after that we do maths, literacy, no maths, playtime then literacy

26. then story time.

27. R: Uhuh

28. T: Then lunch and then what happens in the afternoon, we don't get

29. told until the afternoon.

30. R: And what do you do after school...then just say a typical thing you

31. do in the afternoon what would you do normally in the afternoon?