Young Muslim Men in Scotland: Scales of in/exclusion and the location of identity

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DECLARATION

I certify that I am the sole author of this work

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ABSTRACT

Ideas about race and racism have been a centre-piece of social geography for as much as 50 years, yet it was not until the 1990s that markers of difference rooted in religion, masculinities and generation achieved the same critical attention. Moreover, while all of these literatures are now well established in the discipline, relatively few studies - within or beyond geography - have sought to bring them together. Such rapprochement is at the heart of this thesis, which is concerned with the way ideas about scale(s) are drawn into (and are integral to) the racialised, gendered and ageist processes which in/exclude, dis/connect and de/segregate young Muslim men in Scotland.

Engaging with the lived experiences of young people whose voices are usually silenced, often unheard and frequently distorted, this work explores how youth transitions and masculinities are mediated by the geographies of racism and religion. It draws on eleven focus groups and twenty-two individual interviews with more than seventy young Muslim men from two contrasting urban areas. The study is set in a country - Scotland - grappling with its own political futures in a devolved UK. The research builds from this context to consider how scale is constructed, struggled over and used to mark out young Muslim men's lives - to assign them to categories, to shape their identities - in different times and places. The study engages with a range of issues framed as global, national and local in character and it considers how this framing shapes young men's experiences of neighbourhoods, homes and personhood. One of the main arguments of this thesis is that, whilst young Muslim men might resist, struggle and connect with scales beyond the local, their personal identities and political futures are rooted in the lived and material cultures that are positioned close by: their sense of self and community is critically shaped by the scales 'closest in'; the markings on the body; the placing of the home; the character of the street. In conclusion, this study highlights the continuing salience of racism and gender in the young men's diverse, multiple and heterogeneous everyday lives.

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INTRODUCTION: SCALING YOUNG MUSLIM MEN'S LIVES

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores how youth transitions and masculinities are mediated by geographies of racism and religion. To this end, it engages with the experiences of young Muslim men living in post-devolution urban Scotland. I have tried to offer voice to a group in society whose voices are usually silenced, often unheard and frequently distorted, as well as providing a challenge to the marginalisation of young Muslim men from wider society and from much human geography research. Using qualitative data collected during focus group and interview research with young Muslim men, I draw on the construction of the young men's geographies, identities and everyday lives, in order to interrogate some of the stereotypes and assumptions made about young Muslim men.

This introduction brings together disparate fields of literature about the geographies of race and racism in Britain, the geography of religion, and youth geographies and masculinities, to contextualise my focus upon young Muslim men. To frame this discussion, I begin by outlining the concept of scale which I employ to engage with the various ways that young Muslim men in Scotland negotiate complex processes of in/exclusion. I am concerned with how scales are made, remade and struggled over, framing the meaning and materiality of how the young men live their lives.

1.2 SCALES OF IN/EXCLUSION, DE/SEGREGATION AND DIS/CONNECTIONS

Scale is an important concept to human geographers, and during the last decade the usage, meaning and value of scale have been questioned by many academics (see for example, Marston, 2000). Early work took scales for granted and worked with an 'unproblematic, pre-given and fixed hierarchy of bounded spaces' (Delaney and Leitner, 1997: 93). Neil Smith, amongst others, unsettled this framework by arguing that 'scales' are not given but made so that 'the construction of geographical scale is a primary means through which spatial differentiation 'takes place''. His point is that:

> ... the construction of scale is a social process, i.e., scale is produced in and through societal activity which, in turn, produces and is produced by geographical structures of social interaction [and] the production of geographical scale is the site of a potentially intense political struggle (Smith, 1993: 97).

The various constituents of scale, such as global, national and local, are therefore recognised now as socially and politically constructed (Delaney and Leitner, 1997; Marston, 2000; Howitt, 2002). There is, nevertheless, no real consensus on what is meant by scale, how it should be theorised, or what it means in practice (Sheppard and McMaster, 2004; Marston, 2004). Herod and Wright (2002) outline the range of metaphorical ways that human geographers understand scale thereby demonstrating this lack of consensus. These include: a ladder of scales with global at the top of the ladder

and local at the bottom; a series of concentric circles with the smaller representing the local and the largest the global; a series of nested Russian Matryoshka dolls, the innermost doll being the local and the outside doll being the global; and a series of networks much like the roots of a tree or a network of earthworm burrows, where the various scales are more interconnected rather than separate and distinct (see also, Herod, 2003).

The literature on scale suggests to me that scale can be seen both as a framing device and as a way of organising the world: '[scales] are produced, exist and may be destroyed or transformed in social and political practices and struggles' (Paasi, 2004: 542). By recognising this, geographers have been able to explore the complex ways that different scales impact upon each other, are emphasised more or less at different times and places, and are opposed, resisted and struggled over in different contexts. This thesis is part of that tradition, and in particular, is concerned with how scales are understood, resisted and struggled over by young Muslim men living in Scotland.

Massey (1994: 5) suggests that place can be viewed as an articulation of social relations 'at all scales' and a particular moment in networks of relations and understandings. Therefore 'relations stretch beyond – the global as part of what constitutes the local, the outside as part of the inside.' Scale then, can be utilised as 'a way of seeing and focusing – an "entry point," if you like' (Gibson-Graham, 2002: 32), or as I suggest a framing device. Building on Massey's idea that place can be seen as a 'particular moment' in a set of scaled relations offers the opportunity for researchers to use scale as an access point to wider debates about social and political relations. I use this idea of scale as a framing device or opening in order to facilitate the young men's articulation of their geographies, identities and everyday lives. As the structure and content of this thesis highlights, various scales, such as the local, national and global, are used as framing devices in the initiation of discussions with young Muslim men.

Using scale as a framing device also sets the context for social relations. Marston (2000: 219) has observed that research on scale has tended to focus on capitalism, and has paid minimal attention to 'social reproduction and consumption'. For Marston (2000: 220), scale is not necessarily a hierarchy for ordering the world but

is instead 'a contingent outcome of the tensions that exist between structural forces and the practices of human agents'. Scale therefore, is a socially constructed, produced and consumed concept, and so has been rejected as an ontologically given category (Marston, 2003). Scale is a contradictory, contested and non-enduring concept, and so is open to transformation. In agreement with Marston, this thesis employs scale as social construction in order to explore the social relations of young Muslim men living in Scotland. This shows how different scales work in a variety of ways to in/exclude, dis/connect and de/segregate the young men, as well as the complex ways that scale is used, struggled over, contested and manipulated in such circumstances.

Through viewing scale as a framing device or opening, this thesis sees scale as a 'network of associations' (Cox, 1998: 2). Cox differentiates between 'spaces of dependence' and 'spaces of engagement'. The former being local social relations that people depend upon 'for the realization of essential interests and for which there are no substitutes elsewhere', and the latter being the 'space in which the politics of securing a space of dependence unfolds' (Cox, 1998: 2). Cox has been criticised for seeking to understand local politics rather than constructing a theory of scale (Marston, 2000: 226). However, twisting Cox's basic idea provides a useful mechanism for exploring the influence of various scales on the everyday lives of young Muslim men. Through exploring the various ways that the young men make and remake various scales, the spaces of dependence and engagement in the young men's everyday lives can be better appreciated.

So, scale is a framing device, a way of organising the world, an opening and a series of socially and politically constructed networks of dependence and engagement. Alongside this, scaling is the process where geographers seek to understand the significance and power, or inadequacy and weaknesses, of various scales at different times and places. For Swyngedouw (1997: 141) priority should not be given to one particular scale, but rather:

> to the process through which particular scales become (re) constituted ... spatial scales are therefore never fixed, but are perpetually redefined, contested, and

restructured in terms of their extent, content, relative importance, and interrelations.

Viewing scale as a process means that the local, national and global (and all other scales) are not fixed and static but are therefore constantly in the process of being made and remade, constructed and contested. This thesis considers the process and practise of scaling by engaging with young Muslim men's experiences and attitudes towards different scales and the processes and transformations associated with these engagements. This allows for the young men's understandings and (re) formations and (re) productions of various scales to be appreciated and better understood. Moreover, this demonstrates how scale is used and manipulated, the power struggles that this creates, and, most significantly, how this shapes how young Muslim men in Scotland live their lives.

I argue that different scales work, and are used, in a variety of distinctive ways in order to in/exclude different groups. So, scales may be used to make people feel more or less dis/engaged or in/dependant. I do not simply use in/exclusion as shorthand for inclusion and exclusion and instead use in/exclusion to highlight that these processes may occur simultaneously in a range of different and contradictory ways. This thesis uses this conceptualisation of scale to explore the ways that scale works, and is used, to in/exclude people, to dis/connect individuals and to de/segregate groups. I deliberately employ scale in this way as I suspect that some researchers use scale without considering the significance of the scales they are using. This could be classified as 'scale bending'. (Smith, Neil, 2003). Much research focuses on, for example, the scale of the national, without explicitly acknowledging that the national might not be the best scale to use, or certain scales are held responsible when others could be, and often are, involved. In the words of McMaster and Sheppard (2003: 15), 'we need to understand not only why their relative importance may vary over space and time, but also *whether these are even the right scales to be thinking about'* (my italics).

There can be a struggle for scale, and different interests also scale social life. Moreover, scale is part of the way that markers of social difference are (re) combined and (re) made to matter in different ways. Scale is used in this thesis as a kaleidoscope

for bringing together various markers of social difference to focus on young Muslim men. Much like the way a kaleidoscope produces a series of constantly changing patterns, this thesis employs scale as a process whereby the continually transforming geographies of young Muslim men's lives can be explored, and the various constituents of their senses of personhood highlighted. This kaleidoscopic approach offers the opportunity to discover the various methods whereby young Muslim men's lives are scaled, how the young men struggle for and over various scales, and how the young men combine and make scale matter in various ways. The metaphor of a kaleidoscope is also useful in highlighting the need to bring together literatures in human geography that initially appear disparate and unconnected. A focus on young Muslim men highlights the need for the kaleidoscope of social relations to focus upon race and religion as well as youth and masculinities. The kaleidoscope pictures four disconnected literatures that this thesis aims to bring together. I now explore these in order to highlight the ways that young Muslim men are marginalised in human geography scholarship.

1.3 GEOGRAPHIES OF RACE, RACISM AND RELIGION

For the purpose of this thesis, there are three main bodies of literature that focus upon the geographies of race and racism in Britain. The first is about traditional concerns relating to measuring and monitoring segregation (Peach, 1996; Phillips, 1998). The second body of literature is interested in racist processes of racial categorisation (including around whiteness) and the construction of otherness (Bonnett, 2000; Jackson, 1998; Smith, 1989). The third area of literature concentrates on the process of identification, looking in particular at how young Muslim women construct and contest their identities (Bowlby, Evans and Mohammad, 1998; Dwyer, 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000; 2002; Mohammad, 1999; 2001). In studies of the geographies of race and racism, there is more focus on segregation and categorisation than there is on identification, and in the latter, there is more emphasis on women than there is on men. And in all of this British research, there is more written about England than Scotland. This thesis addresses all three of these imbalances in the race and racism literature.

The setting for this work is in Scotland where assumptions about the small size of black and minority ethnic populations and their political invisibility has led to suggestions that racism is not a Scottish problem. My starting point, however, is the argument that there has been an absence of a 'racialisation of the political process in the period since 1945, rather than an absence of racism *per se*' (Miles and Dunlop, 1987: 119). This is supported by research showing that racism in Scotland is an everyday experience for many people (Arshad, 1999; 2003; Audrey, 2000; Cant and Kelly, 1995; Hopkins, 2004a; 2004b; Miles and Dunlop, 1987; Virdee, 2003). It is therefore important to think more carefully about the Scottish situation.

While the ideas in this thesis connect with research on segregation and categorisation, an emphasis on identification creates space for considering the increasing salient intervention of religion into the landscape of race. Work here has shown that young Muslim women form their identities through a 'challenge to dominant representations' of what it means to be a Muslim woman (Dwyer, 1998: 53). These discourses are constantly reproduced through a variety of media and institutions, and portray Muslim women as 'passive victims of oppressive cultures' and as the 'embodiment of a repressive and fundamentalist religion' (Dwyer, 1998: 53). Dwyer found that 'local patriarchal gender relations were reinforced by young men', and this was seen as a 'means by which their own adolescent masculine ethnic and religious identity could be maintained' (Dwyer, 2000: 479). This quote about how young Muslim men use religion to justify their authority is one of the few about young Muslim men in human geography. Young Muslim men affiliate with a particular religion and many of them belong to what they define as an 'Asian' racial group. So, their experiences are racialised and part of this racialisation is connected with their religious affiliation. Coupled with the lack of research about the experiences of racism in Scotland, the voices of young Muslim men are also marginalised because of the peripheral position of religion in human geography scholarship.

Research about both race and religion in geography share a concern about the spatiality of unequal power relations, yet, unlike race, as Lily Kong (1990: 355) argues, a focus on geography and religion as 'a valuable focus of inquiry has not always been

immediately apparent'. The combination or meeting of geography and religion is something that has happened on few occasions within human geography, although there are signs that this is changing (Cloke, 2002; Holloway and Valins, 2002; Gale, 2003; Holloway, 2003; Loveridge, 2003). However, religion is still absent from some cultural geography texts, even though there have been strong challenges for its inclusion in such areas (Kong, 2001a). Lily Kong (1990; 2001a; 2001b) is one of the few scholars who has written extensively on religion and geography, yet Kong (2001a: 211) is frustrated by the way that religion is 'misunderstood', and 'labelled as depleted, purportedly attracting few thinkers'. Religion is often forgotten about or is combined and subsumed under the study of race. I would like to agree with Kong (2001a) in her claim that religion should be fully acknowledged as a marker or catalyst for social categorisation, identification and processes of in/exclusion, in a manner similar to race, class and gender. Cloke (2002: 6) points out that projections for the year 2000 indicated 'very significant religious adherence world-wide ... non-established spiritual activity is on the rise' (see also Holloway and Valins, 2002). Religion in some form or another is experienced by the vast majority of people at some point in their lives, and so merits some discussion amongst human geographers interested in how space and place matter to people's lives.

One of the few studies of Islam in geography, with the exception of the work of Dwyer mentioned earlier, is a study of 'the mosque in the suburbs', a project that aimed to examine how conflicts over the sites of religious buildings are negotiated (Naylor and Ryan, 2002; 2003; see also Gale and Naylor, 2002). The establishment of non-Christian religious buildings in England and Wales often cause conflict, and there are three main reasons for this. First, there is no provision in English law for preventing religious intolerance. 'Second, for a variety of historical, social and economic reasons, a large number of South Asian religious groups in the UK have sought to locate their sites of worship in residential, suburban locations' (Naylor and Ryan, 2002: 40). The third reason for conflict arising is due to the perception of local people that non-Christian sites of worship may impact upon the value of their property. These tensions have increased

in recent years with the demand amongst Muslim groups in Britain for the establishment of their own places of worship.

This study largely focuses upon London's first mosque, further adding to the English and London-centred nature of many studies of issues of religion and race in geography. The main findings of this research point towards the way that places of 'minority worship are marked out – for good or ill – as exotic sites amidst the 'normality' of the city' (Naylor and Ryan, 2002: 55, see also Dunn, 2001, 2003). Furthermore, this project also found that decisions are frequently 'politicised' when it comes to planning permission being granted for the development of religious buildings for religious minority groups.

I found surprisingly little research in the geography and religion literature about Islam and Muslims, with the exception of the above study as well as the work of Dwyer mentioned earlier. Kong (2001a: 226) suggests that recent literature has intimated the possibility of extending the geography of religion beyond the 'officially sacred'. Kong (2001a; 2001b) makes a strong call for 'new' geographies of religion that extend and further clarify research that has already taken place. While there are around seven main areas that Kong (2001a) would like to see geographers embrace in order to advance the geography of religion, there are two in particular that have relevance to this thesis. 'Discussion points to the need for analysis at various levels: global, national, regional, local, and indeed, that of the body' (Kong, 2001a: 226). Whilst there is a general focus on issues of religion in geography as well as the occasional publication on local issues such as that undertaken by Naylor and Ryan (2002; 2003), studies need to involve other levels of analysis. Embracing Kong's request, the importance of scale in this thesis has already been highlighted. Alongside the general case for studying religion, world events and geopolitics place Muslims centre stage, and so it appears timely to focus on issues around global events, Islam and religious identities.

One of the other areas that Kong (2001a) requests further research about is the way that different geographies are likely for different population constitutions. Kong (2001a) recognises that women, children, teenagers, the elderly and men are likely to have different ideas about religion and experience different spatialities in terms of the

sacred and the secular. Similarly, religion and the politics of religion are likely to have different implications for different groups of society as Kong eloquently notes:

> Aside from contestations over meanings, the politics of religious spaces are also tied up with gender, race and class politics, and politics between nations (Kong, 2001a: 217).

A role for human geographers, then, may be to place religion in the context of race, gender, class and nationalism. This current project aims to take up Kong's (2001a) concern with religion, and Dwyer's (1998) focus on Muslim identities, and look at young Muslim men and how they feel about their various positions, experiences and lives in Scotland.

1.4 YOUTHFUL MASCULINITIES

As well as contributing to debates on race and racism this thesis is also about youth and masculinities. Aside from the work by Claire Dwyer mentioned earlier, a search of relevant human geography journals and books found little research about Muslim youth, and indeed Dwyer's work provides one of the few references to young Muslim men. Given the lack of focus upon young Muslim men in human geography, a literature review of research on youth geographies and men and masculinities highlights an expanding critical scholarship about youthful masculinities on which this research draws.

A growing body of literature has recently been developing on the geographies of children and young people (see for example, Aitken, 2001; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Holloway and Valentine 2000; Skelton and Valentine, 1998). It has been suggested that 'children's geographies have finally 'come of age" (Matthews, 2003: 5). Whilst this area of research is burgeoning, there are certain groups within the geographies of children and young people that have received minimal attention:

While the age range 7-14 has received considerable attention from geographers, the discipline has been slower to consider young people on the cusp of childhood and adulthood: those aged 16-25 (Valentine, 2003: 39).

It is surprising that young people age 16-25 have received minimal attention from geographers as there has been widespread recognition that 'different stages of the lifecourse are socially constructed, and that these stages have significant implications for the use of space' (Pain, Barke, Gough, MacFarlane, Mowl and Fuller, 2001: 141). Indeed, age is a social construction:

Age is a concept which is assumed to refer to a biological reality. However, the meaning and experience of age, and of the process of ageing, is subject to historical and cultural processes ... Both youth and childhood have had and continue to have different meanings depending on young people's social, cultural and political circumstances (Wyn and White, 1997: 10).

Furthermore, if age is regarded as a socially constructed category rather than an independent variable, then the role of space and place becomes very important as people will have different access to and experiences of places on the grounds of their age, and spaces that have associations with certain age groups will influence who uses them. This also means that people may 'actively create and resist particular age identities through their use of space and place' (Pain, Barke, Gough, MacFarlane, Mowl and Fuller, 2001: 151). Along with the recognition that age is a social construction, there is discussion in youth geographies literature about the extent to which research with children and young people should be adult-centred or child-centred (see Philo and Smith, 2003). This has important methodological implications, and these issues are addressed in chapter 2.

Although there is now a wide range of human geography research about young people, Malbon (1998: 277) claims that 'little attention has been given to the actual spaces or contexts of [young people's] interactions'. Acknowledging that we all present ourselves in different ways at different times in different places, he carried out research about youth and clubbing cultures (Malbon, 1998; 1999). This study critically analysed many of the spaces involved in the process of going clubbing such as the door, which

'becomes a defining moment, that moment where you both partially take on and are partially ascribed an identification' (Malbon, 1999: 63). Through this study the importance of clubbing to young people is clearly emphasised, so too however, is the importance of play, 'fun and vitality'. So, through bringing the spaces and places of the club to the attention of geographers, Malbon is successful in assisting the lives and geographies of young people to be better understood.

Young people from different ethnic backgrounds and their use of the spaces and places of the city have also been the subject of research (Watt and Stenson, 1998; Watt, 1998). Rather than focus on those areas normally studied by scholars of race and racism, this study sought to look at an area noted for its whiteness, and so challenge traditional ideas about race and residence. What was important to the researchers was how 'these places might play a part in processes of identity construction' (Watt, 1998: 690). This project found that young people were no longer 'rooted in places' and were instead more willing to move around the city and use the different spaces on offer. However, whilst this was the case, some Asian youths felt a closer attachment to their local area as they felt safer being around other Asians, in an area where it was perceived that no-one would 'mess' with them. Other Asian youths felt that it was more appropriate to go 'out-of-town' to a place where they would be away from the 'communal gaze' of their local area (Watt, 1998). Young Asians therefore construct and contest their identities through their use of different spaces in the city, be that the inner city, or out-of town.

One of the spaces of the city that has strong connections with young people, both symbolically and in reality, is the school, and much research has been based there (Blackman, 1998; Dwyer, 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000; 2002; Krenichyn, 1999; Valentine, Butler and Skelton, 2001; Winchester, McGuirk and Everett, 1999). Most of these studies focus upon the school (and spaces and places associated with the school) with the intention of studying how the school acts as a space where identities are (re)constructed and contested. Winchester, McGuirk and Everett (1999: 59) carried out a study of 'Schoolies Week' on the Australian Gold Coast. This week is often regarded as a rite of passage from youth to adulthood, where school leavers spend a week away

from home and school. The geography of the week is significant as 'it occurs in a highly constrained period of space and time, and involves ritualised and transgressive bodily experiences. The spatial context is significant' (Winchester, McGuirk and Everett, 1999: 59). The findings of this research points towards how the young people celebrate the transition between youth and adulthood. The actual physical separation from their homes and places of the everyday allows these young people to detach themselves and transform their identities into something new. The freedom of choice allows the young people to reject any form of structure and thereby show that they are no longer tied into the limits of school and youth. The spatial context means that the young people can do what they want and when they want without the 'accountability of parental or school supervision' (Winchester, McGuirk and Everett, 1999: 67).

It has only been in the last ten years or so that geographers have started to focus upon masculinities, and much of this work has taken to task the issue of youthful masculinities, focusing on how boys become, or are made to be, men (see for example, McDowell, 2003; Nayak 2003). Generally, Jackson (1991: 199) attributes the interest in masculinities both as a response to feminism and to a lesser extent the rise of 'an increasingly politicised gay consciousness'. Longhurst (2000) sees the focus upon men and masculinities as part of the shifting focus of feminism rather than a response to feminism. However, these occurrences have resulted in a recognition that dominant forms of masculinity are both 'economically exploitative and socially oppressive' in nature (Jackson, 1991: 199).

One of the new research avenues incorporated by the focus upon men and masculinities has been a study of men's lifestyle magazines (Stevenson, Jackson and Brooks, 2000). This research looks at the perspectives that such magazines take on masculinities. The findings point towards the irony used in many of men lifestyle magazines, which 'allowed readers to receive advice in respect of sexuality, indulge in fantasies of successful manhood and consume representations of beautiful women in a relatively comfortable and guilt free way' (Stevenson, Jackson and Brooks, 2000: 382). The magazines also use irony in order to explore the divide between the new lad, and 'experiments brought about through feminism and social movements orientated around

sexuality' (Stevenson, Jackson, and Brooks, 2000: 382). Although the authors do not explicitly mention religion or race in their findings, the masculinities of young Muslim men, like other work on men and masculinity, remain notably absent from any form of analysis.

Working class masculinities have been the subject of much of the recent work of Linda McDowell (2000a; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2002a; 2002b; 2003). The literature on issues facing working class men include studies about gangs (see for example, Alexander, 2000a) bikers, hooligans, yobs and lads (McDowell, 2002a). It is during periods of civil unrest or crisis that 'the figure of the young male as a symbol of disruption is most evident' (McDowell, 2002b: 98; see also Alexander, 2000a). Young men are not just represented as violent and out-of-control, but are now suffering further due to Labour Party discourses about young men portrayed as hate figures and a new gender gap arising in schools due to boys' continuing underachievement (McDowell, 2002a; 2002b). McDowell's research project involved a series of interviews with working class young men from Cambridge and Sheffield who were school leavers from schools which fell far below the average level of success. McDowell was obviously sympathetic to their circumstances. They were suffering as a result of a number of factors, one of the greatest being economic changes that have altered the opportunities available to young men wanting to take up employment having left school at the end of their period of compulsory schooling (McDowell, 2002a). One of the main findings of the research was the desire of the young men to achieve what McDowell (2002b: 115) calls 'domestic conformity', a version of 'working class respectability'. The young men consulted were continually involved in a process of constructing themselves as masculine, a construction that places a great deal of emphasis on waged labour. This study provides a valuable insight into the subjectivities of young working class men. However, as McDowell (2002a: 56) acknowledges, her research is about young white men, and 'the significance of 'race' and racism in structuring the lives of young men in different parts of the UK is, however, a key issue for further analysis'. One motivation for this thesis is to address the extent which the voices of young Muslim men are absent from human geography literatures about men and masculinities.

1.5 YOUNG MUSLIM MEN: GEOGRAPHY MATTERS

Looking across the social sciences, young Muslim men have been the subject of some research, although this work tends to overlook the extent to which place matters. Claire Alexander (2000a) sought to document the rise of the 'Asian gang', something that has 'gained currency in recent years as a commonsense fiction of life' (Alexander, 2000a: xiii). Alexander (2000a: xiv) looked at the formation of Muslim identities through the 'triple pathologisation' of race, gender and youth, focusing on young Muslim men. The particular young Muslim men studied were all Bengali, aged 15-20 and they all attended a youth group in South London (Alexander, 1998). Until only four or five years ago, Asian young men were largely invisible as they were thought to be the 'beneficiaries of a rigid system of male hierarchy and privilege' (Alexander 2000a: 5). The British Muslim community was increasingly viewed along the lines of 'negativity, deprivation, disadvantage and alienation', (Alexander, 2000a: 6) where the young men were caught between the oppressive parental culture, and the culture of poverty in their local area, leading to 'its incumbent implications of youth deviance, criminality and violence' (Alexander, 2000a: 9). It was the combination of these two images that led to the creation of the Asian youth folk devil and the rise of the Asian gang. Alexander (2000b) wanted to investigate this idea by looking at ethnicity, masculinity and the problem of black youth, and she concluded by arguing that the creation of the 'Asian gang' should be viewed as a product of racialisation and hyper-masculinisation, where the ideas of 'black-masculinity-in-crisis' are reified above any other explanations:

> Making black masculinities visible reveals the complex, shifting and multifarious performance of racial/ethnic and gendered identities which disrupts this process of naturalisation, and challenges dominant discourses (Alexander, 2000b: 145).

So, whilst dominant images exist and are constantly being created, these images are also always being contested and dislocated through different formations which cannot always be maintained or completely erased.

Also concentrating on the construction and negotiation of race, youth and masculinity, Louise Archer's (2003) work with Muslim boys comes from an educational

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studies perspective. Archer (2001: 80) comments that 'in discourses of 'male educational crisis', young ethnic minority men have been highlighted as posing particular educational problems' and Asian men constitute an important part of this perceived problem, constructed as they are as 'militant and aggressive, intrinsically fundamentalist 'ultimate others'' (Archer, 2001: 81). As well as being identified as effeminate, middle-class, 'behavers and achievers', young Muslim men are also found to experience the highest levels of racism in school. Archer's (2003) research is based on doctoral work with Muslim youth in a variety of different schools in the north-west of England. This work makes a number of useful contributions to understandings of the significance of masculinity, race and religion in the schooling lives of the Muslim boys.

Whilst Alexander and Archer's work contributes to understandings of the everyday lives of young Muslim men, neither project engages with the extent to which geography might matter. Linda McDowell (2002c: 326), in a review of Alexander's book notes:

> … it is nevertheless a frustration for a geographer not to be able to identify the exact location of the area where the research was undertaken. Geographical debates about the particularity and significance of locality are consequently stymied.

There is therefore a gap in the social science literature between Dwyer's geographical work on young Muslim women and the less spatial work of Alexander and Archer on young Muslim men. This thesis aims to address this literature gap by introducing the voices of young Muslim men through highlighting the ways that scales influence, and are used and manipulated, in the young men's everyday lives. In doing so, this thesis will build on the existing literatures on the geographies of race, racism and religion, and youthful masculinities, to develop a critical research project about the geographies, identities and everyday lives of young Muslim men who live in two contrasting communities in post-devolution urban Scotland. As scale is being used as a framing device and process, the chapters also link, where relevant, with other scales that are transformed or influenced by the scale initially employed.

1.6   THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The themes mentioned in this introduction form an important part of the structure of this thesis. In general there are three main research questions that this thesis seeks to explore. First, I am interested in identifying the main factors that shape the geographies and identities of young Muslim men in Scotland. In order to fulfil this aim, it is important to think about how young Muslim men identify themselves (and how others identify them), and how such identifications are mediated by space and time. Second, a key aim of this thesis is to examine how young Muslim men experience, negotiate and perform their identities, mediated by networks of global, national, local and personal events. The third research question focuses on Scotland, and seeks to investigate how the young men are contributing to the way Scotland is being made, and what the future might hold for Muslim youth in post-devolution Scotland.

In order to facilitate these aims, and with scale as the organising feature of the thesis, issues that reflect the significance of race, masculinity, youth or religion are more, and less, salient in different space and time frames, and so are raised to different extents in different places in each chapter. Chapter two focuses on the methodology employed in this research project, exploring in particular issues relating to youth-centred research and the use of focus groups. An important concern during this research has been the influence that I (and my various positionings) have on the research process and in particular, concerns about similarity, difference and otherness. As a result, a large part of the methodology chapter is devoted to an interrogation of the issues, debates and ethics surrounding the positionality of the researcher, as well as the challenges of doing youth-centred research.

The three main chapters of the thesis engage with a range of issues framed as local (Chapter 3), national (Chapter 4) and global (Chapter 5) and consider how these framings shape young Muslim men's experiences of neighbourhood, homes and personhood. Chapter 3 sets the scene for the remainder of the thesis by introducing the two local communities being studied as well as engaging with the local frameworks of the young men's everyday lives. Through literature about ethnic residential clustering, I also demonstrate how the young men experience, respond to and negotiate their local

neighbourhoods by prioritising safety and personal well-being. In doing so, I highlight the importance of local everyday frameworks such as the home, mosque, school and work, as well as peer group and leisure time. Overall, the discussion focuses on how these local frameworks and anchor points are used, managed and constructed by the young men and others, thereby diversifying understandings of what is meant by local life.

Concerns about national identities, politics and everyday lives provide the focus for Chapter 4. I seek to challenge simplistic understandings of national identities and discourses about young people and political disengagement, in order to highlight the complexity of the young men's identities and their attitudes and responses to national politics. Overall, this chapter highlights a range of methods whereby the young men claim a sense of belonging to and connection with Scotland. However, through discussions about everyday life, I demonstrate that the young men also negotiate a range of different forms of exclusion from Scotland and Scottishness. These are often experienced in local streets where the young men are marked out as different due to their skin colour, dress and appearance, and also where the young men choose to be different by distancing themselves from certain aspects of Scotland, such as the pub and club culture that they see as an important, albeit stereotypical, aspect of being Scottish.

Having considered how local and national scales frame and are framed by the young men, Chapter 5 explores global issues relating to identities, events and everyday lives. As the young men's Muslim identities are often regarded as global due to their association with the umma (global Islamic community), I explore the different ways that the young men claim, oppose and reject global identities. Having then explored their views and responses to the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, I highlight the influence that global events have had, and continue to have, on the young men's local everyday lives. Expanding upon issues of racism and anti-Muslimism, as well as the ways in which markers of a Muslim identity have heightened in significance since the events and aftermath of September 11th, I highlight the struggles, tensions and anxieties associated with the young men's everyday encounters and engagements. In the conclusion, I highlight the influence that different scales have on the young men's lives

as well as the ways that the young men and others manipulate these scales. This discussion focuses, in particular, on those scales closest in, such as the body, home and street, and the critical influence that these have on the young men's geographies, identities and everyday lives.

2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH PROCESS AND USING QUALITATIVE METHODS

This research project explores the geographies, identities and everyday lives of young Muslim men through group and individual interviews. This chapter initially focuses on some of the difficulties connected with doing youth-centred research, and uses various stages of the research process to highlight some of these challenges. Having then considered some of the practicalities associated with the focus group method, I engage reflexively with the politics of positionalities.

Exploring the dynamic and changing everyday lives of young Muslim men warrants an 'in-depth, intensive approach rather than statistical description or generalizable predictions' (Dwyer and Limb, 2001: 6):

Qualitative methodologies, which explore the feelings, understandings and knowledges of others through interviews, discussions or participant observation, are increasingly used by geographers to explore some of the complexities of everyday life in order to gain a deeper insight into the processes shaping our social world (Dwyer and Limb, 2001: 1).

Qualitative methods have been accepted as established approaches to research in human geography (Crang, 2002; 2003), and the range of textbooks available highlights the diversity of approaches and techniques employed (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997; Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002; Clifford and Valentine, 2003). There are research purposes where qualitative methods are particularly useful: developing causal explanations; understanding processes of events and actions; identifying unanticipated phenomena and outcomes; understanding participant's context(s); and understanding the meaning of events, actions and experiences for participants (Maxwell, 1996). It seems appropriate then, to use qualitative methods to explore the experiences and views of young Muslim men as they negotiate their geographies, identities and everyday lives.

The process of doing most research projects involve key stages of literature reviews, fieldwork, analysis and writing up, however, this is over-simplified by many research methods texts (see for example, Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The research process is 'messy' and more cyclical and disordered than it is often represented to be. The literature review process for example has been a recurring process, periodically interrupted by the negotiation of access to potential participants and then fieldwork, analysis thereafter and writing up after that. For this reason, this chapter does not provide a precise, chronological account of the various stages of this research project. I have chosen instead to raise issues with respect to youth-centred research, the focus group method and positionalities. I have deliberately chosen these topics because I regard them as being pertinent methodological issues that have been important in framing the findings of this research.

2.2 THE CHALLENGES OF DOING YOUTH-CENTRED RESEARCH

Over a decade ago, Sarah James (1990) asked if there was a 'place' for children in geography (see also Sibley, 1991; James 1991). Since then, and as I note in the introduction, childhood and youth geographies have become an established sub-field of the discipline. However, Matthews, Limb and Taylor (1999: 136) note their concern about the lack of opportunities available for children and young people to engage in discussions:

> For the most part, young people are provided with few opportunities to engage in discussions about their economic, social and environmental futures and seldom given chances to express their preferences outside of adult-dominated institutions.

The critique levelled at much research about children and young people, as this quote suggests, is that it is 'adultist' and so new ways of 'working *with*, not on or for' (Valentine, 1999a: 142) children and young people need to be identified. Researchers should work *with* children and young people, offering them the opportunity to voice their own opinions and discuss their own experiences. Philo and Smith (2003: 10) note that a 'child-centred' approach regards 'children as knowledgeable and capable 'social actors' whose one voices should be heard, ways of being in the world appreciated, and patterns of behaviour charted in terms of their intrinsic creativity and effectivity'. One of my central aims in doing this research is that it offers voice to young Muslim men living in Scotland, whereby they will have the opportunity to discuss their views, experiences and attitudes about their geographies, identities and everyday lives. My hope in adopting an approach that aims to give voice to young Muslim men is that their views and experiences might challenge or confirm dominant discourses about being a young Muslim man, and could therefore inform teachers, youth workers and others who work with young people about their experiences.

In choosing to do youth-centred research however, a number of challenges have arisen where the power, control and significance of adults has, and continues to have,

important implications on the nature of this research. Building on my experience of the research process, I highlight some of the challenges that have arisen during this project in terms of doing youth-centred research. In particular, I reflect upon the process of negotiating access and facilitating group and individual interviews, coding the transcripts and disseminating research findings to illuminate the challenges of doing youth-centred research.

'Alderson (1995, in Valentine, 1999a: 149) suggests that some young people should be invited to help design the questions so that they address issues that are important to them.' On 6th March 2002, I arranged a pilot focus group through a youth group in Glasgow. The intention was to use the discussion as an opportunity to invite the young people to discuss what questions they thought I should ask research participants and the key issues that they thought the research project should seek to address. Consider this extract:

Peter: ... the first thing that I was going to ask you was to imagine that you
                were in my position. Imagine you were doing this research project ...
                What would you ask people?
Imran   ... about their religion ... yeah, you know what I mean, questions like,
                does living in Scotland affect the practice of your religion, and like
                Scottish culture and things like that ...
Peter: yeah
Shabnum: ... what it feels like knowing that you are a minority
Aisha: the way that we are discriminated against because we are Muslim ...
                                          (Focus Group, Glasgow, 6th March 2002)

This extract highlights that, as I expected, some of the key issues for young Muslims are experiences of racism, discrimination and Islamophobia coupled with feelings about Scotland and Scottish culture. The participants later made other suggestions about their experiences discussing the influence of teachers and school, alongside racism and the BNP. This confirmed many of my ideas about what to include in my focus group and interview schedule, and highlighted that few changes needed to be made to the interview schedule that I had already constructed (Appendix A).

Harden, Scott, Backett-Millburn and Jackson (2000:2) note, however, that 'we should not forget that children's lives are largely bounded by adult surveillance', and the voices of the young people in the pilot focus group are evidence of this. Perhaps most striking was the focus of part of the discussion on schooling and teachers, coupled with the discussion at the end of this focus group after the tape recorder was turned off. The young people explained that the group's funding stopped in the near future and so the group might need to cease operating after the summer. The future of the group relied on the submission of a successful grant application, and therefore the persistence and hard work of the youth group leader. Also, the young people talked about the various ways that teachers, youth workers, and parents and family sought to monitor, regulate and control their behaviour and conduct. The young people's everyday lives were (and are) influenced by adults, and whilst I was keen to include the views of the young people and make additions to my interview schedule, the pilot focus group worked to confirm the influence that adults have in children's and young people's lives.

I used the technique of snowballing where initial contacts were asked to identify others who they thought might be willing to participate in the research (Valentine, 1997). Negotiating access to potential research participants is a very important aspect of the research process that is often overlooked, and like much research, this project involved requesting individuals and institutions to participate in the research:

> If you cannot get individuals or institutions to cooperate with your study, then effectively there is no study, regardless of your intentions (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 39).

This research project, like others, involved numerous telephone conversations, e-mails, letters, meeting potential gatekeepers, visits to school, colleges, youth groups and other community and voluntary organisations. This was to inform people about the project and discuss the possibility of negotiating access to potential participants. Some people were immediately helpful. Others initially intimated their intention to help, yet despite a series of telephone calls and e-mails failed to provide me with any more information.

Two cases produced very different results, and highlight the powerful decisions that adults can make in in/excluding young people from certain opportunities.

I was hoping to negotiate access to a secondary school on the Southside of Glasgow, having already met with and set up focus groups at another school a couple of miles away. I contacted the School-Home Link teacher who informed me that I could have a focus group in the school, as long as I had permission from the local Council and informed the Headteacher. I also contacted a friend from school who I was aware was now teaching in the school, and she produced the same result. I therefore contacted Glasgow City Council, and asked to be sent the relevant forms. This was despite the fact that it is the decision of the Headteacher as to whether or not someone is given access, regardless of the Council's decision. I filled out the six-page form and returned it to the Council, and was then informed that I had permission to carry out research in the school. I informed the Headteacher and he denied me access on the ground that the school receives many requests for such research and cannot entertain them all. This attempt at negotiating access to potential participants made me realise the power that adults and institutions have on young people's lives. I had the power and knowledge of local contacts, a friend who now worked at the school where I was hoping to conduct research, and the ability to complete a detailed application form about the research project. Yet despite this, the power and authority was with the Headteacher, who understandably refused access because of the highly researched nature of their particular school. However, the Headteacher also succeeded in excluding the views and experiences of young Muslim men from their school being included in this research.

A very different story emerged from a series of telephone calls to community and voluntary organisations in Pollokshields, when a conversation with a Project Worker in Pollokshields directed me towards a young Muslim man from Pollokshields who ran an Asian boys football team. I contacted this young man who later agreed to be interviewed and also provided me with an opportunity to interview his friends and colleagues, subject to their consent. For example, he offered me the opportunity to use a room at the local community centre to conduct the interviews and was generally very helpful and supportive towards the research project.

On reflection, these two incidents highlight further challenges facing researchers aiming to do youth-centred research. The institutional spaces of the school and the power of the headteacher played a significant part in the first example mentioned above, and there could be a number of reasons for the headteacher's refusal to grant access. The Headteacher may have been concerned about 'demands on time and impact on class performance' of the young people, or may have deemed the research of minimal educational value (Valentine, 1999a: 145). The Headteacher may also have been protecting the young people due to the potential threat of the young people's participation in the research leading to increased chance of racism or bullying from peers. The second example is different because the young Muslim man who I was advised to contact was over eighteen, and so ethical issues were not perceived to be as significant. However, he was also in a position of power in the local football team, and during the interview explained that he was respected amongst local boys and 'nobody messed with him' (Interview, Glasgow, 17th June 2003). Even when a young person is involved in the recruitment of participants, the desire for youth-centred research might be unobtainable due to the ways in which young people 'may comply with wishes of adult authority figures or feel under peer group pressure to join in' (Valentine, 1999a: 145).

Negotiating access and informing people about the research project leads onto the selection of research participants and another challenge to the aims of youth-centred research. During a visit to a college in Glasgow on 9th April 2003, I met a representative of Student Services at the College who showed me around the Student Common Room and Cafeteria. This is where I was informed I could sit and approach young Muslim men and ask if they would like to participate in the research. I then sat for approximately one-and-a-half hours thinking about what young Muslim men look like? I was looking for markers of Muslimness, yet what are they? I ended up approaching nobody, and left frustrated about another failed attempt to negotiate access.

All of the focus groups in this research project involved someone asking or choosing other people to participate in group discussions. These people included teachers, youth workers and other young Muslim men. Were they chosen to participate

because of their genuine religious faith, or was it based on their skin colour or dress? Was it because they speak Urdu or Punjabi, or was it because of something completely different? All focus group participants identified as Muslim, however, it may be that the method of selection used in this research project has only included certain Muslims. Two unrelated incidents provide an example of this.

During a conversation with a youth worker in Pollokshields about my research, he contacted a young Muslim man who lived in the local area and asked if he would like to participate in the research project, and if so, could he encourage his friends to attend a focus group. How did the youth worker decide to contact this particular young person? Perhaps it was because he was the most responsible young person in the youth group? Maybe the youth worker had an understanding of the young man's religious faith, or perhaps it was just the first phone number he found on his contact list? Whilst I will never know the answers to many of these questions, this highlights the power that adults have in allowing (or not) young people to participate in a range of opportunities, and the control that adults have in empowering some young people, and possibly excluding others. Also, my own role in the recruitment process is crucial, and through contacting the community and voluntary organisations and schools that I did, I have had a direct impact on whose voices are and are not included in this research project.

Similarly, having explained the aims of the research to a Deputy Headteacher, he made a series of telephone calls to teachers elsewhere in the school and asked them to send particular young people to his office. At first this worried me as I had visions of terrified young people being summoned to the Depute Head's office. However, when all of the young men arrived, the Depute Head offered me the opportunity to talk to the young men about the research project and ask if they would be interested in participating. He also asked the young men if they knew of any others in the school who might want to participate. I thought that this was a more youth-centred approach, as I was able to offer the young people the chance to opt-in to the research project instead of them being demanded to participate by the Depute Headteacher. Yet, at the same time, I was aware that the Depute Headteacher was present and so the young people may not have wanted to participate but felt that they had to because of his presence (or indeed

because of my presence). Also, why did the Depute Headteacher select these particular young men? Were these the best-behaved young people, or was he aware of their religious faith? Again, I will never be able to answer these questions and could have questioned the selection procedures more closely. The challenges of doing youth-centred research constantly need to be reflected upon in order for the researcher to be as aware as possible of the various influences on young people's lives.

In terms of the recruitment and selection of the research participants, six of the focus groups relied on a teacher identifying young Muslim men who might want to participate in the research, and two of these six groups involved the Head Boy (at the request of a teacher) identifying young Muslim men who would be interested in participating in the study. Recruitment of potential participants for the remaining five focus groups depended on local community workers (youth workers and a housing officer) and the head of a university Islamic society. As mentioned earlier, a process of snowballing was used where initial contacts, such as community and youth workers, were asked to identify young men who might want to take part in the research. Given the specificities of the recruitment and selection of the research participants, it is important to reflect on the issues that this raises for the research as a whole.

Appendix E and F provide further information about the focus group and individual interview participants. As these tables demonstrate, the young men consulted in this research are overwhelmingly of Pakistani heritage. As a result of this, the research findings of this project may only speak to specific experiences of being Muslim in Scotland, and this experience may be largely informed by a Pakistani heritage. 89% of Pakistanis in Scotland identified as Muslim in the 2001 census, and around 65% of Muslims in Scotland are Pakistani (Scottish Executive, 2004). So, the sample recruited for this project includes more Pakistanis than a representative sample may have involved. Bangladeshi Muslims, 'other South Asian' Muslims, African Muslims, and Muslims belonging to 'other ethnic groups' are generally excluded from this research project, although there are a few exceptions in Latif (Moroccan), Arif (Indian), Adbul (Bangladeshi) and two focus group participants who identified as Iraqi and Kosovan. It is also likely that a substantial proportion of Muslims who have recently arrived in

Scotland are asylum seekers and/or refugees, and apart from Kanwar, no research participant identified himself in this way. Whilst people might be reluctant to identify as an asylum seeker or refugee, the sample recruited in this research project generally excludes this group, and this is highlighted by the fact that the vast majority of the participants were born in Scotland. This also raises issues about the recruitment of the participants and it may be that those who contacted the young men did so on the grounds of their Pakistani heritage, skin colour or peer group, assuming that the young men were Muslims. I could have asked if this was the case, however, if it is, this demonstrates the significance and proximity of race, religion and ethnicity as markers of social identity and difference. Also, those recruiting the research participants may only have done so on the ground of their knowledge of the young men's Muslim faith, and so young men who are confident and outspoken about their religiosity may be included in this project to the detriment of young men who possess a more subtle and personal Muslim identity.

The majority of the focus group participants are in their late teens, with most of the interviews involving discussions with young men in their early twenties. Many of the young men hold university degrees and diplomas, some are in the process of completing them, and many of the younger participants hope to attend university in the future. The young men consulted in this project are pursuing different career trajectories to their parents. Instead of seeking work in the retail, catering and community sector, many of the young men are aiming for qualifications and careers in medicine, technology and business. As well as being Pakistani, the majority of the young men could also be identified as relatively middle class, and this links with the fact that many ethnic minority groups in Scotland do not experience the poverty and disadvantage that is present in some cities in England. The ethnic background, age and economic/educational status of the young men may mean that certain topics were or were not considered during interview and focus group discussions. For example, I do not recall any of the young men talking about poverty, deprivation or lack of money. This may relate to their economic status and age, as many of the young men, being over 16, had part-time jobs meaning that had some disposable income to spend when going out with their friends.

In terms of arranging the location of focus group discussions, most meetings took place in a room in a school, in youth or housing offices or in the local mosque. With regards to the individual interviews, I agree with the perspective of Elwood and Martin (2000: 656) that 'participants who are given a choice about where they will be interviewed may feel more empowered in their interaction with the researcher'. For this reason, I asked all interviewees to choose where they would like to meet me, hoping that they would select a location where they would feel comfortable and able to have a discussion with me. This is one of the methods whereby I tried to make my research more youth-centred, offering the young people the chance to decide where they would like the interview to take place, and so hopefully giving them some sense of power and control in the process. Most of the young men suggested where they would like to meet for the interview, and the most frequent places were the local mosque (see Figure 1), their own homes, a local café or youth centre. On the few occasions that I was asked to decide on the location of an interview, I tried to offer the participant a range of places to choose from, in the hope that they might select the location in which they feel most comfortable.

The aim of doing a youth-centred research project is challenged most directly at the later stages of the research:

> The process of analysing data and disseminating information is mostly undertaken by the adult researchers, who select which voice to include in the analysis and dissemination of research. Rarely are children [or young people] involved. Researchers unavoidably use their 'adult knowledge' and adult preconceptions (Barker and Weller, 2003: 220).

Figure 1

Some of the individual and group interviews took place in local mosques.

The Central Mosque at Potterrow, Edinburgh
Photograph: Peter Hopkins

Through the process of the interviews and focus groups, I had gradually built up a range of themes from the comments of participants, and organised these around the local, national and global scales, with the main themes focusing on geographies, events,

politics and identities. I used these themes to construct a coding framework (Appendix B). N-Vivo (a qualitative research computer package) was used in order to apply these codes to the transcripts of the interviews, as it is a useful computer package for storing and organising the transcripts of a research project. However, I was very uncomfortable with the idea of coding in-depth using a computer package because the package is unable to pick up subtleties and nuances that the researcher themselves may be able to find, and so may work to reduce the youth-centredness of the research. Instead, I chose to create broad and shallow codes using the computer package and then printed out these codes and read through and underlined, highlighted and developed deeper themes and ideas. My interpretations are adult-centred, although I also tried to bring out issues that appear to be important to the young Muslim men consulted. This might defeat the purpose of using a computer package but Hinchliffe, Crang, Reimer and Hudson (1997: 1123) urge 'practitioners to take seriously the tendencies to privilege certain forms of logic in their analyses' and not to 'lose sight of the contexts of research materials'. There is a need for more critical use of such technologies (Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson, 1996) that not only seek to understand the adult-centredness of research findings, but are also sensitive to race, gender, class and various other markers of difference and the influence that these have on the research process and the data collected.

As contacts were made through schools, community and voluntary organisations and mosques, and not through the home, the influence of the young men's parents on the research process is less clear. Whilst the young men's parents undoubtedly have a direct impact on their lives, perhaps this influence would be clearer had I focused the research project on the home. Overall however, I have provided a summary of some of the key stages of the research process, in the context of an aspiration for youth-centred research. The examples used highlight that there are wide ranging challenges facing researchers who aim to conduct child-centred or youth-centred research. These challenges are mostly down to the different ways that the spaces of everyday life, and the institutional spaces that are an important part of children and young people's lives, are controlled by adults. Barker and Weller (2003) concluded that child-centred research is more of an

ideal rather than a reality, and the different stages of the research process offer different opportunities for creating child-centred or youth-centred research. The important point is that researchers should try to maximise the opportunities for child-centred and youth-centred research where possible, and reflect on the research process so that the influence of adults in young people's lives may be highlighted, challenged and resisted where possible.

2.3 USING FOCUS GROUPS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

The research methods used in this research project included a combination of focus groups and individual interviews, all of which were undertaken by the researcher. Seven focus groups and ten interviews were undertaken in Pollokshields, and four focus groups and twelve interviews in South Edinburgh, leading to eleven focus groups and twenty two interviews, and a total of seventy young Muslim men's voices being drawn into the research (see Appendix C). I will use this section to explore some of the issues that this research raises in the context of focus groups as a research method. In particular, I explore the influence that the number of participants, the timing and location of the group, the sensitivity of the topic, the age of the respondents, and the composition of the group may have on the focus group as a research tool. Following a summary of some of the focus group literatures, these five concerns highlight some of the complexities of the issues involved in the use of focus groups in social research.

Originally used by market researchers and governments, focus groups are now an established qualitative research method used by social scientists (see for example, Asbury, 1995; Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999; Cronin, 2001; Fallon and Brown, 2001; Krueger, 1995; Morgan, 1995; 1997), including human geographers (Bedford and Burgess, 2001; Burgess, 1996; Burgess, Limb and Harrison, 1988a; 1988b; Goss, 1996; Kneale, 2001; Longhurst, 1996; 2003). My initial decision to use focus groups as one of the methods of this research project was based on two factors. Firstly, they are useful for 'researchers wishing to orientate themselves to a new field' (Longhurst, 2003: 120) and can enhance the role of the research participants in regulating the research findings.

Alongside this, they are often thought to work in ways which decrease the power of the researcher (Pratt, 2002).

Accompanying these incentives, I also chose to use focus groups as I wanted to try to help the young men themselves to take something from the research, and so the potential for 'radical focus groups' was particularly inviting (Johnson, 1996: 518). Certain qualities of focus groups, often used by the 'sellers of commodities', can also be used by social researchers for 'very different, radical purposes' (Johnson, 1996: 521). Rather than simply soliciting opinions about products and merchandise, the use of radical focus groups opens up the opportunity that the groups might assist the participants to have cathartic experiences, or they might transform or challenge their views, opinions and experiences of society. Using focus groups allowed me access to 'tacit, uncodified and experiential knowledge', as well as the opinions and meanings of the participants. The 'synergy' offered by being part of a collective, as well as the opportunity to combine the use of other methods was also an attraction (Johnson, 1996: 521-523). The possibilities offered by using a radical adoption of the focus group method can lead to empowerment and the fostering of social change. It is very difficult to measure the success of the focus groups in these terms, however, my impression is that the young men relished the opportunity to talk about their views and experiences, and did so partly because they are rarely given the opportunity to do so, as Matthews, Limb and Taylor (1999) note.

Although there a number of merits, as mentioned above, in using focus groups, I found the literature on the topic to be problematic as Goss (1996:113-114) clarifies:

> Unfortunately, the common sense and the preferred practices of a few researchers have been reified into rules of thumb, or myths, that specify the ideal form of the focus group discussion, including: group composition, that is the number, gender, age, social status and life experience of participants; the communication skills and personality of the moderator; the nature of the topic and questions under discussion; and the timing, setting, seating arrangements and provision of refreshments.

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The practices of a few researchers have been used in the creation of focus group literatures because, until recently, few researchers had used and written about focus groups as a research method. Focus groups are now a very popular social research method, yet there are variations in the literature in terms of the number of participants deemed suitable for a successful focus group. Morgan (1997: 2) offers a general definition, noting that focus groups rely on 'interaction within the group, based on topics that are supplied by the researcher who typically takes the role of a moderator'. Most other definitions include reference to the actual number of participants in the group. Bedford and Burgess (2001: 121) suggest that the group should be 'a one-off meeting of between four and eight individuals', as does Cronin (2001), whilst Cameron (2000: 84) states that a focus group involves 'between six and ten people'. Others state that 'approximately ten volunteers' are required (Kitchin and Tate, 2001: 41). Longhurst (1996) attempted to form focus groups to discuss pregnant women's experiences of public space in Hamilton, New Zealand. Three of these focus groups involved two participants, and so according to the literature, Longhurst (1996: 144) initially categorised them as 'failed' focus groups, yet later acknowledged the groups as a useful method for data collection.

Firstly, the number of participants appears to be one of the most important and defining aspects of using focus groups. From my experience of using focus groups the number of participants is important alongside a range of other issues, such as the age and composition of the participants, the location of the focus group meeting and the sensitivity of the topic being discussed. Figure 2 sets out the number of participants and locations of the eleven focus groups in the research project. The focus groups involved between three and twelve participants. I do not want to categorise certain focus groups as better and others as not as successful, however, there is a need to develop a critical focus groups literature that is considerate of the many possible influences on good group dynamics rather than concentrating on the numbers that should be included in each group. All of these issues contextualise the focus groups and have a bearing on the researchers' interpretations.

Figure 2

Focus Group: Location and Numbers

Focus Group	Date	No. of Participants	Location
1	6th March 2002	12	Community Centre
2	19th June 2002	6	School
3	17th July 2002	4	Community Centre
4	24th July 2002	3	Community Centre
5	5th September 2002	3	Community Centre
6	3rd October 2002	11	School
7	10th October 2002	8	School
8	14th November 2002	6	School
9	4th February 2003	5	School
10	3rd April 2003	6	School
11	30th April 2003	3	Mosque

Secondly, the timing and location of focus groups can, and often do, have an important influence on the research. Focus group location is also an important consideration when conducting research with young people 'particularly where access to talk to children [and young people] often involves a chain of negotiation' (Valentine, 1999a: 145). All eleven focus groups involved sending letters and e-mails, or contacting people by telephone to negotiate initial access to potential participants. All of these focus groups relied on gaining access through an adult gatekeeper, be this a teacher, youth worker, religious leader or office worker. On initial reflection the focus groups in the schools are likely to be policed most severely, and were conducted within the atmosphere and rules of the school as a social setting. Unlike the community centre, the young people in the school have less spatial, verbal and behavioural freedom. I was however surprised by the freedom that the young people were given in the school focus groups, and five of the focus groups involved me being with the young men, without the presence of a teacher or other authority figure. Three focus groups even involved me meeting one of the focus group participants at the school gate, and being accompanied

by them to the room where the focus group took place. Only during one focus group did the teacher remain in the room, sitting in the corner of the room marking classwork, and periodically listening in on the focus group conversation.

The particular timing of the focus groups in this project, I suggest, have been particularly crucial in influencing the range and intensity of discussions. All focus groups have been conducted in the period following the events of September 11th 2001 in New York. Also, on the evening of Wednesday 19th March 2003, British and American troops waged the first attacks in Iraq. This continued for some time, as did large public demonstrations in Scotland's main cities. On 1st May 2003 there were Scottish Parliamentary elections where many Muslims planned to vote strategically in order to prevent the repeated success of the Labour Party. These are just some of the events that have had a direct impact upon the focus group discussions in this research project. The influence of these events may have been to increase the intensity of the discussions, and in some cases they may have worked to bring out the anger of the participants about world affairs, politics and racism. Alternatively, these events may have worked to exclude some of the young men who may have withdrawn from a more active role in focus group discussion. Generally though, these wider world events served to frame and focus debate on more local affairs.

Thirdly, the sensitivity of the topic under consideration, coupled with the size and timing of the group discussion is also an important issue in focus group research. Holbrook and Jackson (1996) conducted focus groups on consumption and identity, and so it is likely that such research may have benefited from larger group sizes due to the subject matter under discussion. Longhurst (1996) had very small focus groups, and this could be interpreted as one of the successes of her research because the topic under consideration was sensitive and personal for many of the participants. Since my project is about the geographies, identities and everyday lives of young Muslim men living in Scotland, there was already sensitivity in subject choice that has to be respected. Including the influence of world affairs and events, it is clear that this research project required a tactful approach. At the start of a focus group in Glasgow (5th September 2002), I was aggressively challenged by Talib who suggested that I was a representative

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of the government. He queried why I was doing the research, conjectured that I had links with the British National Party, questioned my religiosity and asked who was funding the research. I attempted to confirm to Talib that my research was funded by the University of Edinburgh and that I was doing the research for anti-racist purposes, while acknowledging that it is impossible to control how others use my findings. This particular incident, and others during the process of doing this research, required a diplomatic approach. It may also be the case that the small size of this focus group as well as the timing worked in a range of different ways to heighten or decrease the initial tension experienced.

Combined with matters relating to group size, timing and location, as well as the sensitivity of the topic, are issues concerning the age of the participants. All of the focus group participants in this research were aged 16 or over, however, one focus group did include a young man who was 15 and his parents signed a consent form allowing him to opt-in to the research, and the school had agreed to his participation. Issues of informed consent (Valentine, 1999a) are particularly important in conducting research with young people, although, irrespective of their age, I requested that all research participants sign a consent form (Appendix D). This is a 'useful way of giving them a sense of control, individuality, autonomy and privacy' and gives them to opportunity 'to learn how to make safe choices and to read the document carefully' (Valentine, 1999a: 144). I also stressed to all research participants that they may opt out of the research at any point, and may choose to answer some questions and withdraw from participating in others. My experiences from doing this research have led me to suggest that when doing research with children and young people, it may well be appropriate to conduct focus groups with fewer participants, especially when the subject matter is potentially controversial and/or sensitive. The focus groups in this project with fewer participants generally ran smoothly and all of the young people had their say. However the larger focus groups often involved the exclusion of some of the young people, despite my persistent efforts to include them in the discussion. These focus groups also included periods where I was unable to hear what was being said when transcribing the tape recordings because of the number of people speaking at any one time. This issue is

probably a combination of the number of participants, topic under discussion and timing of the group, however, when the number of participants is reduced such problems appear to be minimised.

Finally, in terms of group composition, 'a standard argument within focus group methodology is that group members should be homogeneous in respect of the relevant selection criteria, but unknown to each other' (Tonkiss, 2004: 201). This idea is built on principles of survey logic and makes assumptions about the people that participants know. As Tonkiss (2004) notes, there are many examples of researchers using focus groups where the participants know each other already. In this regard, Holbrook and Jackson (1996: 141) note that 'focus groups with people who already know each other and share a sense of common social identity have different strengths and weaknesses from research with groups of comparative strangers' (Holbrook and Jackson, 1996: 141). This research involved eleven focus groups where, in most cases, the participants in each group already knew each other. Whilst this research project could be open to potential criticism because of this, my priority in recruiting participants was that they were all young Muslim men, and not that they did not know each other. Also, given the nature of the topic and my experiences of moderating eleven focus groups, it might be that participants would have been less willing to speak about personal issues concerning their Muslim identities when they did not know the other focus group members. It may also have been difficult to recruit an appropriate sample of young Muslim men had the main criteria been that they should not know each other.

The issue of the characteristics of focus group participants highlights one of many other possible biases in the sample used in this research project. Since this research only involved young Muslim men who could be contacted through educational establishments, mosques and community centres, it might be that the recruitment strategy has worked to exclude potential participants involved in full-time employment or others who do not necessarily have contact with the institutions mentioned above. The voices of certain groups of young Muslim men may therefore be excluded from this research, whilst those young Muslim men involved in further and higher education may be the prevalent voices. Having problematised the various ways that the voices of young

Muslim men have been in/excluded from focus groups in this project, I now explore the politics of positionalities.

2.4 EXPLORING POSITIONALITIES: DIFFERENCE, OTHERNESS OR SIMILARITY

Human geographers have been called to recognise 'our own positionality' (Jackson, 1993: 211), explore the 'politics of position' (Smith, 1993: 305), and to examine this reflexively (Rose, 1997), whilst others see this as part of 'cultural geography's fragmenting, reflexive self-obsession' (Peach, 2002: 252). I am persistently reminded, not only through literature about research in the social sciences, but by researchers, informants and others, that my positionality in this research is potentially problematic. It is for this reason that I consider the politics of position in relation to this research project.

I attended a meeting of the British Sociological Association (BSA) Race and Ethnicity Study Group on Saturday 18th May 2002 in central London. This meeting sought to focus on the riots and disturbances in various cities in north England in 2001. Max Farrar from Leeds Metropolitan University presented a paper at this meeting that analysed the racist nature of the events that unfolded in Harehills, Leeds. There was a discussion session at the end of the meeting during which a black police officer (and researcher) aggressively challenged Max Farrar. It was suggested that white people like Farrar could not possibly understand the riots, and any analysis of the interaction between the police, local community and young people would be flawed due to that fact that the researcher is not black.

This is an extreme example, however my doctoral research experience is littered with comments about the difference between the informants and myself. It was suggested that I recruit a member of the local Muslim community to carry out the research for me, others questioned my religiosity, and others queried what it was that led me to carry out the research in the first place. I may have been questioned in a way that other researchers have not, and this is because there are certain perceived differences

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between the research participants and myself that are often identified as absolute and essentialised. This was a frustrating experience, as I did not feel nor see the research participants being vastly different to myself. More importantly, a starting point for this work is that the young Muslim men that would be involved in the research, like me, are young Scottish men.

The participants in this research project often asked or made assumptions about my positionality. As I have already mentioned, during one of the focus groups, the participants thought I was a government official and would only allow me to start moderating the discussion when I had convinced them otherwise. They also assumed that I was a member of the British National Party and so would use what they said to encourage the circulation of Islamaphobic literature. Moreover, many assumed that I belonged to a religious group, referred to the Bible as 'my book', and queried whether I was a Catholic or Protestant. They also questioned my opinions about Islam (for example, Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002). These are just some of the examples of where my positions, attitudes and opinions have been questioned in this research project. Referring in particular to the established methodological literatures of youth geographies, the geographies of race and racism and feminist geographies, I now explore the different approaches to understanding the positionalities of the researcher.

One approach to exploring positionalities assumes that any differences between the participants and the researcher are absolute, and often assumes that the researcher is exploiting the informants. This is the approach utilised by the police officer in the account given above where he assumes that a white researcher cannot understand black people due to their racial difference. As I wanted to 'reflexively examine my positionality' (Rose, 1997: 305), I was attracted by the writings of feminist geography which deconstruct 'the barrier between the academy and the lives of the people it professes to represent' (Kobayashi, 1994: 73). However, some of the work in this area was discouraging because of its exclusionary nature. Moore (1988, in Bondi, 1997: 78) suggests that:

the postmodern venture is a 'new kind of gender tourism, whereby male theorists are able to take package trips into the world of femininity', in which they 'get a bit of the other' in the knowledge that they have return tickets to the safe, familiar and, above all, empowering terrain of masculinity.

Similarly, Bhopal (2001: 284) suggests that she was able to form a sense of 'empathy and belonging' with the Asian women in her research in a way that she does not believe white researchers would be able to do. This literature suggests that I am unable to engage fully with young Muslim men in this research because of our differences. This approach focuses on key markers of difference, be it gender in the suggestions of Moore (and Bondi) or race in Bhopal's argument. Key markers of difference are being exaggerated in both of these suggestions, leading to my age and racial difference in particular, being seen as problematic, whilst other markers such as my class and area of residence remain silenced. This approach is endorsed by child and youth researchers who accord with the 'tribal children' idea and so see children as being completely different from adults, so exaggerating their 'otherness' (Punch, 2003: 280).

Aware of the possible feelings of exclusion arising from an over-emphasis on difference, Jacobs (2000: 404) suggests that there is a need to think 'past difference':

> the membership felt by some in relation to the rise of difference as an analytical concept has been experienced by others as a kind of exclusion or loss (Jacobs, 2000: 403).

'Geographies of indifference' (Jacobs, 2000: 404) are linked to the understanding that similarities are just as significant as differences:

> Difference can never be characterised, therefore, as "absolute otherness, a complete absence of relationship or shared attributes." The similarity deployed to measure difference and otherness requires, then, just as close an examination (theoretically as well as politically) as does the production of otherness and difference itself. Neither can be established without the other. To discover the basis of similarity (rather than to presume sameness) is to uncover the basis for alliance formation between seemingly disparate groups (Harvey, 1996: 360).

Highlighting the similarities and indifferences of the participants and the researcher, as well as the differences adds a layer of complexity to understandings of positionalities. This could connect with the understanding of the 'adult child' in child and youth research which sees children 'as essentially indistinguishable from adults ... they are seen as active subjects' (James et al, 1998: 31, in Punch, 2003: 281). My whiteness and agnosticism make me different from the 'non-white' Muslims who participated in this research. Yet, my identity as a young Scottish man highlights connections between the age, national identity and gender of the research participants and myself.

The combination of these two approaches forms the basis for the third perspective in understanding the significance of the positionality of the researcher. This perspective suggests that the researcher is never completely the same, nor entirely different from their participants. Levels of difference and similarity may vary throughout the research project in different places and at different times. This constant negotiation between various degrees of differences and similarity can be seen as a position of 'betweenness':

> But even when differences in a field are small, because we are positioned simultaneously in a number of fields we are always, at some level, somewhere, in a state of betweenness, negotiating various degrees and kinds of difference - be they based on gender, age, class, ethnicity, "race," sexuality, and so on. Betweenness thus implies that we are never "outsiders" or "insiders" in any absolute sense (Nast, 1994: 57).

Robina Mohammad (2001) regards herself as occupying the spaces of betweenness. She sees herself as 'a British, Pakistani Muslim (by birth), but non-practising and non-believing, a little Marxist, somewhat feminist, of middle working-class origins' (Mohammad, 2001: 107). Mohammad's research looks at the education and employment of Pakistani women, and so the majority of people, including many of the research participants, regard her as an 'insider'. However, Mohammad was also divorced, pregnant and in a relationship with a white man. She also therefore occupies a space 'outside' of the local Pakistani community because she possesses different levels of education, religiosity and different social values. Rather than taking the

privileged stance of Bhopal (2001) noted above, Mohammad is clearly sensitive to the multiple, interweaving and sometimes contradictory positions that may exist between the researcher and their participants.

Similarly, Anderson (1996: 197) problematises 'the polarity of race identities' by suggesting that the use of collectivities such as black, Asian and white work to 'obscure the subjectivities of identities internal to those categories'. The (re) creation of an us/them dichotomy in research methodology contradicts thoughts on the 'multiply and fluidly positioned' nature of people in society (Anderson, 1996: 211, see also Anderson, 1998). This approach connects with the idea that 'all adults have at an earlier time in their lives *been children*' (Philo, 2003: 9). Therefore, adults researching children and young people might have to negotiate certain varying levels of difference throughout the research, yet certain similarities exist as well. 'We cannot assume that age is the key difference between an adult researcher and child respondent, or the only one which matters' (Harden, Scott, Backett-Millburn and Jackson, 2000: 2). Nor can we assume that race is the only or key difference between a researcher and participant who belong to different racially categorised groups.

There is a very small minority of researchers, like Routledge (2002: 483) who choose to exploit the arguments in the literature cited above and use this to advocate the use of an 'undercover identity' in order to negotiate access to research locations, participants and materials. Routledge (2002: 483) is open about his 'improvised' role, and talks about being 'under the guise' of a fictitious tour operating company where he is constantly 'weaving an imaginary story' about his motives, aims and purpose in searching for information. This performance of an alternative identity attempts to be justified through discussions about activism and 'strategies of resistance' (2002: 486). Routledge's arguments are respected given that this particular article is published in one of the leading geographical journals, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. The justifications for such performances vary from place to place, however, in terms of my own research I find Routledge's argument unacceptable. I would not expect my research participants to be honest with me should I have performed the identity of a Muslim convert. Why should the informants be honest with me when I am not being

honest with them? Secondly, as highlighted by the concerns raised by Mohammad, there is no evidence to suggest that I would receive more privileged knowledge or greater access to information had I been a Muslim, or had I chosen to mask my identity. It is important to foster a rapport with research participants, and this might include discussing a certain aspect of my positionality that I perceive the participant to have a connection with. This, however, is completely different from actively deceiving the research participants in order to gain access to information.

Yet, the 'negotiations that are part of a research process are not fully knowable' (Rose, 1997: 317), and this may cause some researchers to render pointless the analysis of their positionalities in the research process. I agree that I will never be fully aware of my positionalities, how they have manifested during the research project, how others have interpreted them, and how they have influenced the research participants. This inability to fully know my positionalities led me to realise the importance of the research I am carrying out and the methods that I am using. However, to suggest that there is therefore no point in considering the influence of the positionality of the researcher is an easy way out of a complex issue. To do this is to ignore a potentially significant aspect of the research process. For these reasons it is important that I clarify certain aspects of my positionality.

Like Mohammad (2001) and Nast (1994), I see myself as occupying a space of 'betweenness'. I am simultaneously positioned in a number of different social category groups that place me at various levels of similarity (indifference) and difference with the research participants. Many of the research participants occupy a space of similarity (indifference) with me because we are young people, Scottish and male. However, unlike the research participants, I am not Muslim, nor am I 'black' or 'Asian'. This comment about similarities and differences portrays my positionality in very simple terms. On looking through the transcripts, I am aware when I have been talking to the young men the disclosure of my religiosity has changed throughout the research project. There have been times when I have claimed to be agnostic (Interview, 16th May 2002) and other times where I have claimed to be an atheist (Focus Group, 5th September 2002). This highlights how the positionality of the researcher (and the participants) may

change throughout the research process, and even if it has not changed, they may claim that it has.

There is a tension between the perceptions of the participants, my own perceptions, and the views of others. This tension has often led to assumptions being made about my difference to the research participants. For example, racial and religious differences have been the most frequently commented upon aspects of my positionality. Yet, the occasion where I felt the greatest degree of difference to exist between the participants and myself was during a focus group at a private school in Edinburgh (14th November 2002). Despite our similarities in terms of being young men, the focus groups participants identified as British, and did not see Scotland as being different from the rest of Britain. They also accorded with the principles of the Conservative Party and made racist comments. The experience of difference during this focus group was down to social class and not, as many would expect, race or religion. I am however aware that there may have been points in the research process where the young men felt very different from me, and my inability to fully know all aspects of my positionality prevented me from recognising this.

Assumptions have also been made about my whiteness, placing me as a young person brought up in a homogeneous suburb and with white, middle class families. However, I was born and brought up in Glasgow and attended Shawlands Academy, Scotland's largest multi-racial secondary school. On Thursday 29th October 1992 at 3.40pm, 50 Asian young people gathered outside the school, armed with baseball bats, knives and blank-firing pistols, and attacked white pupils. Trouble had been simmering since a prefect, thought to have been one of the victims, reprimanded an Asian pupil. This was followed by a series of stormy school board meetings (Glasgow Herald, 30 and 31/10/92). I was a third year pupil at Shawlands Academy when these events took place, and the prefect who was assaulted was a friend of my older sister. A pupil in my year, who also lived in the same street as me, was attacked during these events breaking his arm. A local shop on Deanston Drive next to where my late grandmother lived was wrecked as young Asian men with baseball bats smashed the shelves and destroyed the shop's stock. These events changed the atmosphere of the school for quite a long time,

and whilst I cannot remember any other events or particular instances from this time, it is clear to me now that these events have had a major impact upon my education and on my view of society. I do not recollect this event here in order to claim that I know everything about Scotland's Muslim community. I recollect this event in order to highlight the fact that I have awareness and experience of the problems created by racial tension, and have been educated in a multicultural school with young people from a range of diverse backgrounds, religions and beliefs.

The points raised above highlight the complexities involved in considering the positionalities of the researcher. The sentiments of Audrey Kobayashi (2003: 347-348) gel with my own:

> ... I have struggled with a mounting dis-ease over the reflexive turn in human geography, and with a mounting conviction that much of what passes for anti-racist scholarship, by including a reflexive acknowledgement of the writer's 'positionality' with respect to her subjects, is actually a privileged and self-indulgent focus on the self that provides anything but an anti-racist lens and ends up distancing the writer – by virtue of her power to name (even if she is only naming herself) and to situate – from the very people whose conditions she might hope to change.

I am contradicting myself, having sought to conduct youth-centred research and then engaged in an elite, privileged and self-indulgent focus upon myself and my multiple positionalities. Kobayashi (2003) also notes that geographers need to acknowledge the limits of reflexivity and realise that it is a subsidiary concern. Furthermore, she also advocates that reflexivity has little purpose unless it is connected to a wider purpose and agenda about how the world should be and needs to change. In one respect, it is possibly more important to look at what I am doing and how I am doing it, as opposed to who I am, and in embracing the reflexive turn I could be perceived to have distanced myself from the research aims. This reflexive engagement is very much a subsidiary argument of a much larger thesis. However, in reflexively examining my positionality, I hope I have highlighted that my difference to the research participants is not nearly as great as many people perceive it to be. Whilst there may have been time during this research where my difference was significant, there have been occasions where the

similarities between the participants and myself have been of equal (and sometimes more) significance to our differences. Perhaps then, the bigger aim of this engagement with human geography's 'reflexive turn' has been to highlight the simultaneous differences and similarities between the participants and myself, and therefore challenges divisive and segregating views about markers of social difference.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this chapter has explored key aspects of the methodology used in this research project, discussing in particular the desire for youth-centred research, the use of focus groups and the politics of positionalities. It is clear that aiming to do youth-centred research is as much an ideal as it is a reality. The geographies of young people are so often controlled, monitored and supervised by adults, and this chapter has highlighted ways that adults impinge on young people's lives. The intention of doing youth-centred research was one of the many reasons why I decided to use focus groups in this research project. I found the focus group literature unhelpful in terms of its coverage of issues such as group size, location, timing and composition, age of the participants and the sensitivity of the topic being discussed. There is a clear need to develop a critical focus group literature that is attentive to the various issues that might influence the dynamics of the group. Finally, I sought to engage reflexively with my positionality in this research project having been constantly reminded about the perceived differences between the research participants and myself. Contrary to this, I have suggested that I am simultaneously similar to and different from the research participants and throughout the project these feelings have changed, and continue to do so.

Overall, there are a number of different research methods that could have been employed in this research project. It might be that methods involving participatory diagramming techniques (Kesby, 2000; Kesby, Kindon and Pain, forthcoming) may have helped the participants to reflect on their participation, and may have also worked to 'address/analyse and begin to transgress/reconstruct' my situatedness, and position within the academy (Kesby, 2000: 432). Also, since 'ways of being include the

unknowable and the unsayable' (Smith, 2001: 35; see also Smith, forthcoming 2005), it might be that non-representational theory would have offered rich insight into the everyday worlds of young Muslim men in Scotland. However, I do not think that this research would be any better had I used all of these research methods. The use of focus groups and interviews has provided a rich insight into the geographies, identities and everyday lives of young Muslim men, and it is these insights that I now explore.

3

LOCAL

3.1 INTRODUCTION: EVERYDAY LOCAL LIVES

Everyday life, due to its 'normality', 'taken-for-granted-ness' and 'all-around-us-ness', is a difficult concept to 'grasp' (Valentine, 1999b: 48). However, the idea that everyday life is dull needs to be challenged as it 'provides the unquestioned background of meaning for the individual' (Eyles, 1989: 103), and so grants researchers access to deeper understandings of people's lives. The study of everyday life has tended to be a minor concern of those interested in race and place. As Amin and Thrift (2002: 291) note, 'the significance of place and the everyday has tended to remain secondary in an otherwise rich literature on ethnic identities, race and multiculturalism'.

Archer (2003: 90) clarifies that 'the 'mundane,' the everyday and the popular are important theoretical sites for accessing the lived realities of marginalized young people'. During the focus groups and interviews in this research project, everyday life and the local scale were regular topics of conversation. The aim of this chapter is to

explore the various ways that young men construct, use and contest different aspects of the scale of the 'local'. Initially, I introduce the two local areas where this study took place, and in the light of the young men's view on ethnic residential clustering, I reflect on their senses of belonging and in/exclusions in their local communities. Connected with the young men's senses of belonging in their neighbourhoods are their negotiations of those places that act as anchor points for their everyday lives. As such, I extend the discussion to draw upon the young men's discussions of home, school, mosque and leisure places/times, highlighting where relevant the salience of gender, generation and race in their negotiations. I then demonstrate, by linking this empirical work with previous research, the different ways that the young men's accounts deconstruct, challenge and support the resurfacing dualisms present in most research about Muslim youth.

3.1.1 ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING: MEASUREMENT AND POLITICS

In terms of measuring the extent of ethnic residential clustering, the index of dissimilarity (ID) has been widely used. 'This straightforward measure varies between 0 (no segregation) and 100 (complete segregation) and represents the percentage of minority members who would have to exchange neighbourhoods with majority members to achieve an even, or integrated, residential distribution' (Massey, 2002: 349; see also, Lieberson, 1981). To highlight the difference between the two local areas in this research in terms of racial and religious residential segregation, I calculated the ID for both Glasgow and Edinburgh for membership of the Pakistani ethnic group and Muslim religious group categories. Glasgow's ID for Pakistani ethnic group membership produced a result of 61.68 and Edinburgh 25.68, highlighting that levels of ethnic minority residential clustering in Glasgow produce similar results to places such as Bradford (see Phillips, forthcoming). For membership of the religious category Muslim, the ID for Edinburgh was 27.31 and Glasgow 58.40. This clearly highlights the extent of racial and religious residential segregation in Glasgow as well as the difference between the two local areas. Taking these patterns of residential segregation as a

starting point, the aim of this chapter is to set the context for the remainder of this thesis by introducing the local areas where this project took place, and exploring the key anchor points in the young men's everyday lives. As the study of segregation has a historical centrality in the geographies of race and racism, I now reflect on research in this area in order to set the framework for this chapter.

Initially motivated by the work of Robert Park (see for example, Peach, 1975), geographers interested in race and space during the 1970s and early 1980s primarily focused on the measurement and mapping of residential segregation (Peach, 1975; Peach, Robinson and Smith, 1981; Jackson and Smith, 1981). The main aim of much of this work was to measure, map and monitor segregation. This often led to debates about how best to calculate such patterns and concentrations (see for example, Jones and McEvoy, 1978; Peach, 1979). As Alastair Bonnett (1996: 870) notes about much of the work at this time, and especially the two 1981 books cited above:

> Their focus is on the spatial consequences and causes of visible minority agency and constraint. Thus 'racial' and ethnic groups are seen to be making spatial decisions in the context of 'racially' interactive processes of discrimination, assimilation, voluntary separation and so on (Bonnett, 1996: 870).

The focus was therefore 'the residential spread and segregation of 'non-white' people' (Bonnett, 1996: 870). One of the few geographical studies focusing on the geography of ethnic minority residential clustering in Scotland concluded that the Asian population of Glasgow 'are endeavouring to cluster in self-segregated concentrations' (Kearsley and Strivastava, 1974: 110).

More recently, geographers interested in racial segregation have continued to investigate and explain patterns of ethnic minority concentration in Britain. There is a large body of literature about racial segregation and 'ghettos' in the USA that is not considered in this thesis due to the different use of 'race' in the USA compared with Britain. There is also a growing body of literature about racial segregation in Australia and international comparisons between cities (see for example, Poulsen and Johnston, 2000; Poulsen, Johnston and Forrest, 2002). In Britain, levels of segregation are greatest

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among Asian groups, especially the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, and least among the Irish (Phillips, 1998). Peach (1996: 232) has argued that the 'American model of hypersegregation is not present in Britain'. Whilst the ethnic minority population of Britain are 'often exposed to white majorities', the majority of the host society tends to live in homogeneous white areas with little exposure to ethnic minority groups (Johnston, Forrest and Poulsen, 2002: 609). This may be changing as there is a move towards suburbanisation, offering ethnic minority groups a gateway to the upper class (Peach, 2000, see also Phillips, 1998, Peach, 1996). Overall, however, there has been an expansion of existing areas of concentration, as well as a small level of suburbanisation on the local level. Consequently, the national picture has not altered substantially in any way.

The measuring, mapping and monitoring of residential segregation continues apace, yet few geographers have sought to explain or understand more fully the dynamics of ethnic minority clustering and the influence this has on the everyday lives of local residents. A rare exception to this statement is the work of Susan Smith (1987; 1988; 1989) and the recent research by Phillips (forthcoming). On a political level, racial segregation can be interpreted as an 'expression of 'white supremacy' - a geography of English racism' (Smith, 1987: 44). The housing policies of central government reveal a lack of comprehensive dispersal schemes assuming that this would occur naturally. By washing its hands of this issue, the government could be accused of supporting residential segregation and limiting the opportunities available to black and minority ethnic households. Moreover, the influence of estate-agents also supports racial segregation as white agents often guide their Asian clients to houses in Asian areas. Deborah Phillips (forthcoming) highlights that this is still happening today. Urban and housing policy has been ambivalent to the needs of the black and minority ethnic population (Smith, 1987; 1988; 1989), and residential segregation may also be exacerbated by Asian council tenants who feel compelled to move to Asian areas due to persistently high levels of harassment (Bowes, McCluskey and Sim, 1990). So, moving away from the measurement, monitoring and mapping of segregation, Susan Smith

(1989: 170) is one of the few academics to look at 'what form segregation takes ... how segregation is sustained ... and why it is able to persist'.

As Phillips (forthcoming) notes, 'concerns about levels of minority ethnic concentration and segregation have thus long been integral to debates about 'race' and immigration, social deprivation, environmental decline and social unrest'. Yet, research about minority ethnic segregation has paid less attention to the negotiation of identities, senses of belonging and constructions of in/exclusion played out in the local communities that such work focuses on. The young men who participated in this research were almost exclusively of South Asian heritage, and so their experiences of ethnic residential segregation, along with their complex negotiations of identities and senses of belonging shed new light on this area of urban research. This research project, with its focus upon two contrasting areas, also provides an ideal forum for understanding perceptions of ethnic residential clustering and the influence this has on their negotiations of identity, belonging and in/exclusion. So, this chapter considers the significance of residential clustering and experiences of social difference, as patterns of segregation offer a way into the local frameworks in which young Muslim men's identities are negotiated.

In order to understand the politics of difference and place, it is important to grasp the comings and goings that are a regular part of local life (Smith, 1999a). Focusing the kaleidoscope of scale on the local offers the opportunity to bring into focus young Muslim men's everyday lives in their own local areas. The two main entry-points used during discussions about the scale of the local were to focus on views and experiences of ethnic residential clustering as well as the key aspects of everyday life. I explore the significance that the local scale has in structuring the young men's sense of in/exclusion and dis/connection as well as the ways in which the young men use and draw on local scales to negotiate their sense of belonging and exclusion. Firstly, I introduce the local areas where this research took place.

3.2 POLLOKSHIELDS AND SOUTH EDINBURGH

To the extent that geography matters, a comparison between two contrasting communities helps to highlight the difference that place makes. This research focuses on two local areas in Glasgow and Edinburgh (see Figure 3), namely, Pollokshields on the south-side of Glasgow, and South Edinburgh. Pollokshields is located to the south-west of Glasgow City Centre (see Figure 4), and includes the two electoral wards of East Pollokshields and Maxwell Park. East Pollokshields is often regarded as the retail centre of Scotland's Asian community. It has low levels of unemployment, and high levels of car-ownership and home ownership. There is little information available about when the black and minority ethnic population first moved into East Pollokshields (Hopkins, 2002). In 1971 it was estimated that 12,000 people of Asian origin lived in Glasgow, with a significant proportion of this population living in the two Pollokshields wards (Kearsley and Strivastava, 1974). With 40% of the local population identifying as Pakistani and almost five percent as Indian, East Pollokshields is the most concentrated area of ethnic minority settlement in Scotland. In terms of identifying as Muslim, 39% chose this identity label in the 2001 Census. Maxwell Park is less segregated with the population comprising 18% Pakistani, only three percent Indian and 17% identify as Muslims. East Pollokshields and Maxwell Park have the highest percentage of Pakistanis and Muslims in Glasgow.

By contrast, South Edinburgh is a larger geographical area (see Figure 5) comprising a number of electoral wards all of which have less than three per cent of their population identifying as Muslims, with the exception of one ward where the Muslim population is 3.23%. There are no areas in Edinburgh where any South Asian ethnic group comprises more than three per cent of the total population. A larger area was selected for this aspect of the research project in order that a satisfactory sample could be recruited for the project, although this part of Edinburgh is also where the most concentrated groupings of Muslim populations are found.

Figure 3

The location of Glasgow and Edinburgh in central Scotland

1:2000000   ↑N

Source: www.multimap.com (26/08/04)

Figure 4

The location of Pollokshields on the south-side of Glasgow

Source: www.multimap.com (26/08/04)
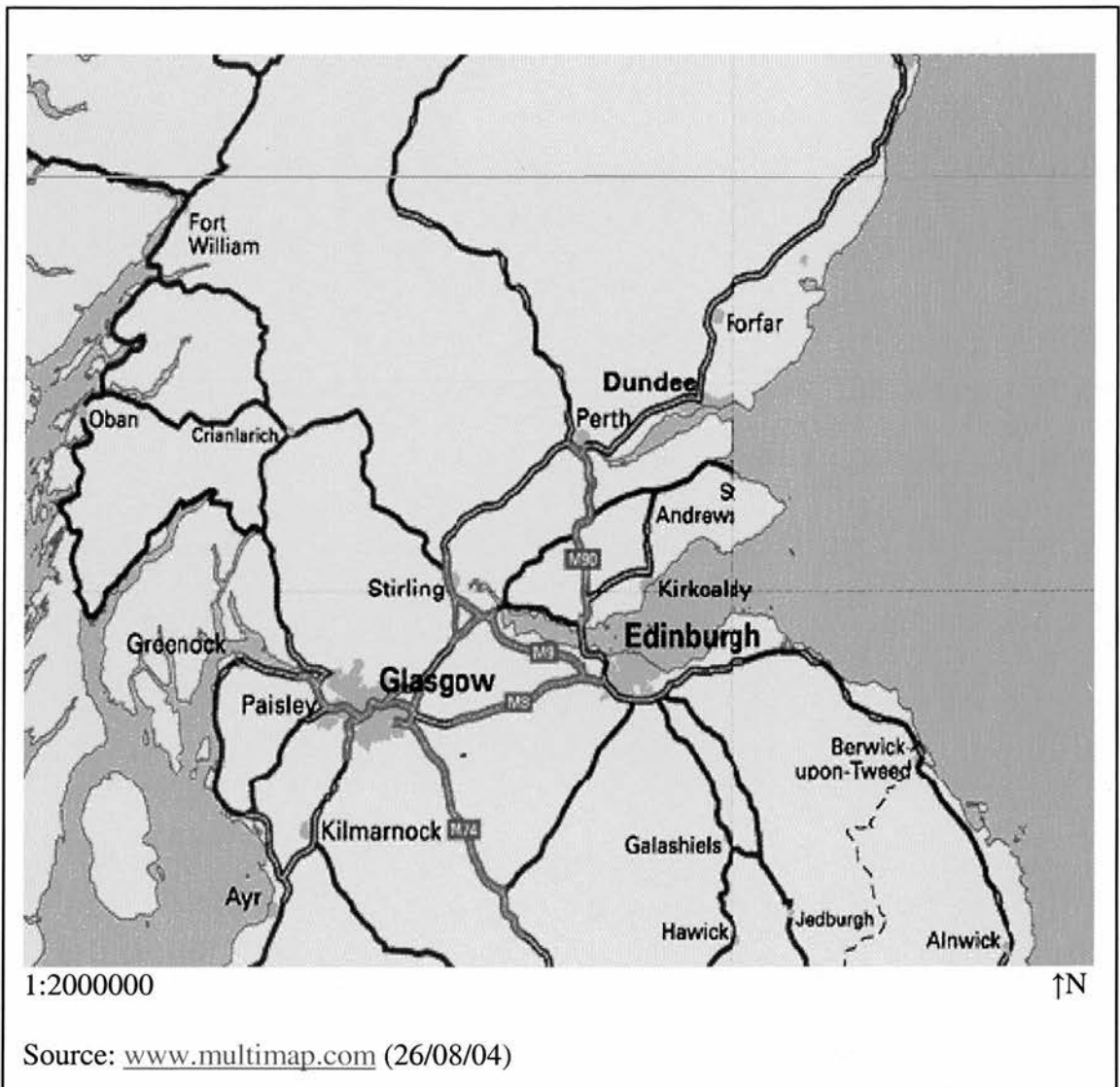
Figure 5

The location of South Edinburgh
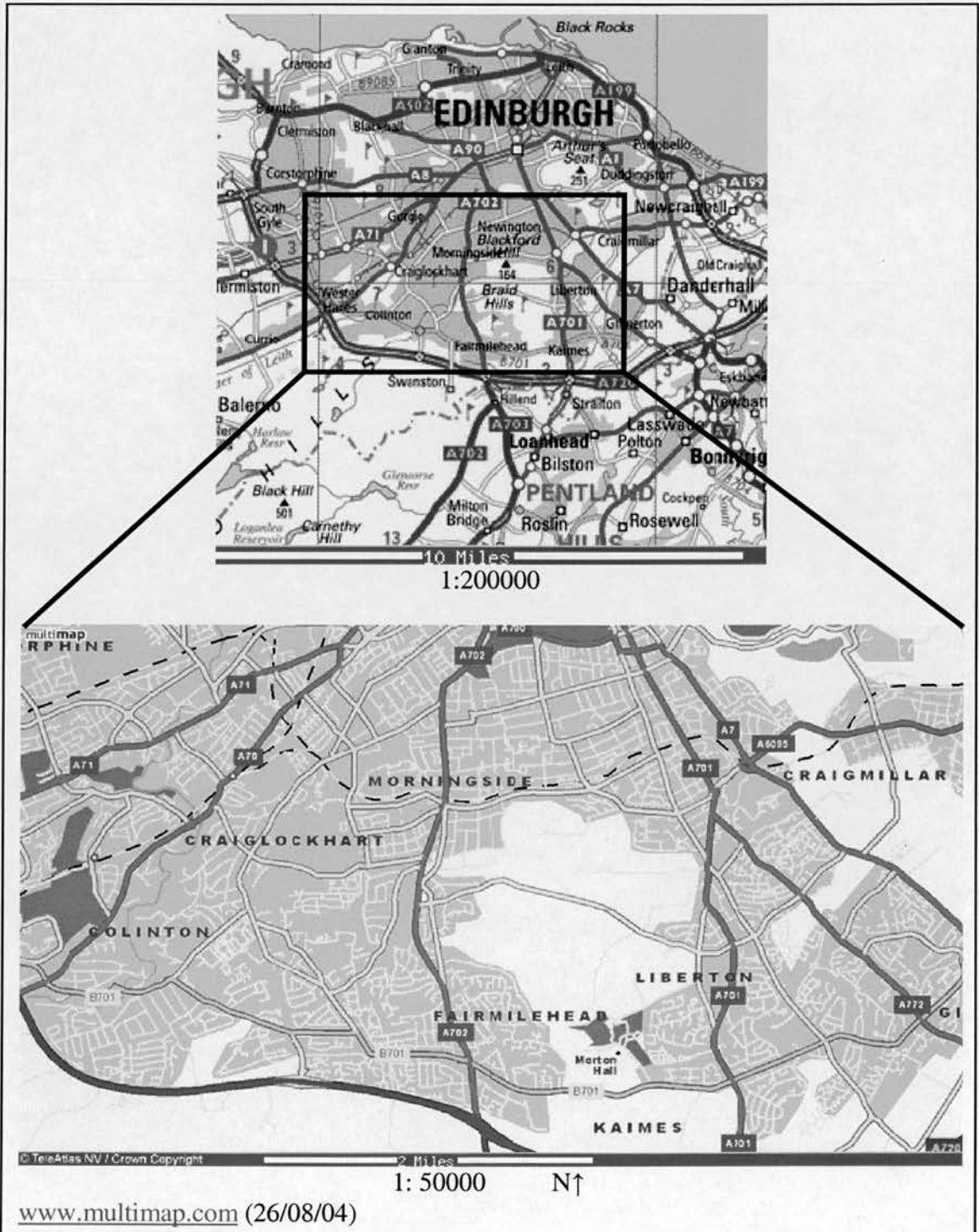
3.2.1 POLLOKSHIELDS: A PLACE OF SECURITY AND A SENSE OF BELONGING

Pollokshields in Glasgow, as mentioned earlier, is the most segregated neighbourhood in Scotland in terms of ethnic residential clustering. It provides an ideal location for a research project that partly aims to look at the ways that race and racism make a difference to how young people negotiate the local scale(s) of everyday life. During focus group and interview discussions with young men from Pollokshields, the issue of ethnic residential segregation was regularly discussed. The young men from Pollokshields tend to articulate a loyalty towards their residentially segregated neighbourhood and suggest that it is a key aspect of their everyday lives - much like the young Asians did in Watt's (1998) study in the South East of England. On asking Talib if he thought Pollokshields was a safer place to be than other areas that he was aware of, he immediately responded "well, we're with our own people, in it" (Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002). The young men living in Pollokshields tended to suggest that living in a residentially segregated area enhanced their feelings of protection against racism and offered them a sense of belonging and inclusion. The scale of the local neighbourhood is therefore drawn upon and used in order to maximise safety.

This research project did not include any interviews or focus groups with white non-Muslims. Pollokshields, however, is often regarded as a 'no-go area' (Back and Keith, 1999) amongst young white people living in the south-side of Glasgow. Pollokshields is sometimes referred to as 'Banglashields', 'Pollokstan', and/or 'Pakishields'. These terms are often used in a derogatory and racist fashion, to denote negative associations about Pollokshields and the people that live there, and such racialisation of residential space is present in other studies (Keith, 1995; Valentine, 2004). This is contrary to the naming of 'Banglatown' in East London (Dwyer, 1999d). However, the concentration of Pakistani Muslims in Pollokshields was something that the young men felt protected them from the threat of racism and offered them the opportunity to draw upon the scale of the local in order to prioritise safety. Consider Michael and Asadullah's exchange:

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Peter:	Okay … Pollokshields is …
Michael:	See in Pollokshields nobody is racist because they know they'll get knocked out because there are more Asians there …
Asadullah:	… see in England, they know that if they are racist to people there, they know that there are a lot of ethnic minorities there, so it will even up, because it is like two even groups.
Michael:	Aye that is why they don't do that. But here there are more white people than Asian people, so they have the advantage of being racist to us in that way.

<div align="right">(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)</div>

Due to the high levels of residential clustering in Pollokshields, Michael suggests that there is less racism as people will have a greater chance of being 'knocked out' by one or more of the many Asian residents. It is interesting that Michael chooses to give himself an 'Anglicised' name, as Back (1997) found that this was common amongst young people who socialised with white friends, and is seen as a way of reducing their difference. However, as this conversation progressed and discussion focused on the national level, Michael attributes the high levels of racism in Scotland to the low numbers of Asians. This clearly highlights the difference that scale makes. Focusing on the local, Michael suggests that there is less racism because of Asian residential segregation, yet, altering the focus to the national, Michael notes that there is a lot of racism because of the small Asian population in Scotland. In the same conversation, Asadullah uses the scale of the nation to draw comparisons with his perceptions of experiences of racism in England. White people are seen to be more likely to be racist if there are fewer Asians. The young men in this research frequently used the term 'Asian', and as Phillips (forthcoming) contends, this conflates race with religious and cultural difference as the terms 'Muslim' and 'Asian' are used interchangeably.

These ideas are extended by Talib's assertion that he would feel uncomfortable about moving into an area with low levels of ethnic residential segregation:

Peter:	How would you feel if you had to move into a community that had like three or four per cent [ethnic minorities]?
Talib:	I would feel very sort of apprehensive … mmm … if I went there and things were all right, I would be quite happy, but if went there and I

started to get trouble quite often and that, I would be leaving, I wouldn't stay, no...

Talib's view concurs with the findings of the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities which suggests that around half of Pakistanis would prefer to live in an area which has fifty percent or more ethnic minorities or Pakistanis (Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith, Virdee and Beishon, 1997). Clearly these young men feel content living in a neighbourhood that is residentially segregated. They use the scale of their local neighbourhood in order to foster a sense of belonging as well as to prioritise safety.

The young men regard ethnic residential segregation, and so the scale of the local neighbourhood, as protecting them from the threat of racism. Consider Shafqat's statement:

Shafqat: Pollokshields is the Asian person's safe haven. Pollokshields is the Asian person, black or ethnic minority, can walk through Pollokshields knowing that nothing racist is going to happen to them, it just won't happen in Pollokshields ... I like Pollokshields. I've lived here, grew up here, I quite like it. For me, it is a really safe place to be ... maybe because of who I am, because I am the kind of guy that everyone knows in Pollokshields.

Shafqat is articulating a version of what Back (1996: 111) refers to as the 'harmony discourse', which is where there is a claim that the local area is free of racism, however, Shafqat is only referring to the harmony in terms of a lack of racism. Discourses about safety in numbers, and the welcoming feeling of living in an 'Asian area' litter discussions with the young men from Pollokshields. Consider this focus group extract:

Saeed: It's just that there are not very many Asians in other areas, so you just get an unwelcome feeling
Nasser: Yeah, people kind of look at you, as if you shouldn't be there...
Peter: So, do you think it is important to have a lot of Asians about?

Saeed:	Yeah, it's safer…you feel more welcome…
Peter:	So you definitely feel safer going into an Asian area, like even in another city, say in London?
Saeed:	I've never been to London before so I can't really say
Nasser:	No, I think that with Asians around it is safer wherever you go, yeah…

<div align="right">(Focus Group, Glasgow, 24th July 2002)</div>

Here, the young men prioritise safety, senses of belonging and being 'welcome', as important aspects about Pollokshields. This is supported by the threat of racism that the young men associate with areas that have lower levels of ethnic residential clustering. The young men therefore hold similar views to some of the participants in Phillips (forthcoming) research who suggested that they would not like to live in 'all white' or 'white working class' areas because of fears about 'racism, ethnic tensions and racist harassment'.

A sense of safety, inclusion and belonging is therefore important to the young men in their understandings and experiences of ethnic residential segregation. Young Muslim men from Pollokshields give precedence to discourses of safety, security, belonging and inclusion in articulating their understandings and experiences of social and spatial interactions in their local area and elsewhere. Archer (2003) suggests that the Muslim boys in her research used hegemonic masculinity in their accounts and so resisted racism through fighting, masculine dominance and aggression. Contrary to Archer's findings, I would like to suggest that the young Muslim men from Pollokshields are also performing an alternative form of masculinity by giving priority to safety, security and senses of belonging. 'Fear or anxiety are emotions which are generally associated with being away from home, in a place where you do not feel that you belong' (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001: 107), and so are perceived to be the concern of feminist geographers and scholars interested in women's negotiations of space and place. Some of the young men did articulate their willingness to get involved in fights, act aggressively and react against racism. However, the dominant message from the young men is the importance of safety, security, and protection against the threat of racism. This stands in stark contrast to the Asian young men portrayed as 'folk devils'

and as 'militant and aggressive, intrinsically fundamentalist 'ultimate Others'' (Archer, 2001: 81).

As well as producing alternative masculinities that are more concerned with safety, security and inclusion, the young Muslim men's accounts also highlight the importance of the scale of the local as an important aspect of their everyday identities. The young men's experiences of their local area, coupled with their experiences and perceptions of other areas (such as other 'white' areas, or towns and cities in England) highlight how the young men construct a nuanced understanding of the connectedness that they feel with their neighbourhood. This understanding and experience of the local is influenced by the young men's appreciation and imaginings of residential segregation and racism on the local and national scale. The local area therefore constitutes an important part of the young Muslim men's everyday lives, and this attachment to their residentially segregated local area confirms that this is a very significant aspect of who these young men are. I now explore the views of young Muslim men from an area with a more evenly distributed minority ethnic population.

3.2.2 SOUTH EDINBURGH: A PLACE OF SAFETY WITH LESS RACISM

Young Muslim men from south Edinburgh, an area with low levels of ethnic residential clustering, also tend to suggest that living in such an area reduces the possibility of them experiencing racism, and so provides them with a safe and secure environment. This is similar to the discourse that prioritises safety that was articulated by the young men from Pollokshields. During a focus group discussion at a school in South Edinburgh, I commented on how some of the cities in England had areas where the Asian population was around 40 or 50% of the local population. Edinburgh's black and minority ethnic population is at its highest around three per cent in some wards. There was a general feeling amongst the group that there was more racism in England, and part of the reason for there being less racism in Scotland was due to the small ethnic minority population. Consider this focus group extract:

| Ahmed: | There's hardly any Asians here, and that is why I think there is more racism down there even although there are more Asians down there |
| Abdul: | If you were in London, like in certain areas, you would feel safer because like everyone around, you will have the same experiences |

<div align="right">(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)</div>

Ahmed suggests that there is more racism in England due to the higher numbers of ethnic minority populations, yet Abdul suggests that the levels of ethnic minority clustering in England enhances feelings of safety as local people have shared experiences. Mohammed's statement supports the sentiments of Ahmed as he suggests that ethnic residential clustering, like that experienced in England, is a threat to the white population and so increases the likelihood of racial tension:

| Mohammed: | mmm … see at the moment in Scotland, unlike in England, like there are lots of places where there's whole communities, streets and streets full of whatever, blacks, Asians and stuff. We don't really have that in Scotland, except in a few areas in Glasgow … in Edinburgh, there are like no places that are like full of Asians or whatever … if the community did grow, which … probably will happen in Scotland … at the moment if there is only the odd ethnic minority person here and there, then people don't seem to bother, but when there becomes a lot then that could create problems because people feel threatened you know … like racism you know… |

<div align="right">(Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002)</div>

So, focusing on the scale of the local, the young Muslim men from South Edinburgh are also prioritising safety and well-being, along with minimising the possibility that they might experience racism. Again, in articulating their views on ethnic residential segregation, the young men utilise other scales as a reference point for their experience. Abdul mentions London and Mohammed talks about Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh. It is clear that the young men's local experiences and views regarding ethnic residential clustering, whilst local, are also built on a range of experiences from other scales of social life such as that of the urban and national. The important point, however, is that the young men are using the scale of the local to maintain a sense of safety and security.

The young men from South Edinburgh occupy 'those places which are demographically, culturally, and politically dominated by persons from the white majority' (Watt, 1998: 688), contrary to the young men from Pollokshields. In other words, the young men from South Edinburgh occupy spaces that are thought to be 'white' compared with the Pollokshields youth, and they suggest that it is better to maintain this balance otherwise they will be perceived as a threat:

Anwar: It's probably, probably better if there's maybe fewer because then, you know, you feel less of a threat. That's sort of ... the argument, you know ... because, like, if there tends to be quite a lot in one area, you think they're trying to take over and things like that ... so probably better off in small numbers.
                                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002)

Nadeem: The Scottish people that live there, they might not like it like that. They won't like being dominated by Asians
                                                    (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

Both Anwar and Nadeem are giving primacy to minimising the perceived 'threat' that the ethnic minority populations impose on others. In doing so, the young men are using the local scale as an invisibility strategy by suggesting that they are less likely to be noticed in an area with low levels of ethnic minority residential clustering. The interests of the young men appear to be focused on lessening the chance of experiences of exclusion and disconnection, and so they give primacy to safety. In the following focus group extract, Omar suggests that Scotland has fewer problems due to the small Asian population. Whilst Nasser plays down the significance of the disturbances in Bradford, Ali clearly attributes these problems to the ethnic residential segregation, gangs and increased tension after September 11th 2001:

Ali: Well, down there [Bradford], they've got like big sorts of groups that like live together and so there is tension, and like because of September 11th and that sort of stuff, so there is extra tension and stuff like that ... and mmm there's a lot more like gangs and messing about and stuff like that
Nasser: Yeah, cause ... I don't think it will ever happen in Scotland in this moment in time, because there are not enough ... I don't think that people

have that strong a belief about it, but mmm I've got relations in Bradford and some of my relations were involved in that, and they weren't, they didn't see it as some sort of religious thing, they just saw it as a riot. They didn't see it as anything religious, and it's against … it was just messing about, that's all it was

Afzal: When the media see like a couple of Asian guys and a white guy fighting they always like put it down to racism …

Omar: … I think that … you know that the problems in Scotland are very minimal because there are very few Asians in Scotland …

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 14th November 2002)

Anwar and Nadeem's ideas show that they are putting the expected reaction of the white population before their own agenda about residential segregation. So rather than suggesting that ethnic residential clustering might be good or bad for themselves or their Asian friends, they attribute their attitudes about this onto the perceived views of the white population. It is as if they have internalised the racism they experience and so are arguing in line with what Far Right organisations like the British National Party (BNP) might suggest. Furthermore, Afzal asserts that Asian young men are misrepresented by the media thereby questioning the demonisation of Asian youth in the context of ethnic residential segregation in the cities of northern England. Again, the young men's negotiations and understandings of the local are informed by, struggled over and experienced in the context of a range of other scales such as the urban (Bradford) and global (September 11th).

Ali and Latif, in the focus group extract below, see ethnic residential clustering as a negative aspect of urban life. Latif promotes South Edinburgh as being 'spot on' and appears to suggest that residential segregation can exaggerate or emphasis differences:

Latif: Yeah, I think it is a bad thing. I think it emphasises things like that too much as well. I mean I think that without realising it, there is almost a natural good environment in Edinburgh, like community, like everything, you know. Everything is just spot on and everyone is like all together and they just like doing things for a laugh, you know what I mean … so generally I find that quite nice and the people are generally quite nice …

Jamal: I disagree with it you know. I think that people, especially like ethnic minorities and people, when they get together, they kind of, can become racist towards the other people, so I disagree with it.

<div align="right">(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003)</div>

Jamal also argues against heightened levels of ethnic residential clustering, yet suggests that ethnic minorities themselves can often be responsible for such clustering and incitement of racism from others.

Overall then, young Muslim men from South Edinburgh adopt a similar approach to the young men from Pollokshields through giving precedence to safety, well-being, inclusion and belonging, and through the minimisation of the threat of racism. In this sense, both cohorts of young men look to the local to frame a sense of security – either by surrounding them with a supportive Muslim community in an area with higher levels of ethnic residential clustering, or by making them less noticeable in an area with low levels of such concentrations. However, analysing the young men's views and experiences of residential segregation in the context of gender, age and life experience produces a more complex pattern, and it is to this that I now turn.

3.2.3 ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING AND THE INFLUENCE OF MASCULINITY, AGE AND LIFE EXPERIENCE

The young men prioritise safety and security in their understandings and experiences of ethnic residential clustering, yet their senses of in/exclusion and their feelings of dis/connection are also influenced by their gender, age and life experience. In order to highlight the complexities of the young men's negotiations of these various experiences, I now explore some of the suggestions put forward by them that display their knowledge of the processes and tensions associated with residential segregation, and how these local negotiations involve and are informed by gender, age and life experience.

Research about young men as active subjects 'involves making masculinities plural and understanding and addressing them as relational identities which boys construct and inhabit' (Pattman, Frosh and Phoenix, 1998: 139) and so involves

highlighting the power and weaknesses involved in 'doing' gender. In this sense, the young men utilise a repertoire of masculinities in their articulations of their views and experiences. The discussions about ethnic residential clustering highlight two different ways that the young men perform masculine identities. First, it is interesting that during discussions about residential segregation, most focus group participants argued that their neighbourhood was fine, or 'spot on' (Interview, Edinburgh, 25th March 2003). Rarely in discussions about levels of local residential segregation did any of the young men disapprove of their local area, or argue against it. This could be linked with the performance of 'hegemonic masculinity' with its emphasis on toughness, power and authority, as well as being 'cool' and crucially, 'loyalty' (see Archer, 2003).

However, at the same time, the young men also gave precedence to discourses about safety, security and well-being, ideas often associated with those interested in feminist geography and women's use of space (Valentine, 1993, Hubbard, Kitchin, Bartley and Fuller, 2002). This alternative masculinity highlights how safety and well-being are primary concerns for the young men in their negotiations of their local areas. Connected with the young men's prioritisation of safety is their desire to minimise the threat of experiencing racism. Whilst the young men might perform a hegemonic masculinity in some of their interactions as well as articulating alternative masculinities primarily concerned with safety and well being, they also have marginalised masculinities as they negotiate the spaces of their local area with the aim of minimising racism. Their masculinities are marginalised in the sense that they are not white and dominant, and so are potentially open to ridicule, racist name-calling and other forms of racist abuse. In this sense, the young men's negotiations of local frameworks are gendered and racialised. Their masculinities are multiple, flexible and part of a repertoire, as well as being 'themselves deeply racialised: full of the tension and drama, and the pain, of belonging and not-belonging, including and excluding, that the dimensions of difference encoded in 'race' produce' (Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2002: 174).

Alongside the multiple, complex and racialised masculinities of the young men, their age and life experience also have an important influence on their views and

experiences of ethnic residential segregation. The older participants in the focus group and interview discussions tended to take a more nuanced view of ethnic residential clustering, building on the fact that they have greater life experience, and had perhaps lived in different cities, or had moved to a different city to study at university. Jana, for example, is a young man from Pollokshields who is sixteen and so one of the youngest respondents in this research project. I asked him what he thought about his local neighbourhood and his response was "there's lots of Asians and this is good" (Interview, Glasgow, 12th July 2002). Contrary to this, some of the older participants regarded ethnic residential segregation as an aspect of urban Scotland with both positive and negative consequences. Consider Rehman's comments:

Rehman: Asians ... mmm, I don't know, I think that the majority of Asians like to
              be a community with like other Asians. Personally, I don't really care
              and I would prefer not to, to be honest with you, because that way you
              can mingle with other people instead of staying set in your ways. In a
              place like Bradford it is more culture rather than religion that takes over,
              so it's more a culturally based community, rather than a religiously based
              one ...

Peter: So what do you think about Pollokshields because it has quite a high
              Asian population?

Rehman: I think its quite bad because everyone is sort of set in their ways, and I
              mean I know a lot of people from there and like over the last ten years,
              and they are doing the same stuff now that they were doing ten years ago.
              That is just amazing when people are moving on.

                                                          (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Rehman has been to university and is currently seeking employment. He sees ethnic residential clustering as compelling people to remain "set in their ways", and this is based on the influence of the local culture as opposed to religion. Rehman sees that residential segregation might offer some people security and comfort, whilst for others it can be oppressive, restrictive and encourages racism. This highlights that some of the young men are aware of the various complex ways that ethnic residential clustering can in/exclude different people according to their own personal values. This is shown when Rehman suggests that Asians like to live in residentially segregated areas and so this might offer them a sense of inclusion, belonging and connection. Yet, Rehman would

prefer not to live in such an area and so would feel restricted, excluded and limited in the opportunities available to him.

The age and life experience of some of the young men led them to acknowledge that there was racism on both sides: the white population moving out of 'Asian' areas (white flight), and the Asian population participating in self-segregation. This gels with Phillips' (forthcoming) recent research in Bradford where the racialisation of space 'speaks more loudly of white control and bounded choices'. Amar commented on how white people left his local area when a lot of Asians moved into the area. He then stated:

Amar: The bad thing is that you have little children who grow up and think that certain areas are full of white people that all hate black people, and they have all these thoughts and start to create gangs and that, so that is a bad thing ... a lot of Asian people, to be honest with you, come up with the idea that white people are bad and that their kids should avoid white people. There are a lot of racist people, and I try to explain to some of them, but they don't listen in some cases.

(Interview, Glasgow, 9th July 2003)

Amar's comments are directed at Asians who choose not to mix with the white population, yet he is also aware of how white people are racist towards Asians and may choose to move away from the local area on the basis of Asian in-migration. Amar's links between 'Asian' and 'Muslim' again highlight the conflation of race and religion, and so the racialisation of Muslim identities.

The life experience of some of the young men means that they can see both the 'advantages and disadvantages' of residential clustering. Consider Sabir and Arif's comments:

Sabir: I think, yeah there is a small Muslim population. That small minority is your community, however small it is. Even if there are only five Muslims, those five Muslims will be your friends ...

Peter: So if there is say a lot of Muslims living together, do you think that is safer, or do you think that you are more likely to be subject to racism if there is a big Muslim population?

Arif: Well, the thing is, Muslims like other people, have differences of opinion, views. However, we have this common goal, this common belief, so you

can put these differences aside so that you can still get on with each other. But with non-Muslims, if you have a difference of opinion, it is difficult to then form a relationship in other areas … so, with Muslims, we can be more flexible. Whether you attract more racism if you hang about with a big group of Muslims, I guess it depends on the type of people that are in that area. If those people are educated and are used to seeing Muslims together then they are not going to be fussed, but if it is something new to them, and they feel threatened or afraid, they might, either through words or actions, come across as being racist. I actually spend more time with Muslims after starting university because I came from an area that had fewer Muslims. It had its advantages and disadvantages. Obviously the disadvantages are that I didn't have people that I could get really close to, and see things from a similar view. However, it made me realise the importance of being a good Muslim, because people may possibly be looking and questioning your actions. Coming to university, especially being away from home, I think it is important that you, even if you don't have lots of Muslim friends, you should at least have one or two … so at the end of the day you have someone you can go to for help. I mean I'm not saying that you can't go to non-Muslims, but perhaps it would be better going to a Muslim because you will have similar goals at the end of the day.

(Focus Group, Edinburgh 30th April 2003)

Arif arguably has the most sophisticated views about ethnic residential segregation, and this could be connected to his age and life experience. He experienced the disadvantage of living in a largely white area by not having people that he "could get really close to". He challenges the idea put forward by some of the other young men that see residential segregation causing racism, instead attributing racism to uneducated people who feel threatened or afraid by seeing Asians hanging around together. Racism, in his view, is caused by uneducated people and not by the existence of ethnic residential segregation per se. Aware of the various ways that residential segregation works, Sabir and Arif both comment on the importance of having other Muslims around them. Sabir suggests that the size of the Muslim population is not important as they are his friends, even if there are very few of them. So, although they are both aware of the influences of residential segregation, it is also vital to them that they have Muslims nearby with whom they can form friendships. Peer group relationships therefore form an important aspect of the young men's senses of belonging and negotiations of the scale of the local.

In terms of ethnic residential clustering, young Muslim men tend to prioritise safety and well-being, and so inhabit a range of complex positions in terms of their racialised masculinities. Their views and experiences of residential segregation are also influenced by their age and life experiences, with young men who have moved city (for work or study) possessing a range of more nuanced opinions in this regard. Perhaps the most illuminating aspect of the young men's views on residential clustering is how this highlights the ways that the scale of the local plays a powerful role in in/excluding people and giving them a sense, or not, of belonging. Whilst this has not highlighted the extent to which the young men use and negotiate residentially segregated communities, it has shown the continuing salience of race, gender and age in the young men's experience of the city. I now consider the significance of the anchor points of the young men's everyday lives and local negotiations.

3.3 LOCAL EVERYDAY FRAMEWORKS: HOME, MOSQUE, SCHOOL/WORK, LEISURE AND COMMUNITY

To recap, I started this chapter by noting that there is a lack of research that links race and ethnicity with experiences of the everyday. Having then commented on the historical centrality of the study of segregation in the geographies of race and racism, I considered how the young men use and manage their negotiations of local ethnic residential clustering, demonstrating how the young men prioritise safety and well-being. Gender, race and age also influence these experiences. So, having established the significance of ethnic residential clustering in the young men's local lives, I now explore the important anchor points for these negotiations.

The Muslim boys in Archer's (2003: 88) research 'talked about hanging around with their friends, playing football, going shopping, watching TV and listening to music'. Similarly, the young Muslim men in this research talked about home, work/education (school, college, and/or university), the mosque, sport and hanging about. Consider Saeed's account:

Saeed: Yeah, wake up in the morning, normal kind of thing, and I do my
                morning prayer and then I might go back to sleep, that's at about four or
                five in the morning … and then I wake up again about seven or eight
                o'clock, have breakfast and get ready to go to work … and then go home,
                and then either go home for prayer or go to the mosque for prayer, sit
                with the family, have dinner, talk and do things and then it's time to go
                back to bed. I try to split my time between work and family and mosque
                … and at night I do my night prayer and then go to sleep and start again
                in the morning … so a normal day is like that.

                                        (Interview, Edinburgh, 14th June 2002)

Saeed's comments demonstrate that the key anchor points for his everyday local
negotiations are the home and family, the mosque and his workplace. All of the young
men consulted in this research experience these local frameworks in a range of diverse
ways, and their accounts highlight how they use, manage and resist these networks, all
of which contribute to their experiences of local landscapes. The remainder of this
chapter considers the ways that the young men draw on, reproduce and use the local
anchor points of home, mosque, school and work, leisure time and peer group, and
finally community.

3.3.1 WOMEN AND HOME

Blunt and Varley (2004: 3) note that 'as a space of belonging and alienation,
intimacy and violence, desire and fear, the home is invested with meanings, emotions,
experiences and relationships that lie at the heart of human life'. The home is generally
a place where the young men "have dinner", play the computer and watch TV. It is
interesting to note the absence of any reference to cooking, cleaning or general
household chores in the young men's constructions and narratives of home. Babar is the
only young man to mention helping with the housework:

Babar: Help mum out in the house like with hovering or whatever, like clean up
                yeah. My big brother is like handicapped so I need to help out a bit. I
                work part-time, so I'll head off to work, come back and go straight to
                football … football every night basically, that is a must man, yeah.

                                        (Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003)

This extract and the other comments made by Babar shows how he highlights that his situation is different from other young men his age because he has to help with the housework and assist his brother. The lack of reference to household chores in the young men's accounts is very different from the way that the young Muslim women in Dwyer's research constructed the home as a place where they were expected to reproduce the parental culture which is reinforced through izzat (family honour). The young men therefore assume that the home is the domain of their mothers and sisters. The connections between Muslim women and the home were regularly discussed during focus groups and interviews as the following extract shows:

Nasser: Women tend to stay in the house and things like that ...
Saeed: I mean a lot of women, they tend to stay at home and look after the kids, and that's hard work, right. The guy normally has a job.
Imran   Yeah.

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 24th July 2002)

As I was interested in the young men's opinions about gender relations and home in Islam, I mentioned that I thought that there was inequality between men and women in Islam and asked them what they thought about that. Aware of such inequalities the young men persistently suggested that this was, as Mohammed notes "a cultural thing and not a religious thing" (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002). Similarly, Ifty and Kabir suggest that gender inequality is "cultural" and not religious:

Ifty: ... some people think that there is like a lot of sexism in Muslim men and women, but that sexism comes from like culture, Pakistani culture ... but the actual religion of Islam, men and women are very close ... they look after each other, so I think ... Islam brings a kind of closeness, and that is lots of love between a whole family including the mother and the father and the children ... I don't think that you can get as much closeness between a white man and woman ... love in the heart is difficult to build but Islam helps it.

(Interview, Glasgow, 16th July 2002)

Kabir: I don't think that these differences are to do with Islam. A lot of things are cultural habits we have. Like for example, some cultures ... people from a particular culture think that Muslim women have to remain in the

home or something, which is not from Islam ... A housewife is the mother of the family and the teacher of the nation really because, you know, who teaches the children ... it's the mother, you know, it's a huge responsibility and honourable task. But again ... she can also work, she can also participate in society.

<div align="right">(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)</div>

As Kabir suggests, the Muslim women often are expected to be "the mother of the family", bring up the children and be a housewife. Many of the young men argued that the association of women with the home was cultural, yet this simultaneously justified that men are expected to work. The young men attempt to distance themselves from the 'sexism' of Pakistani culture by stressing that men and women are more equal in Islam, and so they could be said to be advocating specifically Muslim masculinities. This is emphasised in the following abstract:

Iftikar: But the fact that Muslim women cook is because the guys are out to work most the time yeah ... that's a cultural thing, a Pakistani thing
Jamail: It's up to the male to go and provide for the family
Azam: Women don't need to stay in the house all day. It's not like that, it's not.

<div align="right">(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002)</div>

I would like to suggest here that the young men adopt contradictory masculine subject positions. Simultaneously they argue that men and women are equal in Islam, whilst advocating sexist stereotypes about their expectations of Muslim women. The young men seem to promote a form of sexist equality. The distance themselves from Pakistani culture, yet also adopt the sexist attitudes that they say are the responsibility of that culture, and at the same time, advocate an equality between men and women, which they argue is based on Islamic principles. Jana stated that "women and men are treated the same" (Interview, Glasgow, 12th July 2002), and Amin notes that Islam promotes equality:

Amin: ... In Islam everyone is equal in the eyes of God. The only difference is that women have to dress a bit more moderately than men and have to hide certain parts of their body ... I think that is one point where Islam has a difference ... Islam does not want its women, what do you call it,

<div align="right">84</div>

mixing freely with people, and living in a house with a man before marriage …

The young men adopt a number of arguments in their assertions that Muslim women are not the victims of an oppressive culture, nor are they marginalised by their religion. The young men regularly draw upon the historical argument that Islam was the first religion to give women rights, yet it was only in the last hundred years that women have been given certain rights in the West. As well as this, the young men contend that there is equality in Islam, and in doing so attempt to obscure any signs of inequality. Since women "stick to tradition more than guys do", some of the young men suggest that this means that they themselves have to go out and work. Furthermore, in this focus group discussion, Saeed suggests that an Asian woman would never marry a white man yet the reverse does happen:

Nasser:	[Muslim women] stick to tradition more than guys do ... you know I want to do this and that, or I want to stay in the house and that, or what their mum wants them to do
Imran:	I think that more Asian men think that they have to get a job because when they get married they are going to be the only one that will be working
Saeed:	You'll see an Asian guy marrying a white woman, but you wouldn't see an Asian woman marrying a white guy ... so women tend to care more about tradition and things like that
Nasser:	Aye, we tend to be more free than the Asian women.

Here the implication appears to be that Muslim women marginalise themselves, and are somehow responsible for their own position. The young men also draw on stereotypes that associate young Muslim men with the spaces of the home and assume that they will not engage in any form of employment (Mohammad, 2001). Muslim women are also represented as being privileged because there are more community facilities available to them:

Talib: There's a lot more burdens placed on us yeah ... I mean girls ... because people think it's harder for them, there are a lot more facilities available for them than there are for boys. I mean like down at the [community hall] they've got loads of girls groups and things like that, but there's not that much for boys, you know what I mean. There's all these women's aid centres and that, but where's the male one? You know what I mean

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002)

This was my experience when I worked on establishing access to groups for the purpose of this research project. However, many of the groups for Muslim women focus on issues of general well-being, advocacy work and mental health. Whilst Muslim men also experience mental health and concerns over their well-being (Fatunmbi and Lee, 1999, Heim, Howe, Cassiday, O'Connor and Warden, 2003), the presence of a number of community and voluntary organisations targeting the needs of Muslim women is perhaps an indication of their marginal position. Furthermore, it may also be that Muslim men feel they need to perform a macho form of masculinity, and so feel less need to access local services and groups.

Talib and Qamar also note that when a Muslim woman works she gets to keep all of the money she earns. This is different to Muslim men who have to provide for the family with their earnings.

Talib: If you're married yeah ... it's the man's responsibility to provide for his wife and kids. The woman can go out and work yeah, but she gets to keep all of her money, she doesn't have to spend any of it on her husband or her kids or anything, that man has to, you know what I mean?

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002)

Qamar: ...if a woman earns pay then that is hers to keep in a marriage, she doesn't need to give that to her husband and her husband can't ask that from her. When her husband works, he has to ... give some of his income to his wife.

(Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Here, they draw upon masculine ideas of providing for the family, and so suggest that women hold a position of privilege in being allowed to keep their earnings to themselves. This links with the research by McDowell (2003) which showed that young

men place central emphasis on waged labour and providing for their families in their understandings of appropriate forms of masculinity. So, 'the boys drew on a traditional gender dichotomy in which men earn/work, providing for the home, and women have domestic responsibilities' (Archer, 2003: 75).

The third argument put forward by the young men is that Muslim women are "the height of respect", and this stands in stark contrast to the Muslim boys in Archer's (2003: 83) research who constructed girls as 'out of control' and 'mental'. I suspect that this difference is due to the younger profile of the men in Archer's study. Consider these comments from Saeed, Amar and Jamal:

Saeed: Every person in the Koran has a brother … women are sisters …women are our sisters and our mothers … in the eyes of the Creator they are high, and in our eyes they should be very high as well … we should think that women are the best and that they are above us.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 14th June 2002)

Amar: In the Muslim religion, they should have the respect of the family. I'll give you an example … if a guy lives a normal Muslim life, if his daughter commits adultery then he will go to hell. That is why there is a lot of responsibility on the women to basically cover up and not show their body. It keeps the guys eyes away, and at the end of the day it keeps your attention on your wife and not on other women … it is just that women are the height of respect.

(Interview, Glasgow, 9th July 2003)

Jamal: … I think that for a Muslim man to cover up it has to be from his stomach to his knees, whereas for a Muslim women it is from like her neck to her ankles yeah … I think that in Islam women are respected much more than men … you know it says in the Koran that under your mothers feet is were heaven is.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 25th March 2003)

Muslim women are viewed as being "above" men and "respected much more than men". Jamal was one of many of the young men who commented on heaven being "under your mother's feet". Yet, Muslim women are expected to cover themselves and "not show their body". The young men recognised that it must be difficult for Muslim women because they are expected to dress modestly, yet they also reinforced this form of dress:

Saeed: ... I think my wife has a harder time ... I mean she wears a headscarf and covers her body you know.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 14th June 2002)

Mohammed: ... if you are talking about a proper Muslim woman then I think it would be hard being a woman because they have to wear a headscarf and dress modestly. It would be harder for them to get a job ...... like obviously I've got a beard, but if I was clean shaven it would be fine for me but you do get discriminated against just cause you have a beard, you know and sometimes you don't get a job and things like that for that reason ... if I was clean shaven it would be fine.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002)

Saeed and Mohammed both recognise the difficulties associated with wearing the headscarf. Mohammed also notes the discrimination faced by young men who have a beard. It would appear that markers of Muslimness have heightened in significance in recent years, particularly as a result of the events of September 11th 2001 in New York. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 5. The young men may be drawing upon gendered discourses in assuming that Muslim women are more likely to experience discrimination because of their dress. Yet the young men, aware of the challenges this presents to Muslim women, still reinforce this discourse. Qamar also notes how Muslim women should cover their bodies, yet he also suggests that most women want to stay at home and look after the kids:

Qamar: ... In Islam, women are requested to wear the hijab, to cover their head, their face, their ears, and the main thing is that they do not reveal the shape of their body. Women are not oppressed. Most women prefer to stay at home and look after the kids you know.

(Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Saeed, in line with Qamar, also sees Muslim women belonging in the home, and he suggests that this offers protection to Muslim women who have to cover up when they go out:

Saeed: … they are not kept in the house, but they are protected in the house, they cover up when they go out so that no one else can look at them.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 14th June 2003)

The young men therefore adopt a number of strategies in opposing that idea that Muslim women are oppressed. I have argued that the young men adopt a form of sexist equality, whereby they advocate equality between men and women yet also adopt sexist stereotypes about the role of women. The young men account for any marginalisation that Muslim women experience as being their own responsibility as they are represented as being more traditional and choosing to stay at home. Moreover, the young men appear to suggest that women are not treated unequally as they are the height of respect, have more community facilities and are allowed to keep any money they earn and use that money as they wish.

Abdul notes that "white women have it easier than Muslim women, and are a lot more equal" (Interview, Glasgow, 19th November 2002). In focus group and interview exchanges the young men often placed Muslim women in opposition to white women. The main purpose of this appeared to be the argument that western women are corrupt and therefore Muslim women are "the height of respect". Consider this exchange:

Sabir: I think really in society really, women are oppressed, but it's a different type of oppression … people like say that like women in Islam wear a hijab or dress or whatever, are oppressed, but like, when I walk down the street and I see women that are wearing next to nothing, that is sort of oppression … when you look in the newsagent and see … like pictures of half naked women, that is a sort of oppression. The British mentality is that is it all right for women to display themselves and everything, but in my opinion, it's like making so many women feel uncomfortable … in my opinion we live in a society today in this country where women are oppressed. It's a different type of oppression that people need to get their heads around, but women are oppressed

Ali: There's not even that, domestic abuse in this country is quite high, like one out of four women suffer from domestic abuse. I really don't think that is anywhere near what you get in the Muslim countries … people don't look at that either. People think that a woman who is wearing the hijab, people think that she has been forced to wear it, but if you as most of the women that actually wear it, they will disagree, and if anyone tries to take it off they will see that as an offence …

Peter	So in some ways do you think that Islam almost protects or empowers women?
Arif:	It does, because it allows the woman to do what she is best at, and not based on the way she looks. It allows a woman to get a job based on her ability and her credentials, as opposed to her physical appearance … I just think that, from a respect point of view, when I see a woman with a headscarf, they have more respect for me than an attractive female who is showing off most of her body …
Sabir:	I think it takes a lot for women to actually cover themselves up. If you've got a good looking Muslim woman and she says that she wants to cover herself up, it takes a lot to do that, and there is something about that that is really special, you know …
Arif:	… I don't think that there is such a thing as equal rights in Islam, but it's complimentary rights. I think that in some areas women have more rights than men, and in other areas men have more rights than women …

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 30th April 2003)

The idea that Muslim women are oppressed is reversed in this extract. Women being allowed to "display themselves" is, as Sabir suggests, a different from of oppression. Ali extends this in suggesting that domestic abuse is higher in this country than in any of the Muslim countries. Women who live in Muslim countries will suffer domestic abuse as well, however, it is unlikely that there is any evidence to support these claims, as it is difficult to measure and monitor the levels of such incidents. Overall these comments by the young men are all ways of justifying their perceptions about the role of women in Islam. Arif suggests that there are not equal rights in Islam but complimentary rights, in that men and women may have more rights at different times and in certain circumstances. Although this might appear less sexist than some of the other statements made by the young men, it is clear from many of the other comments made by Arif that he has certain expectations of Muslim women, many of which strongly associate them with the spaces of the home. It was not only the young men in this focus group who commented on the role of women in the West:

Aslam:	If you think about it or the way I think about it is that women in this country are actually treated more unfairly that they are treated in the likes of Pakistan or India or any other place. It's actually now okay for a woman to walk down the street wearing whatever she wants, hardly anything, have men lusting, you know, just that concept I think … is

awful. I think that is genuine abuse and people can believe that so much that it is actually okay and I think that's worse than any abuse that's happening in the East ... Islam prescribes men and women to be equal ... men and women are equal and there is no greater sex. Man is not better than a woman and no woman is better than a man.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 18th December 2002)

Jamail: I mean in this country women are allowed to turn round and show their arse off, you know, and it's okay for you to walk around and have your breasts hanging out. Islam doesn't like that you know

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002).

It is clear that the young men dislike the dress choice of women in the West. Aslam sees this as "genuine abuse" and Jamail notes how Islam does not like women showing "their arse off" and having "their breasts hanging out". The young men not only adopt a strategy of sexist equality but also draw upon religious and western discourses to justify this. Also, the young men are policing the boundaries of acceptable Muslim femininity. As Dwyer (2000: 479) notes, 'this policing by the young men appeared to be a means by which their own adolescent masculine ethnic and religious identity could be maintained'. The young men therefore possess patriarchal Muslim masculinities through placing a central emphasis on earning capacity and the control of appropriate Muslim femininities.

There was an indication that some of the young men were aware of the position of women:

Faruk: In Islam? I would say that the men are predominant because they have more say. I would say, yeah, being honest, I would say that the man has more of a say than the women, but as I said, and maybe I didn't finish your earlier question there, but the women, as time is coming on, more women are out working, degree and then out working, so it is happening slowly but surely you know. The men do have more say but.

(Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003)

Faruk is one of the only research participants to acknowledge that men are the dominant group in society, yet he is also aware that the situation is changing and more women are working and gaining qualifications. Overall, the young men's views emphasise the

connections between Muslim women and the home, and the assumption that Muslim women should not, or do not need to work. Alongside this, the young men inhabit patriarchal Muslim masculinities that stress the significance of waged labour and providing for the family.

3.3.2 HOME AND WORK: NEGOTIATING GENERATION

As well as constructing the home as gendered, issues of generation also littered focus group and interview discussions. These conversations tended to concentrate on the differences between the young men's daily lives and that of older men like their fathers. There was some indication of tensions between the young men and their fathers:

Aktahr:	… a big thing that changes the way you grow up is your parents, cause like to tell you the truth I don't really like my dad okay … he comes home and I just go upstairs and try to keep away from him … but then when you want to be close to him he'll just ask you to make him a cup of tea, and then he'll start shouting at me for no reason saying that I was wandering about, but I was waiting for the kettle to boil …
Peter:	Do you think a lot of older Muslim men are like that?
Aktahr:	Yeah
Ahmed:	Yeah
Akthar:	I think my grandad was meant to be quite strict so my dad is just following in his footsteps … I'm not going to be following my dad's anyway … I won't be as strict with things … like my auntie and uncle were there and my dad started shouting his head off at me … and then after that he was like all quiet and my mum wasn't talking to him and my sister said that she had had enough of him … I had had enough of him as well, but I felt good because everyone had seen the kind of man he is … I mean he's trying to loose weight cause he has like high blood pressure
Ahmed:	My dad has that as well yeah … my dad would come home from work and do things like that as well and start moaning and getting stressed about things yeah
Aktahr:	It's normally the man in the house that gets stressed
Peter:	Do you think that you'll be like that or do you think that will change?
Aktahr:	Some want to be strict … I'm actually quite glad the way my dad brought me up because I can see how I shouldn't be if I have children.

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

Aktahr keeps a clear distance from his father by retiring to his bedroom when his dad arrives home. This could be read as Aktahr performing a macho hegemonic masculinity in front of his peers, however, he is adamant that his father has shown him how not to bring up his own children. Aktahr and Ahmed also comment on the everyday "stress" that their fathers experience acknowledging that they have "high blood pressure". The comments from this focus group reflect Archer's (2003) view that the boys in her research associated their fathers with power. 'Fathers were described as commanding the boys' awe, respect and sometimes fear' (Archer, 2003: 102).

In line with Archer's findings, one of the strongest themes running through interviews and focus groups was a respect for their parents' generation. This respect was largely based on the young men's view that their parents are a hard working generation. Qamar and Amin both comment on their parents' generation, noting how people prefer to work less nowadays:

Qamar: See my dad's generation ... they are a very hard working generation. They are used to working fifteen hours a day, or seventeen hours a day, eighteen hours a day, they are used to it. Seven days a week. They are more of a generation that like to work. My generation is more people who like to relax more, you know, like you work for two days on the trot and you are tired and you feel as if you can't do a lot of things. I mean I do my fair share of work but I can't see myself doing eighteen hours a day seven days a week. Maybe a few days but not that much
                                                                    (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Amin: Well older Scottish people, I think that they also try to work hard and enjoy what they do ... older people are part of the generation where everyone worked hard. I mean people today do not like to work, they are lazy and would rather not work. I prefer the hard working attitude of a lot of older people ...
                                                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 22nd July 2003)

Qamar and Amin both comment on how young people today prefer to relax more, rather than working hard all of the time, unlike their parent's generation. In particular, Qamar's comments are heavily gendered and it is clear that it is his dad that he perceives to be a hard worker. Qamar's account displays a respect and awe for the hard working

nature of his father's generation, and Amin also prefers those who have a "hard working attitude". It is interesting to note that Amin refers to "Scottish people" and so sees the generational differences being discussed as issues influencing many young people his age, and not just a particular racially or religiously defined group of young people. Amar comments on how his dad is constantly working seven days a week and his reference to "Scottish Asians" draws on a racialised version of generational differences. Instead of this, Amar prefers to relax more, go shopping or into town to "check things out":

Amar: Well for like older Scottish Asians it is totally different. My dad will get up in the morning, go to the shop or go to work, come home, watch TV and so on, do this and that, and then go to bed, and get up the next day. They will do that for seven days a week. You know, I relax more, do this and that, do a bit of shopping, go into town, check things out, you know
(Interview, Glasgow, 9th July 2003)

Young people are now spending a greater amount of time in a state of semi-dependency (Furlong and Cartmel, 2001), and there is now also greater emphasis given to leisure and consumption. The significance of sport and leisure as important aspects of the young men's local frameworks is discussed in more detail later in this chapter, however, the young men often talked about aspects of leisure that made them different from their fathers.

Ifty and Babar both note how sport is something that makes them different from their fathers. Consider their comments:

Ifty: … they probably stick to their work and families and things like that whereas I like going out and doing sport and things like that
(Interview, Glasgow, 16th July 2002)

Babar: Yeah, he doesn't play football, he's not really into sport. He is just at work all the time, at the shop from like ten until six, and like he'll be in the house unless he's at the mosque for prayer which he does every evening. Other than that he might go out with my mum to my uncle's and aunt's house or whatever. That is the main type of social gathering that my mum can get, but when I'm at work I can meet my friends, and at

football I'm with my friends … my dad is always at the shop so he doesn't get to see his friends that much, so he likes to meet the neighbours or see the family and stuff

<div align="right">(Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003)</div>

As well as working hard, the fathers of these young men are represented as being focused on the family and their religion. The religiosity of older Muslim men was also commented on by Rehman (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2002) who said: "I would have to say that my dad is a bit more religious than I am, so religion is a lot more to him. He is a lot more likely to go to the mosque, and I mean I don't just mean a Friday, he'll go during the week as well". Overall then, the young men generally admire the hard-working nature of their parent's generation, although they acknowledge that their fathers tend to be less interested in sport and leisure and more focused on family and religion than the young men are themselves. Having considered the different ways that the young men experience, draw on and use the home, I now consider how the mosque is an important anchor point in their everyday local negotiations.

3.34   THE MOSQUE

For Ifty, as well as Saeed who is quoted earlier, the mosque is a key aspect of their everyday lives. As Ifty notes, he gains a strong sense of attachment, belonging and purpose through going to mosque:

Ifty: I just like hang around with my friends and that, and have a good time … maybe watch a film or something like that. I definitely go to mosque. I love mosque, there's a brilliant atmosphere and community there, so I try to go five times a day, but I normally go four times a day at least. I play football … I love football and cricket so I play quite a bit of that
<div align="right">(Interview, Glasgow, 16th July 2002)</div>

Not all of the young men talked about attending mosque in this way. Most aspired to attend mosque and pray five times a day, however educational and employment commitments often prevented them from doing this. So, regardless of whether or not

they actually visit the mosque, the young men's religious faith has an important place in their everyday lives, be this real or imagined.

The mosque is also experienced as a masculine space. Mohammed noted during an interview, "… well, one thing is that men have to go to the mosque and pray, but the mosque for the women is in the home" (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002). As well as emphasising the connections between women and home, Mohammed is also claiming the mosque as a space for men.

Latif articulates his everyday life in the context of how it differs from other young men his age, and so places it in opposition to the everyday lives of young white men:

Latif: I do typical stuff like sports and like clubs after school, and like going out with my mates. I would say that what isn't typical is the fact that I pray five times a day, and I follow the five pillars of Islam, you know what I mean
                                                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 25th March 2003)

The fact that he identifies as a Muslim and so tries to pray regularly and follow the pillars of Islam makes him different from non-Muslim young men his age. In this respect, Latif sees certain aspects of his daily routine, such as sport and 'going out with my mates' as according with the hegemonic (white) youth culture, whilst his religious faith and practice are part of a marginalised youth culture and so make him not "typical". It could also be that Latif is responding to what he perceives as my whiteness, and so is making assumptions about what my everyday life would have been like when I was his age.

3.3.5 MANAGING SCHOOL AND WORK: YOUNG MEN IN CRISIS

Attending school, college or university and/or working in part or full-time employment are important aspects of young Muslim men's experience of everyday local life. I sought to explore the significance of the place of education and work in the young men's lives. In particular, I am interested in their views on the 'crisis of masculinity' as in such discourses, young minority ethnic men are thought to pose particular educational

problems (Archer, 2001) and have been largely excluded from such debates (Archer, 2003).

The underachievement of boys at school and the idea of the so-called crisis of masculinity have been criticised on a number of grounds. I agree with Tinklin, Croxford, Ducklin and Frame (2003: 2) who suggest that the notion of boys' underachievement is based on an average and so 'not all boys are underachieving and not all girls are doing well'. Furthermore, levels of attainment vary across both sexes according to social class and ethnic background. Amongst Asian students, boys' performance is strongly related to social class group, and overall Asian students did as well or better than their white counterparts. All in all, however, there is 'widespread popular and academic agreement that something is troubling men' (McDowell, 2000b: 201). Particularly striking is the increase in suicide rates amongst young Scottish men increasing by two hundred and forty five per cent in the last thirty years (Observer, 2002). This has resulted in a government response that aims to reduce suicide and deliberate self harm (Scottish Executive, 2002a).

I sought to explore young Muslim men's perspectives about the 'crisis of masculinity' by suggesting that people sometimes say that it is harder being a man than being a woman these days because women are doing better at school, getting better qualifications and getting jobs. I then asked the young men if they agreed. The opinions of the young men highlight the heterogeneous and multiple natures of youthful Muslim masculinities, and so challenge narrow and confined definitions of Muslimness. I mentioned to Jamal that the figures show that women are doing better at school than men, and asked him what he thought about it:

Jamal: … I tend to disagree, as I think that we've both got a lot of things to deal with … maybe the indicators might show it, but being a woman, I don't think men have a tougher time or anything, but a woman's brain does tend to mature quicker than a man's brain, and I think that is where we lose out a bit … you know guys tend to go round in gangs and act macho and all that sort of stuff, whereas girls tend to get beyond that sort of behaviour at an earlier age. So I would say that is why men are loosing out.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 25th March 2003)

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Jamal indicates that the reason why young men might not perform as well at school is because they mature at a later point than young women, and also "tend to go around in gangs and act macho". The young men consulted in this research project adopted a number of different stances to the notion of the crisis of masculinity, and these stances highlight the different ways that the young men relate to the local anchor points of school and work.

The more qualified and upper class young men tended to resist any notion of a crisis of masculinity, or suggested that it is down to the individual. Rehman, a degree educated young man from Glasgow stated, "I don't think that is a major issue to be honest. I can't believe that is happening." (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003). Similarly, Abdul who is studying computing at university noted:

Abdul: Well my experience is different from a white male as we want different
            things and different lifestyles ... I wouldn't say there's a crisis of
            masculinity
                                        (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th November 2002)

Abdul resists the idea of a crisis of masculinity after noting his difference from other young white men. It could be that Abdul sees the crisis of masculinity as a problem that affects only young white men, and so his race distances him from such issues. Also, Archer (2003) has confirmed that the crisis of masculinity debate has tended to omit minority ethnic young men, and so Abdul could be responding to his exclusion from such issues. Some of the younger Muslim men consulted suggest that young men don't try their hardest and resisted success at school suggesting that young men who performed well were "sad". This links with the Muslim boy's views in Archer's (2003: 68) research, who 'positively associated 'being stupid' with 'having a laugh,' 'fighting' and popular masculinity'. Consider Nasser's account:

Nasser: See the problem with guys is that they don't try their hardest ... girls like
            don't have sport either ... you hardly see them outside playing cricket and
            things, or playing football. They just stay in the house and read books

and all that ... aye there's this guy in our school, Dixon, and he's going to work for NASA, he got ninety eight per cent for his Physics exam yeah, that's why ... the guys sad in it ... he's got that mad hair style and that

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

This extract would appear to suggest that Nasser could do well at school if he wanted to, but because young men "don't try their hardest" and participate in sport, they do not perform as well as they could if they devoted more of their time to schoolwork. It also appears that Nasser does not want to be labelled "sad" and so is confirming to a popular hegemonic form of masculinity that gives priority to sport, not trying hard and being cool. Nusart, Anwar and Sabir all utilise this discourse of masculinity to suggest that the crisis of masculinity might be down to young men not concentrating on work, "getting lazier" and being more "rebellious". It is particularly interesting how Nusart distances himself from the idea of the crisis of masculinity by drawing on discourses of Islam that advocate equality:

Nusart: I think it's because like guys, they don't really concentrate and muck about and all that ... there is no problem about that in Islam, it's all about equality.

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

Anwar: I don't think it's getting harder, I just think it's ... guys are getting lazier, and women are working a bit harder. So I wouldn't say life is changing, it's not getting harder.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002)

Sabir: I guess, boys try to impress girls whereas girls try less to impress boys if they're in a mix at school. Boys tend to be a bit more rebellious because ... if there was a fight, there would be a fight between two boys.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 10th December 2002)

Boys' underperformance at school may be connected to the exhibition of their heterosexuality as they "try to impress girls". Boys are also perceived to "muck about" and be lazy. What is particularly interesting about these understandings of the crisis of masculinity is that they all play down the significance of any crisis whilst also giving reasons why women might be doing better than men. This could be interpreted as a

form of youthful Muslim masculinity that is accepting of the faults and shortcoming of the behaviour, conduct and performance of young men, yet is unable to fully accept male underachievement.

Omar resisted the crisis of masculinity on the grounds of his perceptions about the marginalisation of women. Omar's knowledge of the difficulties experienced by young lesbian Muslims leads him to strongly disagree with any notion of a crisis of masculinity:

Omar: No ... because from my being gay experience ... I have met some women
               who have had a bloody hard time ... Issues about doing well at school
               and that kind of stuff, is nothing compared to what lesbian women who
               are married have to go through ... so you know, if someone says to me
               that it is harder being a man nowadays, I will just ... I will not agree with
               that ...
                                                    (Interview, Glasgow, 19th May 2002)

This understanding opens up the possibility for alternative Muslim masculinities that are sensitive to the pressures and demands imposed upon young Muslims not just in terms of gender, but sexuality as well.

The social class position of the young men is also important, and is hinted at above in Rehman and Abdul's resistance to the crisis of masculinity in relation to young men who are successful at school. Young men of upper-class backgrounds are often deemed to possess certain qualities:

The notorious 'public school type' or 'public school man' was and is disciplined, tough, self-confident to the degree of arrogance, accustomed to the notion of leadership, and elitist in the highest degree (O'Donnell and Sharpe, 2000: 52).

During a focus group at a private school in Edinburgh (14th November 2002), Omar stated "I think it is up to the individual to do their best ... so it's up to them at the end of the day". The following exchange then took place:

Ali:	… I mean girls don't need to do too much else, I mean they just like going shopping and that's about it, whereas boys like do lots and play sports and things like that.
Nasser:	With my sister, it's not that they are exceptionally more branier than I am, but they are a lot more determined, and the commitment that they take, they don't take have as many. We have sports and you want to involve yourself in other activities, whereas they just have a much clearer goal … Asian women in Scotland, they don't usually go out like on a Friday night because it's obviously not allowed, whereas with boys Muslim parents are a lot more lenient towards them as so like playing football is okay and cricket is okay … if they had just as much choice, and they were given the same chances that we were, then they would probably just do the same as well.

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 14th November 2002)

The young men here use their privileged position to resist the discourse of the crisis of masculinity suggesting that if their female counterparts had the same choices as they did then levels of performance would not place young men in a position of crisis. Ali in particular views young women as "going shopping and that's about it", and so highlights the patronising tone used by many of the young men with regards to their female contemporaries. The young Muslim men position themselves in opposition to, and in a superior position to, young women, and this is tied in with gendered expectations of both young men and women, and the strong connection between masculinity and sport.

Whilst the majority of young Muslim men aim to conform to hegemonic stereotypes of appropriate Muslim masculinity, issues of gender, social class and sexuality disrupt this pattern. Space has therefore been opened for the recognition of a diverse, heterogeneous and multi faceted understanding of youthful Muslim masculinities that are simultaneously gendered, sexualised and classed.

3.36 SPORT, LEISURE AND PEER-GROUP

There are strong linkages between sports, in particular football, and the performance of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2000, O'Donnell and Sharpe, 2000). Football is 'understood by many boys not only as a masculine activity but as something which make boys masculine', and so helps them to emphasise gender differences (Pattman et al, 1999, in O'Donnell and Sharpe, 2000: 18). Sport is therefore a key

activity in the social construction of a masculine identity. This research project found that football and cricket were important in the formation of youthful Muslim masculinities. The significance of sports, football and cricket in particular, in the lives of young Muslim men was recognised as an aspect of their everyday lives that had a direct impact upon their local negotiations. Babar, in discussing young men's performance at school suggests that girls have more time to study because they are not 'into sport':

Babar: I agree with you in that girls are getting better grades than boys now because I think again, boys are more into playing computer games or football than they are to studying. I don't think that the girls actually do that much, they are not as much into sport as the boys are, I don't think they are. I don't want to sound sexist but I think that guys are more into sport than the girls, and because of that the girls have more time to study. I mean I don't know what else they do.

(Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003)

Sport is an important aspect of the young men's everyday lives and is persistently referred to. Shafqat states that "football is my life" (Interview, 17th June 2003) and similarly when I asked Ishmail about the kind of things he does on a daily basis, he noted that he likes to "play football and hang about" (Interview, Glasgow, 12th July 2002). Faruk suggests that "guys tend to be out playing football and not really giving a fuck generally" (Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003). Many boys tend to regard sport as synonymous with being masculine, and so gain respect for participating in aggressive sporting activities (Furlong and Cartmel, 2001). The young men's accounts suggest that sport is important to their everyday senses of possessing an appropriate masculine identity and a significant aspect of being a young Muslim man.

Louise Archer (2003: 86) notes that 'the boys constructed 'locally' hegemonic masculine identities by associating Muslim masculinity with power, privilege, 'being the boss,' hardness and hyper-heterosexuality', and to an extent, this exploration of the young men's views highlight similar constructions. Physicality, toughness and sport were important to many of the young men. The majority of the young men acknowledged that their participation in sport and inclination to "muck about" were

important aspects of their everyday lives. Participating in sport often involved the young men's peer groups, and from many of their accounts, sport is an important aspect of the young men's local frameworks and everyday lives. Consider Anwar and Sabir's accounts:

Anwar: A typical day in my life would be just like getting up for uni ... I'm at uni ... and then after that just sort of come home, maybe I walk to a friend's house, so I might stay there till later ... go to the cinema and things like that ... then weekends, like some weekends we go out or something, you know ... to a club or something like that.
                                                            (Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002)

Sabir: ... I'll go to the library. If I've got lectures it's not normally nine o'clock ... when I'm finished there I'll go home, go to my friend's house, watch a DVD or watch a video, play the computer and mess about.
                                                            (Interview, Edinburgh, 10th December 2002)

Alongside university, going out or watching TV, Anwar and Sabir both mention visiting or meeting friends as part of their everyday lives. Many of the young men discussed the importance of their friends during interviews, offering them a sense of identity and belonging. The importance of friends to many of the young men is highlighted by the fact that they are willing to travel (frequently) across the city or into the city centre in order to meet up with friends.

Absences are often as significant as presences in qualitative research, and this is particularly significant given the lack of reference to music in the young men's accounts of their everyday lives. This is surprising given the recent interest in the politics of new Asian dance music, and the importance of an 'exponentially rising youth culture vying for a legitimate place in contemporary British popular culture' (Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma, 1996: 1). Archer (2003: 93) also found that the Muslim boys in her research distanced themselves from Asian music and did not value 'new Asian cool'. Some of the boys in her research suggested that Asian music is for girls. A possible explanation for this lack of reference to Asian music, as Archer suggests, could be that it is an aspect of everyday life overwhelmingly experienced in larger/world cities. The geographical location of this research project may have therefore influenced the young men's views

on music. As I have already mentioned, aspects of social and political life in Scotland have not been racialised in the way that they have been elsewhere in Britain. Therefore, the young men in this research might not feel the need or desire to have new Asian dance music as a form of identification and resistance.

A couple of the young men mentioned that nobody "messed with them", yet there was never any mention of gang membership or violence in their articulations of their everyday lives. Young Muslim men may be perceived as the 'ultimate 'Other' … undesired, irredeemable, alien' (Alexander, 2002a: 564) and part of the 'Asian gang' (Alexander, 2000a), however, this did not feature in the young men's account of their everyday lives. I was put in touch with one young Muslim man, having being warned by a local voluntary sector worker that he was a "problem" and "involved with gangs". His account of his everyday life did not mention such activities, and my conversations with other local people as well as other young Muslim men did not include his name being mentioned as a "trouble-maker". Perhaps the young men did not tell me about their 'Asian gang,' however, I am inclined to agree with Alexander, (2000a: 251) when she states that the young men she spoke to 'do not, in any way, constitute 'a gang''.

3.37   NEGOTIATING COMMUNITY

In focusing upon the scale of the local, it is clear that this comprises a complex web of interweaving layers such as the home, mosque and school as well as participation in sport and leisure activities. As has been shown, the young Muslim men draw on, reproduce and make these local frameworks matter in various ways. In particular, there are a range of in/exclusionary ways that local frameworks are used and work, and this also applies for the young men's understandings of the local community. They often resisted homogenous views of the Asian community during discussions about local everyday life. Consider Faruk and Kabir's statements:

Faruk: … I mean my dad is quite relaxed, he's got that mindset because he was born and bred here you know. Other Asian dads might be different, they might not go out as much to play football or go to cafes or whatever because they have never had that when they were younger, but my dad

did. They don't have that mind set, their mind set is different, they are more like homely, more domestic, you know, rather than go out for food, they would bring it home and have a big kind of dinner

(Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003)

Kabir: … at one time you could say that we were, you know, a nation of shopkeepers and so on but nowadays that's not true. A lot have gone through higher education, involved in graduate jobs and so on. So really the community has diversified, so it's getting more and more difficult to say what is typical

(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

Faruk and Kabir both highlight the complexity and diversity of the Asian community. Faruk suggests that his dad might be different from the fathers of other young Asians and Kabir challenges the idea of a "nation of shopkeepers", noting how many Asians have now completed higher education qualifications and are involved in a range of jobs. This is supported by previous research which highlights an increasing diversity in the economic and employment prospects of ethnic minorities, as well as the increasing numbers of such young people pursuing further and higher education courses (Ahmad, 2001, Hopkins, 2002, Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith and Virdee, 1997). This is also supported by the fact that many ethnic minority families are choosing to move to the suburbs (Peach, 2000), resulting in it being more difficult to say what the typical Asian or Muslim community is.

The heterogeneity of the Muslim community is shown by the various views and experiences that the young men have in terms of sexuality, relationships, and having a girlfriend. One of the interviewees, Omar, is a gay Muslim, who is originally from Pollokshields and now lives in London. He felt compelled to leave home as his father beat him when hearing about his sexuality. He was in an arranged marriage until his wife ran away. He speaks to his mother once a week, although she still struggles to accept his homosexuality. Omar constantly asserted his identity during the interview and at a meeting of gay Muslims stated that "I am gay and I am a Muslim" (Interview, London, 19th May 2002). Omar negotiated his gay Muslim identity by moving away from his family and participating in a support network for Muslims who are questioning their sexual and gender identity. This clearly shows the diversity of the Muslim

community, as well as the tension and conflict that issues of sexuality and relationships can cause (Yip, 2004). It is clear that negotiating local frameworks acted as a powerful exclusionary and disconnecting force in Omar's everyday life and eventually forced him to move away.

The local community worked to exclude Omar, however, some of the young men used this strategically in order to negotiate their relationships with girlfriends. Faruk talked about meeting his girlfriend in the afternoon, and also noted "as far as I know I shouldn't be doing that, but again, from a personal perspective, I have this thing inside me" (Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003). The young men regularly mentioned how they are not allowed to have a girlfriend, and this is reiterated to them through imams at the local mosques, and more persistently from their parents. A minority of the young men commented, like Faruk, that they had a girlfriend. Latif mentions that one of the most challenging aspects of his everyday life is having a girlfriend and managing this relationship alongside family life. Even if he is "not doing stuff", Latif has to carefully negotiate his relationship with his girlfriend which he sees as "natural". Latif suggests that he has to hide, as well as look over his shoulder in order to negotiate the local area. This would suggest that young women and men's behaviour and conduct is monitored by the local community through discourses of appropriate gendered and religious identities:

Jamal: I don't know, my parents are quite broad minded and like they know what
            is acceptable and what isn't acceptable, you know, and they know, and I
            know many parents who aren't like that and it's stone cold
Latif: Yeah there is that guy who didn't shave his moustache because his dad
            told him not to ... I think that the girlfriend is like one of the hardest
            things as well, because you can't bring your girlfriend home if you know
            what I mean
Jamal: Aye, you can't go home and introduce her to your mum
Latif: Yeah, even if you like get on really well, and you are the sweetest guy,
            even if you just like not even doing stuff ... you know you still need to
            hide and you are still looking over your shoulder.
                                              (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003)

Jamal also highlights the multiple nature of the Muslim community by suggesting that his parents are "quite broad minded", acknowledging that others are not. These

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comments also demonstrate that the young men feel excluded from the home as they are not allowed to bring their girlfriends there and so have to use the other spaces of the local area in order to negotiate their relationships. Whilst the local community also polices the behaviour of their extended family members and friends, the young men adopted a number of strategies for managing their relationships with girlfriends, and many of these strategies might not be as easily utilised by young Muslim women, emphasising the continuing significance of understandings of appropriate gendered behaviour. Amar stated that "we've been going out for a year and a half, so another year and I might tell them [his parents] that she is the one I really want, you know" (Interview, Glasgow, 9th July 2003). By travelling around half an hour away by bus from home, Amar manages to hide his relationship with his girlfriend from his parents. Amar also mentions how he would arrange to meet his girlfriend in the city centre, thereby increasing his level of anonymity. The freedom of young Muslim men to travel throughout the city was a privilege rarely offered to young Muslim women who are often expected to work in the local community and frequent the family home (Dwyer, 1999b, Mohammed, 1999). The young men used this freedom to negotiate their relationship with parents, their girlfriends and their religion. This complexity of local frameworks may work to exclude and segregate the young men and led them to use alternative spaces and times in order to negotiate greater freedom and personal choice.

The need to strategically negotiate their relationships with girlfriends is a concern most frequently voiced by the young men from Pollokshields. Their extended families tend to live in the local area, and given the higher levels of ethnic residential clustering, there is an increased likelihood that the young men will meet family friends and relatives as they negotiate the spaces of the local area. The young men who worked part-time in the evening whilst studying used the spaces of the college and university, and that of work, to see their girlfriends. Babar mentions how "going to university, you have to relate to other people, you know, you talk to them and you get on fine" (Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003). The young men therefore used the different scales of their local everyday lives in order to negotiate and manage gender, generational and sexual relations.

The complex scales of the local work to in/exclude the young men, giving them a sense of dis/connection at various times and in different ways. They show a respect and deference for their father's generation, and it is clear that the family offers the young men an important sense of belonging and inclusion. However, at the same time, the expectations of their families can lead the young men to feel disconnected and therefore forced to negotiate their sexuality and relationships in places beyond the scale of the local. So, whilst the local offers the young men an important sense of identification, some of them are strategic in utilising the alternative scales of the urban to negotiate greater socio-spatial independence.

Overall, the scale of the local is a significant aspect of young Muslim men's everyday lives and their constructions of identity and difference, anchored as they are in experiences of home, mosque, school and leisure time. The local neighbourhoods and streets are important to the young men, whilst their daily routines are also stretched across the city, and include travelling to school, college or university, the mosque as well as the youth centre, gym or football pitch. The young men's accounts of their everyday lives are therefore not necessarily connected with one place, but involve a range of different places across the city each of which are negotiated at different times. However, the young men's lives are still overwhelmingly lived out in the local neighbourhoods, at home and in the streets they walk along in order to go to school or get the bus or train into university, work or college. The important contribution that this chapter has made so far has been to explore the ways that the young men use, reproduce, resist and possibly struggle with the ways that local frameworks are experienced. In this context, it is important to reflect on existing literature about Muslim youth and their negotiations of local life.

3.4 LOCAL SCALES, EVERYDAY LIVES AND RESURFACING DUALISMS

The young men's views and experiences of their local networks and negotiations make an important contribution to understandings of Muslim masculinities and the associated geographies of minority ethnic youth. 'Society is mapped onto space'

(Smith, 1999b: 12) as understandings of social divisions often have spatial meanings. In terms of Muslim youth there are a range of dualistic and dichotomous understandings associated with their behaviour and conduct, and these associations are often represented spatially. For example, young Muslims are often represented as experiencing an everyday conflict as they negotiate their dichotomous identities as Scottish and Muslim. They are defined as 'caught between two cultures', between the secular and modern world of the school and the traditional and fundamentalist world of the home (Knott and Khokher, 1993). 'On the one hand there is the social world of family, community and religion - while on the other, there is the western world experienced through institutions like education and the media' (Qureshi and Moores, 1999: 318). This is sometimes viewed as a 'culture clash' where young Asians experience stress and identity conflicts as a result of having to negotiate and manage a number of contradictory, confrontational and competing identities (Brah, 1996). These resurfacing dualisms are often stated as continuity or change, alienation or assimilation, tradition or modernity, fundamentalist or secular, parental culture or wider society.

These dualisms associate the home with tradition, religion and ethnicity, in contrast to the school which is modern, secular and western (Dwyer, 1999b). These binaries are geographical in nature because they can be mapped onto space. Young Muslim women are associated with the parental culture, the family and tradition and so are allied with the private spaces of the home. Young Muslim men are represented as experiencing generational conflict, affiliated with the street (Keith, 1995), and therefore occupying public space.

> 'Feminine space is the space of the home. It includes spaces for women and for their close male relatives, and is a domain into which the entry of other men is restricted. Spaces outside the home are largely masculine' (Mohammad, 1999: 230).

This division of public and private is familiar to many geographers:

The masculine	The feminine
Public	Private
Outside	Inside

Work	Home
Work	Leisure/pleasure
Production	Consumption
Independence	Dependence
Power	Lack of power

(McDowell, 1999: 12)

The categorisation of male public space and female private space has been problematised because the boundary between public and private space is often blurred, and there are 'multiple meanings attached to many familiar dichotomies' (Bondi, 1998: 161, see also Staeheli, 1996). Despite the problems associated with such dualisms, they appear frequently in what Alexander (1998: 440) calls the 'dominant imagination'. The dominant imagination is similar to what Dwyer (1999b: 53) refers to as 'widely held shared beliefs, or 'commonsense' understandings, which are repeatedly reproduced through different media and institutions'. Many young Muslim women, for example, have gendered expectations placed upon them in the family setting. These relate mainly to their role as future mothers and the expectation that they will reproduce the 'parental culture' (Dwyer, 2000: 477). The 'dominant imagination therefore expects young women to uphold the 'family's religious and cultural integrity', which is reinforced through an emphasis on izzat, or family honour (Dwyer, 2000: 478). In both the western and Muslim imagination there is therefore a strong connection between Muslim women and the home.

When Muslim women enter spaces outside of the home, these dualisms resurface in order to justify the monitoring of the young women's behaviour by young men and the local community. The local community is a public space and so is often controlled by men. There is evidence that young Muslim men utilised discourses of community in order to monitor the behaviour and appearance of young women (Mohammad, 1999, Dwyer, 1999b).

> Many of the young women interviewed were acutely aware of the ways in which these constructions of community worked to ensure that their behaviour was monitored by people beyond their immediate family within prescribed norms of appropriate gendered behaviour (Dwyer, 1999b: 59).

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The local community is a space that young Muslim women enter knowing that they will be under the surveillance of young men, as well as neighbours, relatives and friends of the family. This monitoring by the local community is to ensure the sexual 'purity' of young women (Dwyer, 2000: 479). This ensures that young Muslim women maintain their loyalty to tradition and parental culture, and hence their association with private space. Young Muslim women who choose to enter the masculine spaces of the labour market or higher education system may experience heightened levels of policing and monitoring by the local community. They might be restricted to taking jobs close to home that only involve work during the daytime, and they may be limited to applying to local universities and colleges (Ahmad, 2001, Mohammad, 1999).

The geographies of young Muslim men are therefore dualistically related to that of the young women. 'Asian identities are increasingly reinvented through new structures of generation and gender, positioning young Asian men increasingly in the 'public' domain, with its implications of social surveillance and control' (Alexander, 2000b: 124). Young Muslim men appear in the dominant imagination as violently patriarchal, unemployed and involved in crime (Archer and Yamashita, 2003, Dunn 2001). They are the society's 'ultimate Other' (Phoenix 1997: 7), part of the rise of the Asian youth folk devil (Alexander, 2000a, O'Donnell and Sharpe, 2000) and in conflict with their parent's generation (Alexander, 2002b). Associated with deviance and violence, young Muslim men suffer due to the triple pathology of race, gender and generation. There has been an "overuse' of Muslim schoolgirls in social research' (Ahmad, 2001: 142) and Muslim women are often seen as a 'looking glass through which to view the inner working of Muslim society' (Nagel, 2001: 63). For this reason, the voices of minority ethnic men remain neglected from much social science research (Archer, 2001), and one of the main aims of this research project is to explore the geographies, identities and everyday lives experienced by young Muslim men.

Claire Alexander (1998, 2000a, 2000b) has documented the rise of the 'Asian gang'. 'These are youths wielding weapons, alienated from their families, their communities and the wider society, locked into a cycle of inevitable but meaningless

violence, low self-esteem and self-destruction' (Alexander, 2000a: 126). This 'street culture' is 'male dominated and highly macho', and has increased significantly in recent years (Khan, 1997: 18, in Macey, 1999: 848). The young men place importance on appropriate gender roles, family authority, dress and marriage as a method whereby they can control the freedom and choice of young women (Macey, 1999). Young Muslim men are portrayed as policing the streets, often using aggression and violence, and closely examining the behaviour and conduct of their female counterparts.

Therefore, these resurfacing dualisms place young men on the secular and Western public spaces of the street, and so they are portrayed as conflicting with their parent's culture. Young men are represented as out of control and unrelenting to the demands of their parents, as well as other community leaders. The riots in Bradford and Oldham in April and May 2001 were put down to generational conflict by a range of commentators as Alexander notes below. These young Muslim men are both produced by and stand outside of their parent's culture:

> The riots were thus presented as being about youth (specifically young men), and in particular as being about intergenerational breakdown and conflict (breakdown of authority/conflict with community leader/elders). The spectres here are of a 'between two cultures' identity crisis that continues to dominate discussions of Asian youth identities (Alexander, 2002b: 7).

The young Muslim men involved are in a 'damned if you do, damned if you don't position', and are often represented as being closely related with British 'yob' cultures, and too distanced from their parent's generation. Yet, to be identified with their parent's places them in the 'insufficiently assimilated' parallel lives spotlight (Alexander, 2002b: 8). These dominant discourses have been challenged directly by the young men in their accounts of the respect that the have for their parent's generation, and so young Muslim men are not always excluded as a result of generational conflict and breakdown.

The discourse of aggressive and violent behaviour poses particular problems for young Muslim men as they negotiate other spaces. Muslim males suffer the highest rates of racism at school, and have been identified as posing particular educational problems (Archer, 2001). 'Modood thus contrasts Indian 'achievers' with the

disadvantaged 'believers' (1992: 42), the Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi 'underclass' of the notorious Panorama documentary, 'Purdah in the Underclass" (Alexander, 1998: 440).

Young Muslim women are simultaneously represented as passive victims of oppressive cultures, and are expected to uphold the integrity of the family culture. They represent continuity, tradition and home, whilst young Muslim men are identified by change, modernity and 'the street'. Young Muslim men are aggressive members of the 'Asian gang', standing in opposition to their parent's generation. These resurfacing dualisms are both spatial and gendered. Moreover, these dualisms also resurface in other debates about the Asian presence in Britain: 'continuity or change, tradition or modernity, parental culture or wider society, alienation or assimilation, Muslim or British' (Alexander, 1998: 443). I have represented this in Figure 6.

These common-sense dualistic understandings of the everyday lives of young Muslims are persistently reinforced through the reiteration and reproduction of social constructions:

> Social constructions of identity are given life through their articulation. Through repetition they can achieve a remarkable durability. In a sedimentary-like process the reinscription of social constructions ... can come to be widely accepted as unproblematic, and as a natural given (Dunn, 2001: 292).

The dichotomies mentioned above are constantly yet subtly reinforced by television representations, newspaper and magazine images and other institutions (Said, 1997, Dwyer, 1998, Dunn, 2001). Positive images of Muslim youth may circulate at all levels, however it is important to consider how these representations are interpreted (Dwyer, 1998). Politicians, teachers and others who associate with the Right also reinforce these binaries in a more blatant fashion through their everyday language, behaviour and attitudes. The Right can justify their behaviour arguing that Britain is tolerant of 'different cultures and races'. However, through the language of multiculturalism and anti-racism people can disguise, and even attempt to justify, their 'feelings of racial superiority' (Malek, 1997: 144-145). Young Muslim men are left in a situation where

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they are negatively represented, yet cannot complain because of multiculturalism and anti-racism.

Figure 6

Resurfacing dualisms

Themes	
Continuity	Change
Alienation	Assimilation
Tradition	Modernity
Fundamentalist	Secular
Parental Culture	Wider Society
Gender	
Feminine	Masculine
Spaces	
Asia	Scotland
Home	School
Home	Street
Private	Public
Inside	Outside
Race/Religion	
Muslim	Non-Muslim/Scottish
Asian	White

These resurfacing dualisms and dichotomies have been challenged, resisted and reinforced through this exploration of young Muslim men's local frameworks and everyday lives. The assumption that young Muslims are experiencing a 'culture clash' or are 'caught between two cultures' infers that there is only one way of being Scottish and one way of being Muslim. Instead, it is well recognised that identities are complex, fluid and changing (Smith, 1999a), and so there is ground for considering the possibility

that identities may interact and fuse. Being 'caught between two cultures' represents young Asians as 'disoriented, confused and atomised individuals'. Such portrayals are not supported by evidence (Brah, 1996: 41), and this exploration of the young men's everyday local lives supports Avtar Brah's assertions.

Young Muslim women might be policed as they negotiate the spaces of the local community, yet those spaces may also act a source of strength. In adopting the notion of the 'Muslim community', young women in Dwyer's research were able to challenge their parent's prohibitions through the 'languages of Islam' (1999b: 64). Moreover, in negotiating the binary between traditional and western, young Muslim women may choose to wear the headscarf strategically as they negotiate the spaces of the home, street and school. Some young women wear the headscarf to school, and remove it when they are actually at school. Young women suggested that wearing the headscarf could 'mean nothing about the sexual and moral propriety of the wearer', and some young women attracted 'unwelcome attention from male students' when wearing the headscarf (Dwyer, 1999c: 18-19). Although the young men in this research voiced a number of sexist stereotypes about Muslim women and policed their conduct, some of the young men displayed a respect for women, and in particular they held their mothers in high regard. The young men also resisted dominant understandings that suggest that Muslim women should stay at home stating that Islam allows women to work and keep all their earning to themselves. Although such statements highlight how the young men police the behaviour of young women through religious discourses, they do work to destabilise commonsense understandings that represent Muslim women as victims of oppressive cultures who are forced to stay at home.

Substitutes to the resurfacing dualisms are also prevalent in research about young Muslim men. It has been suggested that ethnic minority masculinity may be both a form of resistance to racism as well as a patriarchal response to the powerlessness of suffering from racism (Archer, 2001). This opens up space for alternative understandings of Muslim masculinities beyond those that see all young Muslim men as aggressive gang members. For example, 'Asian' young men have been conceptualised as effeminate, as more 'middle-class, and as 'behavers and achievers' in school' (Archer, 2001: 81). The

apparent tendency of Asian boys to be smaller than other boys, coupled with their desire for careers in technology and/or business, has reinforced this idea (O'Donnell and Sharpe, 2000). Moreover, the young men consulted in this research did display a form of patriarchal masculinity in their policing of the behaviour of young Muslim women, yet these masculinities seem far removed from the aggressive, street-based 'Asian gang' that is an important aspect of everyday commonsense understandings of Muslim masculinity. This chapter has shown that the young men adopt a range of contradictory masculine subject positions and they place a central emphasis on providing for the family and participating in sports, although overall Muslim masculinities are complex, multiple and multi-faceted.

3.5   CONCLUSIONS: LOCAL FUTURES

This chapter has offered a space to explore the geographies of gender relations amongst Muslim youth, focusing upon the opinions and attitudes of young Muslim men in the context of the local scales and frameworks of the young men's everyday lives. The geographies of Muslim youth in the 'dominant imagination' place young women in the private and traditional spaces of the home, and young men in the public spaces of the street and school. These gendered spaces are interconnected with the association of Muslim women as submissive, conventional and adhering to the parental culture, with young men as occupying the secular spaces of western society in conflict with their parent's desires. The local scales of the home, street, community and school therefore raise particular issues for Muslim youth as their teachers, parents, peers and others possess a range of commonsense understandings about appropriate gendered behaviour. In this sense, the scales of the local (in the home, in the mosque, in the community or at school) pose a range of potentially in/exclusionary opportunities and possibilities in the young people's everyday lives.

The generational conflict between young Muslim men and their parents and community leaders is particularly strong in media and popular discourse (Alexander, 2002b). Whilst there was some indication of conflict between the young men and their parents, the young men appear to have a general respect for the hard-working culture of

their parents' generation, and they were open in admitting that they did not work as hard as their parents, and preferred to relax more. Sport, and in particular football and cricket are important aspects of the everyday lives of young Muslim men, and this is something that differs from their parent's generation, but does not necessarily cause conflict. Some of the young men adopted a number of strategies to hide their relationships with their girlfriends from their parents, and overall the young men challenge homogenous views of the Muslim community. In this sense the scale of the local is an in/exclusionary force. The young men feel a sense of connection and admiration for their fathers, yet gendered expectations about sexuality exclude and segregate the young men to the extent that they are forced to move away or use the other spaces of the city in order to negotiate their relationships.

The so-called crisis of masculinity has identified minority ethnic men as experiencing particular educational problems (Archer, 2001). The young men who resisted the existence of a crisis of masculinity did so through a number of different arguments. The upper-class young men suggested that women had nothing better to do than study, and it was also suggested that many women still experience difficulties, especially young lesbian Muslims. Some of the men agreed that women were doing better at school and work, and suggested that the insignificance of sport in the lives of the young women afforded them more time to study. The young men were also more likely to perform a macho masculinity that involved getting into trouble, mucking about and trying to impress girls. There is a sense that the young men feel marginalised and excluded by the discourse of the crisis of masculinity and the need to perform better at school, yet they choose to distance themselves from this by giving priority to sport and leisure.

In discussing the role of Muslim women, many of the young men used what I have termed sexist equality. The young men suggest that women and men were equal in Islam as they concurrently drew upon gendered stereotypes about the role of women and their associations with the home. The young men adopted contradictory masculine subject positions arguing that Muslim women were the height of respect, were allowed to keep all the money they earned and had various community facilities provided for

them that were not available to men. Moreover, the young men suggested the women in the West were also oppressed and so it was contradictory to suggest that Muslim women were as well.

Overall, the views of the young men have challenged and disrupted as well as reinforced and confirmed some of the resurfacing dualisms associated with gender relations in Islam. In doing so this chapter contributes towards the re-imagination of the Muslim community along more diverse lines. The young men did reinforce patriarchal assumptions about the role of women in Islam, yet, from the comments of Faruk, it may be that time will change this:

Faruk: … I mean I am lucky enough to be third generation. I mean if you were to do this interview in the next fifty years you would notice a huge, a lot of difference. You would see the women out more, I mean you see that now, it is all happening now, and people tend to forget that.

(Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003)

4

NATIONAL

Kabir: … Scotland has its own flavour, you know, compared to the rest of the UK … I think Scottish people have their own kind of sense of humour … I suppose it's got its own unique sort of banter, and, pace of life as well.

(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Kabir, like many Scots, sees Scotland as being distinctive from the rest of the United Kingdom, not just in its geography, but in its sociality and way of life. Focusing on the scale of the national, this chapter builds on young Muslim men's experiences and understandings about Scotland and Scottish national identity to highlight the complex ways that the scaling of nation works to in/exclude the young men. I am concerned with how they themselves interpret the nation, as well as with how others use this to dis/connect the young men from Scottishness. It is important to recognise that 'nation',

like race, is a social and political construction and so is not an essential or immutable entity:

> Demonstrating that 'race' and nation mean quite different things in different places underlines the notion that both concepts are *social constructions*, the product of specific historical and geographical forces, rather than biologically given ideas whose meaning is dictated by nature (Jackson and Penrose, 1993: 1).

This does not mean that 'nation' is a meaningless concept. Instead, as Penrose (1995) suggests, it might be helpful to focus on the processes associated with the formation of nations rather than taking for granted the category of nation itself. In this chapter I pay attention to the way the national scale is drawn on and experienced to provide a sense of belonging and to resist racist exclusion. In particular, I show how racist threats are handled through discussions of Scottish belonging.

This chapter explores the different ways that the scale of the nation is experienced, understood and managed by young Muslim men in Scotland. In particular, I focus on the young men's discussions about politics, everyday lives and identities in order to demonstrate that different ways that the scale of the nation is used by the young men, as well as by others, in a range of in/exclusionary ways. Overall, this chapter considers one of the key issues of this thesis by demonstrating how being Muslim and being Scottish co-exist and therefore how Muslim identities are framed by Scotland as a national space. Initially, I explore these concerns with reference to national and religious identities.

4.2 NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES

In Connections (Winter 1997/98), the Quarterly from the Commission for Racial Equality, Rowena Arshad notes, 'there's no doubt that ethnic minorities [living in Scotland] see themselves as Scottish. The question is, will they be allowed to be?' On the front cover of the same issue of Connections (see Figure 7) is a photograph of two 'Asian Scots at a wedding in Stornoway' with the caption, 'New Scotland, new Scots?' Over six years later, concerns about race, Scottishness and identity are still a central

concern as Connections (Spring 2004), summarising the recent research by Hussain and Miller (2003; 2004) notes that thirty nine per cent of Pakistanis in Scotland feel that there is 'fairly serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland.

The aim of this section is to explore young Muslim men's understandings of their religious and national identities. In doing this, I employ Anthias' ideas about narratives of location and dislocation to look at the ways in which the young men consulted in this research discuss, describe and disclose their identities, and the meanings, understandings and places associated with these identifications. After summarising Anthias' ideas, I explore the complex ways in which the young men feel that they belong, or do not belong, within a Scottish identity. Their narratives of a Scottish Muslim identity contribute to the continuing problematisation of the notion of hybridity.

4.2.1 NARRATIVES OF (DIS) LOCATION AND POSITIONALITY

Debates surrounding the cultural politics of identities include the theorisation of hybridity and diaspora (see for example, Brah, 1996; Mitchell, 1997). These terms have offered researchers the space to question traditional approaches to understandings of ethnicity, migration and identities and in so doing have challenged essentialist and static understandings of markers of social difference. Such approaches stress the importance of a new Scottish Muslim identity which 'is not confined to an ethnic group, but is an amalgam, neither purely religious nor specifically ethnic, that may be linked to forging identity as a culture of resistance' (Anthias, 2001: 626; see also Anthias, 2002a).

Despite persistent reminders that all forms of identity are constantly being contested, made and remade, it has been suggested that "identity' has overrun its limits' (Anthias, 2002b: 495). Floya Anthias provides a powerful critique of identity suggesting that the term is ambiguous and involves a range of conceptual problems. Furthermore, the term also 'reintroduces essentialism through the back door' (Anthias, 2002b: 494). Similar criticisms are also made of hybridity (Anthias, 1998, 2001) and in particular, conceptual issues arise when the notions of diaspora and hybridity are linked with anti-racism (Anthias, 2002c). Anthias (2002b: 494) notes:

Figure 7

Two Asian Scots at a wedding in Stornoway.

New Scotland, new Scots?
Devolution and racial equality

Regeneration and racial equality

Are ethnic minority organisations missing out on funding?

The death of a diverse society

How nationalism killed cultural harmony in Yugoslavia

Second city pioneers

The future of RECs

Source: Connections (Winter 1997/98)
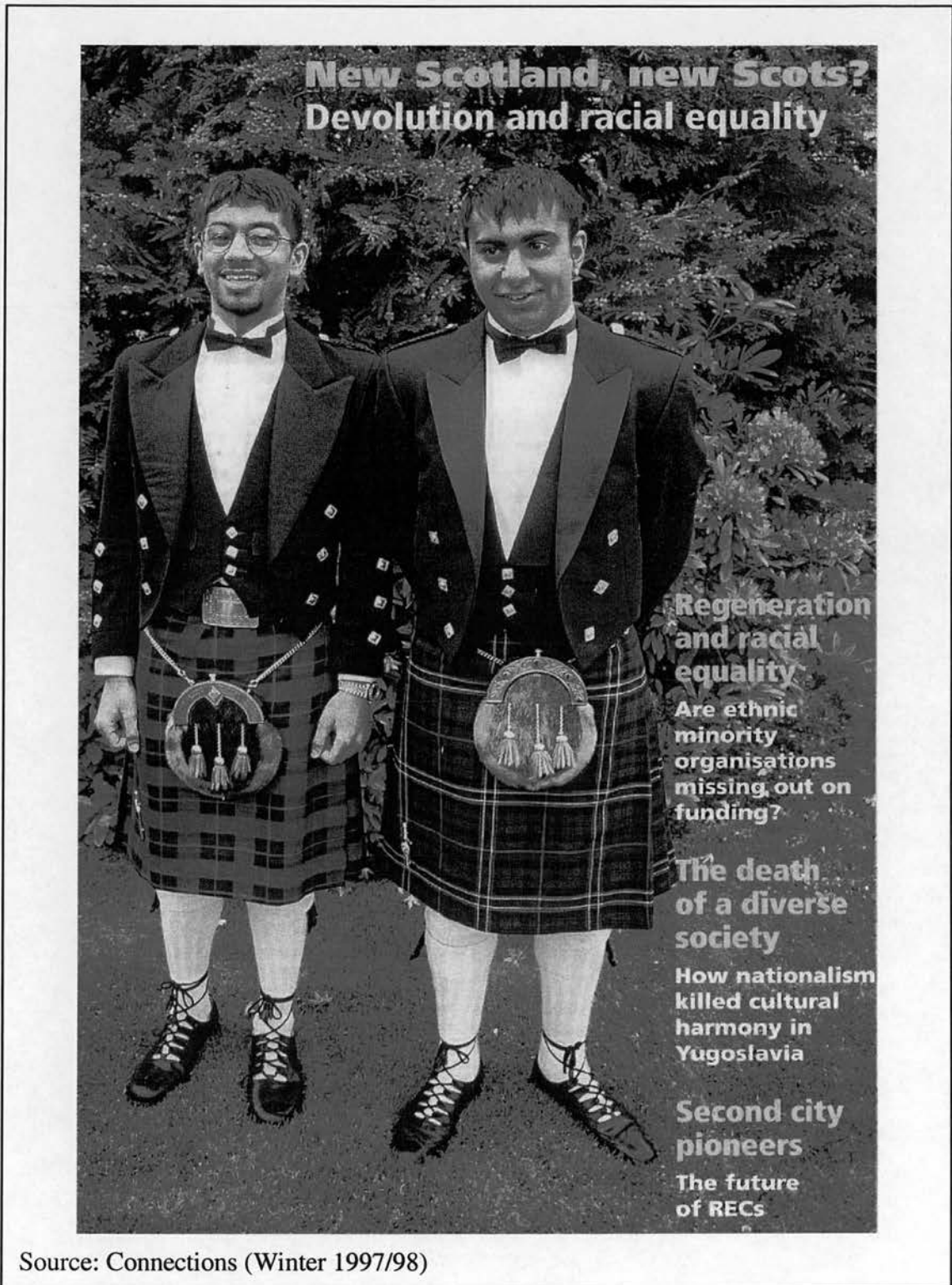
Abandoning the notion of identity as a heuristic device does not mean that identity is no longer treated as socially meaningful, since individuals and groups not only may, but often *do* use the term to signify a range of processes, ideas and experiences relating to themselves and others.

Anthias proposes that researchers focus on narratives of location, dislocation and positionality and so problematise the status of identity, whilst also utilising identity as a meaningful concept. Focusing on accounts of location, dislocation and translocation means that research participants will be able to recount notions of belonging and so tell a story about the social categories that they use to place themselves in particular places and times. 'Such narratives are not given or static, but are emergent, produced interactionally and contain elements of contradiction and struggle, that is, they are not unitary' (Anthias, 2001: 633). This emphasises the situated nature of claims and qualities, the creation of these in different times and places, and recognition of the narration as an action or performance.

I do not completely agree with Anthias' criticisms of identity in that we need labels and markers of identities to help us understand and classify people and society, and even if academics are to abandon the notion of identity, people will still be classified either by others or by themselves as belonging (or not) to certain categories. Perhaps the issue is not the use of and existence of identity labels, but the way these labels are used, understood, resisted and challenged. Jan Penrose (1995: 401) makes a similar point in highlighting that 'individual identity formation' is relevant to all human beings, and whilst categories are important, we also need to look at the processes that create, sustain and support them. However, I think Anthias' suggestions are particularly useful in their application towards a deeper understanding of identities and what people mean when they define themselves or others as belonging (or not) to certain social groups. Focusing on narratives of identity, I explore aspects of the young men's approaches to nationhood. The ways that the scaling of nation offers a form of identification for the young men is therefore discussed, as are the various ways that they take this up or resist it.

4.2.2 NARRATIVES OF NATION AND RELIGION: BELONGING, EXCLUSION AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

People living in Scotland are seen to give higher priority to being Scottish over being British (McCrone, 2002a) as Figure 8 highlights. However, this is a simplified understanding of identities as it is focused on their prioritisation, rather than on their variations in different places and times, and their fluid and contested nature. An example from my own research emphasises this point. At the end of the focus groups, I asked the young men individually, using the Moreno question (see Figure 8), to clarify which statement best described how they see themselves. In line with the previous work of David McCrone, I found that the young men tended to give priority to their Scottish identities. Analyses such as this are thought to provide important information about the ways in which people order and prioritise their national identities, yet such a line of questioning forces people to choose between two identity markers that they do not necessarily need to choose between. Much of this research does not go far enough, as it simply asks people to prioritise their various identifications, leaving the researcher to make a number of assertions about what the identity choices actually mean. A person might choose to identify as a 'more Scottish than British', yet the meanings, understandings and interpretations of such an identity will vary greatly between different individuals, groups and places.

The young Muslim men living in Glasgow overwhelmingly selected the first two options as seen in Figure 8. Whilst the young Muslim men in Edinburgh also tended to prioritise Scottishness over Britishness, some of them felt that Britishness was equally or more important than Scottishness. This provides a direct challenge to McCrone's (2002a) assertion that the prioritisation of being Scottish holds true for social class and region. From the limited data produced from this research it is clear that social class does influence how people feel about being Scottish. Also, although David McCrone ignores the significance of regional variations, geography matters, as young Muslim men living in Glasgow appear to prioritise being Scottish more than young Muslim men living in Edinburgh do. This further clarifies the limited usefulness of the data in Figure 8, and points to the potential of Anthias' (2001) ideas about narratives of (dis)location

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and positionality in obtaining a deeper understanding of the complex identity claims made by individuals.

Figure 8

Which of these best describes how you see yourself?

Year and responses (%) → Options↓	1986	1992	1997	1999	2000	2002/3
Scottish not British	39	19	23	32	37	36
More Scottish than British	30	40	38	34	31	42
Equally Scottish and British	19	33	27	23	21	13
More British than Scottish	4	3	4	3	3	7
British not Scottish	6	3	4	4	4	2
None of these	2	1	2	4	4	0
Base	1021	957	882	1482	1663	45

Source: 1986-2000, McCrone (2002a), 2002/3, Hopkins (2004)

The information in Figure 8 also ignores the possibility of syncretic and hybrid forms of identification. A study of 14-17 year old school pupils from Glasgow who had a Pakistani heritage found that whilst 97 per cent identified themselves as Muslim, the bi-cultural identity labels of Scottish Pakistani and Scottish Muslim were particularly popular (Saeed, Blain and Forbes, 1999). Similarly, in a study about the English and Pakistani populations of Scotland, Hussain and Miller (2003) found that 40 per cent of the Pakistani population chose to be identified as Scottish Muslims when offered hyphenated identities of different kinds. This identity choice was also strengthened amongst those Pakistanis who were born in Scotland with 50 per cent of this group identifying as Scottish Muslims. Whilst these explorations of identity make important contributions to debates about terms such as diaspora and hybridity, they still tell us relatively little about what the researchers, or more importantly the research participants, mean by identifying themselves or others as Scottish, Scottish Muslims or Scottish

Pakistanis. Further exploration into the meanings, understandings and (re)interpretations of such identities is needed.

Understandings of Scottishness and what it means to be Scottish vary greatly amongst the research participants. Bradley (2003: 20) confirms: 'not everyone born in Scotland wants to be imagined as a Scot and even if they do, the nature of this Scottishness can vary in relation to ethnicity, geography and religion, among other influences'. Being a Scottish Muslim, as many of the young men consulted in this research see themselves, actually tells us very little about the young men consulted unless we are more fully aware of their understanding of what it means to be both Scottish and Muslim (and therefore a Scottish Muslim). This is the main reason why I explored understandings of Scottishness and Muslimness in focus group and interview discussions with the young men.

A deeper exploration into national identity formation might seek to identify the markers being used by people to assert their Scottishness. Kiely, Bechhofer, Stewart and McCrone (2001: 36) found that there are a number of markers that people use in this regard: place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, length of residence, upbringing and education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress and commitment to place. All of the young men consulted in this research narrated an affiliation to Scottishness, apart from two young men who identified as English and one as Welsh. However, in asserting Scottish national identities, the young men tended to utilise markers such as place of birth, length of residence, a commitment to place as well as upbringing and accent. The comments of Rehman, Anwar and Mohammed highlight how the young men used some of these markers to assert their Scottishness:

Rehman: I was born here, and I was brought up here
                                    (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Anwar: I was brought up here, I'm more used to like the Scottish way of life
                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002)

Mohammed: Well I've got like a Scottish accent
                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002)

This provides a useful indication of the markers the young men use to construct their Scottish national identities. However, the ideas of Anthias (2001) clarify the limits of such an approach as they only look at the claims of belonging and not at the narratives of location and dislocation which provide a more intimate understanding of how the young men really feel about being (or not being) Scottish. Also, to simply outline the claims to national identity made by the young men misrepresents the diversity of their views on Scottishness, the other identities and national affiliations that they possess and their complex experiences of belonging, in/exclusion and multiple identities.

Jacobson (1997) notes that two young men in her research suggest that while patriotism is positive, nationalism is haram (forbidden). In this respect, the affiliation of Muslims is regarded as primarily focused on their religion rather than the nation in which they reside, thus linking them with the umma (global Islamic community). Talib stated "… I think properly Muslims aren't supposed to have a nationality …" (Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002), and he strongly disagreed with the constant world-wide struggle over national boundaries. Talib was the only young man consulted in this research who questioned the significance of nationality. Perhaps the fact that Talib had recently moved from England to live in Scotland, and identified as English, heightened his awareness of the exclusions that national affiliations can create.

Out of the seventy young men consulted in this research, Faruk constructed a narrative highlighting that he clearly identifies as Scottish, and I particularly recall this interview because of the strength of Faruk's feelings about Scotland:

Faruk: Everything is Scottish about me; I mean what can I say. Yeah, I'm a
            practising Muslim, and I practice Islam, but that doesn't mean I'm not
            Scottish. I do all the things that other Scottish people do. I play football,
            I go out, I do this and that. There is nothing that I can say is not Scottish
            about me
                                                   (Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003)

Faruk differentiates himself from the other young Muslim men because his father is Scottish and his mother is from Pakistan. Faruk narrates his location within Scottishness because he identifies as mixed-race and this means that his skin colour is lighter than his

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friends. As Scottish, Faruk stresses than his Muslim identity is also a part of this. As such, Faruk is locating himself within a broad multicultural, multi-faith vision of Scottishness, and so challenges the possibility that his national and religious identities are mutually exclusive. Faruk is claiming scale by locating himself as Scottish and Muslim, and is simultaneously resisting the possibility that his Scottishness and Muslimness are incompatible.

In terms of being Scottish and Muslim, Kabir notes:

Kabir: I don't think there's a tension at all. Em, some people, including some Muslims, want to create tension where there isn't. I'm Scottish Muslim because I'm Scottish and I was born in Scotland. So it's my culture, it's my background, it's my home. Muslim is my goal. Being Muslim is my philosophy or my belief system. It doesn't contradict my nationality in any way because they deal with different questions, you know. It's like being a red square, sorry that's a bad example, take a blue square. Red square is an alcoholic drink isn't it? … that's not on purpose, I just want to differentiate. A blue square, it's blue and it's a square. It's being a square doesn't interfere with it being blue. It's being blue doesn't interfere with it being a square. They're just nothing to do with each other but they complement each other and they make a complete blue square. If it wasn't blue it wouldn't be a blue square, if you see what I mean. So being a Scottish Muslim, you know, both of them go together and they make me who I am. They're part of what I am. They're not even complete of what I am because it doesn't describe my character or personality but they don't contradict each other in any way

(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

Kabir discusses his location within a Scottish national identity based on the markers of birth, upbringing and experiences of everyday life. He resists the mutual exclusivity of his national and religious identities stating that he is a Scottish Muslim. However, there is a contradictory message in this narrative. The analogy of a Scottish Muslim being like a "blue square" suggests that being Scottish and Muslim are inherently linked identities, and they are mutually inclusive in that they go together and make Kabir the person that he is. However, Kabir simultaneously constructs a narrative that suggests that being Scottish and being Muslim have nothing to do with each other and deal with different questions. Perhaps this suggests that there are different facets of identity that

might be more or less salient in different places and times, and in different contexts. In discussions about Scotland, both Kabir and Faruk claim their sense of belonging and connection with the national scale, along with clarifying the importance of their religious identities. Yet, in discussions about other scales the young men tended to prioritise their Muslim identities, thus demonstrating the difference that scale makes. Muslim Scots could possibly be a more appropriate identity label highlighting the importance of the young men's religious identities, coupled with their claims to the national scale.

Even though the young men tend to classify themselves as Scottish Muslims, this description of their identifications omits other senses of belonging, and potential linkages with other locations and places. Kabir notes that his Scottish Muslim identity only describes a part of him as it does not include his personality or other characteristics. With reference to this, consider this focus group extract:

Nadeem:	Nobody can say to you that you are not Scottish or you're not this or that, I mean if you were born here
Latif:	Would you classify yourself as Scottish?
Jamal:	Who are you talking to?
Latif:	All of yous?
Nadeem:	Half and half ... I was born in Pakistan right, but I've been brought up here so I consider myself half and half
Latif:	See I usually go on holiday quite a lot to my country, Morocco. I find that when I go there, they are saying that I am adapting to all these Scottish ways and all these sorts of things, you know what I mean. I say "what Scottish ways?" They're like "Oh, you're so Scottish." When I come here they're like saying that I am so Moroccan. You don't actually notice it, it's just like small things here and there, they can't even tell you what it is, you know what I mean.
Jamal:	Our parents were born in Pakistan. I was born in England, but it was only for about two weeks before I moved to Scotland. I would actually call myself ... I would say that I'm Scottish because I'm from Scotland ... and ... yeah, but when I do go to Pakistan it's all this stuff about me being Scottish, but they don't know what they are talking about

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003)

This account highlights the importance of places other than Scotland in the lives of the young men consulted. Nadeem sees himself as half Scottish and half Pakistani because he was born in Pakistan. The other young men were born in Scotland yet still associate

with the country of their parents' birth through regular visits to, in this case, Pakistan and Morocco. This narrative also explores the subtlety of exclusion in that the young men can be both excluded by others and/or can choose to exclude themselves. Latif is made to feel different in Scotland as people highlight his connections with Morocco, yet when he visits his parents' country of birth they comment on his Scottishness. Latif sees Morocco as his country yet identifies positively with Scotland, and Jamal makes a similar point about his connections with Pakistan. In exploring the young men's narratives of (dis)location, it is clear that they are more than Muslim Scots as they are also located in an international web of connections, relationships and bonds with the countries of their parents (or grandparents) birth, or even their own country of birth. This connects with the ideas in Dyck's (2004) research about her participants 'imagining and remembering India' and a range of other places connected with their lives or that of their close friends and family. The young men have multiple identities, feelings of belonging and exclusion and so singular and hybrid forms of identity classification have limited value. This demonstrates the process of scaling in operation as the young men are experiencing a series of dis/connections and in/exclusions in the context of different scales.

Highlighting the significance of these international connections, Omar narrates his identity as Scottish even although he was born in England, has a Punjabi heritage and now lives in London:

Omar: … I mean people come up to me and say "where are you from?" and the first thing that I say to them is that I am from Glasgow, and they say "no, no, where are you from?" I then understand that they are trying to get at my ethnic origins. So then I say to them that I was born in Huddersfield. Then they say "oh so you're English" and I say that I may well have been born in England and lived there for two years, but I would describe myself as Scottish … but then if they want to know about my ethnic origins I would tell them about my grandparents … my ethnic origin is Punjabi. I don't want to say Pakistani because it's not Pakistani because Pakistan was created afterwards. My grandparents were born in Indian Punjab, and I have a lot in common with Punjabis, and more in common with Hindu and Sikh Punjabis than I do with Muslims from Pakistan, so my roots are in Punjab and the other language that I speak is Punjabi …

Omar identifies as a Scottish Muslim, yet in this extract he narrates a strong link with the Punjab through his grandparents. The significance of this link is strengthened because Omar speaks Punjabi and so he has connections with people who come from this area regardless of their religious affiliations. This shows that, given the confidence of Omar's Muslim identity and his associations with Scotland, there are still strong connections with other places. So, although Omar identifies with Scotland, his identities are also influenced by his relationships with other scales through his family heritage and language.

The bonds and connections that young men feel beyond their identification as Scottish Muslims are bound up in a complex web of in/exclusions imposed by the young men, their families and other people. The narratives of the young men, although highlighting their feelings of Scottishness, also emphasise their feelings of difference and otherness. These performances of otherness, or narratives of difference, are what I think exclude the young men from belonging completely within a Scottish national identity, and so contribute to the sometimes fragile nature of their affiliations with the national scale. These discourses of otherness concentrated most often on their feelings of difference on the grounds of race and religion. Amin highlights the complexity of his feelings of exclusion noting that he could have chosen to participate in certain activities but instead chose to exclude himself:

Amin: Well I wasn't made to feel different but I chose to feel different … I mean I could have done that if I wanted but I didn't

(Interview, Edinburgh, 22nd July 2002)

Arif stresses that although his beliefs are important to him, they do not make him isolated from the rest of society. This narrative appears to challenge the misrepresentation of Muslims, highlighting how Scottish Muslims, whilst possessing a strong Islamic affiliation also have links with Scottish culture and society. In challenging the representation that Muslims choose to isolate themselves from society,

Arif also narrates his feelings of otherness in that he sees his religious convictions as being fundamentally different to non-Muslims:

Arif: Although we do have fundamentally different beliefs, we try to fit in as much as we can with the rest of society. We don't try to isolate ourselves. We acknowledge that we don't compromise our beliefs, but at the same time we want to interact with other people ... I think a lot of people get the impression that a lot of people like to isolate themselves from the rest of society and that really isn't the case. I mean I think the best example to look at is if you've got a football match between Scotland and another European nation or whatever, although we are Muslims or whatever, we are still inclined to, we still support our home nation. I have always supported Scotland in a football match, even against Muslim countries, I still support Scotland in a football match
(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 30th April 2003)

This appears to challenge the strength of hybrid identities such as Scottish Muslim, as religio-national affiliations involve a complex range of claims, feelings and emotions about belonging and otherness, in/exclusion and dis/location.

Talib narrates his otherness and exclusion emphasising that his skin colour and English accent make him feel that he is not accepted. This is an important point, especially in the context of recent research which has highlighted how English people are discriminated against in Scotland, often on the grounds of their accent (Findlay, Hoy and Stockdale, 2004; Mcintosh, Sim and Robertson, 2004a; 2004b). Even if Talib was to desert his religion, he would still be regarded as an outsider, and clearly feels excluded by others rather than choosing to be different himself. This powerful narrative of exclusion highlights the significance of accent, and the continuing salience of race as a marker of social difference as Scottishness is equated with whiteness:

Peter: So, in what ways do you not feel accepted?
Talib: The first things is my colour, and secondly my accent, you know what I mean ... thirdly if I was to abandon my Muslim morals and things yeah, and I was to become like totally westernised, I still wouldn't be accepted by you lot as I'll still be seen as an outsider, you know what I mean. It's the same in Scotland; you've got to be white to be Scottish
(Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002)

In highlighting the significance of his religious identity, Aslam also feels excluded from being completely Scottish. This distancing from Scottishness is based on Aslam's assumption that most Scottish people are not Muslims and therefore have a different religion and so different beliefs from him:

Aslam: ... my Islamic beliefs are what make me different and make me not Scottish ... as such I don't think I'm one hundred percent Scottish, because a normal, well not a normal ... the average Scottish person in not Muslim and doesn't believe in what I believe
(Interview, Edinburgh, 18th December 2002)

Given the multiple and varied nature of the young men's understandings of their Muslim identities, it is of little surprise to find that the young men's religiosity influenced their connections with Scottishness to varying degrees. Whilst Aslam and Talib feel different based on their religious identities coupled with other factors, Shafqat suggests that his religion, skin colour and connections with Pakistan are the only factors which make him feel different:

Shafqat: ... the only difference with me would be my religion, the fact that I come from Pakistan and my colour comes from Pakistan through my parents
(Interview, Glasgow, 17th June 2003)

It could be that Shafqat is playing down the significance of his feelings of difference and otherness, or alternatively he might genuinely feel that his difference and otherness are minimal. Again, however, the reference to skin colour, and therefore race, points to the continuing salience of race as a marker of difference, and an important influence on experiences of in/exclusion.

I have concentrated on the narratives of difference and belonging performed by the young Muslim men consulted in this research, highlighting that whilst they tend to give priority to being Scottish over being British, and tend to label themselves as Scottish Muslim, this is instead a contested identity that ignores the young men's connections with other places and so their multiple identities. The scaling of the nation

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is an important aspect of the young men's identities; however, their identification with the national scale is also a process that is influenced by their dis/connection and in/exclusions from and with other scales. The young men perform narratives that highlight that the country of their parent's birth (or indeed their own birth or that of their grandparents) is also a significance factor in their sense of belonging in the world, as is their identification as Scottish Muslims. In terms of the young men's views on being Scottish, a subtle process of exclusion through choice and exclusion through force is at play. Whilst choosing to identify as Scottish, they also choose to distance themselves from being completely Scottish through their linkages with other countries. However, the main focus of the exclusion is the young men's feelings of otherness and difference on the basis of their race and religion. Regardless of whether or not this is enforced upon them through others or through personal choice, it is clear that being Scottish still has strong connections with whiteness, and either secularism or other religions.

4.3 NATIONAL POLITICS

In order to explore the different ways that young Muslim men's experiences and views are framed by the national scale, as well as the methods whereby the young men understand, use and resist the nation, I encouraged the young men to discuss how they feel about Scotland and Scottishness. One of the main concerns of these discussions was issues about politics and governance. I explore the young men's constructions of national politics and governance, highlighting the various ways that the young men see politics as an in/exclusionary and dis/connecting force in their negotiations of the national scale. The views of the young men challenge the idea that young people are disengaged from formal politics, and their understandings and opinions on politics, including voting, racist politics and government highlight that politics is a safe topic for the young men to discuss and connect with.

4.3.1 YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE POLITICAL

As this focus group extract highlights, the participants do not see much merit in voting and are "not really into politics":

Michael:	I'm not into voting anyway
John:	What is the point in voting anyway?
Bob:	We don't really care. We just want peace in the world, that is all …
Michael:	… not really bothered
Asadullah:	Aye, we're not really into politics
Bob:	Aye, none of us done Modern Studies, none of us picked that

<div align="right">(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)</div>

Bob distances himself, and the group, from the spaces of the political by noting that they did not pick Modern Studies at school and so are not interested in politics. Approximately half of the young men that I spoke to during the course of this research project claimed that they were not interested in politics, did not know anything about it, or were too young to vote. This could be down to a general dislike and lack of interest in politics. Whilst it could be suggested that formal politics is traditionally a masculine space, I think that the young men are conforming to an appropriate form of masculinity in this focus group by distancing themselves from politics. Being interested in such issues may lead them to be classified as more academic, or 'soft' and 'emotional' and therefore associated with femininity, and so the age of the young men is also a factor in their dis/connection from the political (Archer, 2003). As I argue in this section, whilst the young men claim that they are not knowledgeable about politics, my reading of their comments highlights that they are instead knowledgeable about various aspects of politics such as voting and Far Right politics and are willing to adopt a number of strategies in order to have their voices heard on important issues.

These statements by Anwar, Qamar and Latif link with current academic debates about young people and politics:

Anwar:	I don't actually know anything about the Scottish Parliament or politics and things like that…politics isn't me at all

<div align="right">(Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002)</div>

Qamar:	I don't know, I'm not really into politics

<div align="right">(Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)</div>

Latif:	I think that because we can't vote we don't really take an interest in it

<div align="right">135</div>

Young people aged 18-24 record lower levels of political participation, lower levels of membership of political organisations and are less likely to express an interest in politics compared to their older counterparts (Henn, Weinstein and Wring, 2002). Young people are frequently regarded as apathetic and disengaged from politics. Attempts to explain 'why don't British young people vote at general elections' have focused on young people experiencing 'start up' problems and being 'put off' politics, young people being interested in other issues, and the changing nature of young people's transitions to adulthood (Kimberlee, 2002). A recent project sought to explore young people's conceptions of the political and in doing so has provided a strong critique of much work about young people and politics (see O'Toole, 2003). Research about political engagement tends to employ a narrow conception of the political, non-participation is more complex than much research suggests and there is a dearth of youth-centred explanations for declining political engagement (O'Toole, 2003; O'Toole, Lister, Marsh, Jones and McDonagh, 2003; O'Toole, Marsh and Jones, 2003; see also Matthews, Limb and Taylor, 1999).

My approach in this research could be criticised for employing a narrow understanding of the political and for imposing my understanding of politics and political participation onto the young Muslim men consulted. This discussion about 'politics' is specifically about formal politics: the focus group and interview discussions concentrated on issues surrounding the Scottish Parliament, opinions about the Scottish National Party (SNP) and the British National Party (BNP), and voting behaviour in general. Contrary to the initial indications of political disengagement noted in the statements of the young men above, my understanding and interpretation of the focus group and interview discussions highlights that young Muslim men in Scotland might not vote or think they know a lot about politics, yet actually, they are knowledgeable about Scottish and British politics, may choose not to vote for reasons other than apathy, and have a range of balanced and considered opinions about politics in general. I

suggest that the frequency and depth of discussions about politics are due to the young men connecting with an aspect of the nation that is comfortable and safe to discuss.

4.3.2 SCOTTISH POLITICS

The young Muslim men consulted in this research possess a wide range of opinions about voting at elections. Arif notes that "I guess if you have the opportunity to vote then you should make your vote count otherwise there is no point in having that right" (Interview, Edinburgh, 1st November 2002), whilst other young men were too busy to vote or chose not to vote. Almost all of the young men stated that they would vote where possible, and there were indications that the young men who did not vote had done so through a strategic decision rather than through apathy. All of the young men consulted, including those who did not vote or were not interested in politics, possessed a range of views and opinions about politics, and the vast majority of these were voiced through discussions about nation. The most popular political parties amongst the young men were the Scottish National Party (SNP) and the Labour Party, with a couple of the young men voicing their support for the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP). This suggests that the strength of the loyalty that many Asians once had for the Labour Party (Kingdom, 1991) is changing, and this could be attributable to recent world events, and in particular the war in Iraq.

The young men also possess a range of opinions about the building of the Scottish Parliament. Consider these comments:

Babar: ... I think that it is a good reason to have a Scottish Parliament, so that we can make our own rules and things like that

(Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003)

Asadullah: We need a Parliament in Scotland, aye
Michael: Aye

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

Babar and Asadullah highlight their support for the Scottish Parliament suggesting that Scotland "needs" a Parliament so that it can form its "own rules". These young men

therefore connect with Scotland, and are aware of the power that politics and politicians have in making decisions about Scotland.

Arif and Kabir suggest that the Scottish Parliament has heightened the awareness of Scottish identities. However, Arif appears more hesitant about the necessity of the Parliament and hints at the possibility that devolution was not necessary:

Arif: It's just small things that they've tried to take on board, but as I say, if it
              aint broke, don't fix it …… I think if anything it's made Scotland more
              aware of its own identity but in terms of like the way it's thinking … I
              mean, it probably has more of a better identity
                                         (Interview, Edinburgh, 1st November 2002)

Kabir: … it gives us a sense of identity as Scottish people, which I think is
              important
                                         (Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

The most opposition about the existence of the Scottish Parliament came from the young Muslim men attending a private school in Edinburgh. Those who claim to be British in Scotland are more likely to have social and political right of centre views (McCrone, 2002b). The young men in this focus group could see little difference between Scotland and the rest of Britain, and they tended to identify as British Muslims. This highlights how both 'scale' and therefore 'nation' are social and political constructions, as this particular group of young Muslim men choose to reject the significance of Scotland and look instead to the scale of Britain as being important.

The lack of Asian politicians representing the young men was also raised in some of the focus group and interview discussions, further highlighting that the cohort consulted in this research are politically aware. In this sense, the young men understand who does, and does not hold the power behind different scales, as well as who might be in/excluded from having a say in how different scales are governed. Consider this focus group extract:

Michael: Why aren't there more Asians in the Scottish Parliament? It's all the
              stupid ones, why don't they let the brainy ones in? ...
Peter: So you want more Asians in the Scottish Parliament?

Asadullah:	Aye, more Asians
Michael:	Aye, yeah
John:	It's all like white people, and like old people as well. Why are there not any young guys and that?

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

Whilst young people might be classified as being disengaged from politics, this extract highlights that the young men in this research might feel excluded (as well as disengaged) from politics, because there are a lack of elected representatives from minority ethnic and religious groups. Not only is there a lack of Asian representatives in the Scottish Parliament, however, the young men are also aware that there are a shortage of younger elected representatives and so the young men are excluded on the grounds of their race, religion and age. This sentiment echoed through other focus group discussions as well. Jamal suggests that his view on politics might change through time, and implies that there are political issues in local mosques:

Jamal:	I mean at this age, maybe when we grow up … Pakistanis are into politics, and like in mosques there is so much politics you know. But we kind of just go with the flow

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003)

The particular timing of the research, like any other project, is likely to have had (and continues to have) a direct impact on the data collected. As the building of the Scottish Parliament continues along with the developments of Scottish devolution, the young Muslim men involved have also been negotiating the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001. The decision of the Bush and Blair administrations to go to war on Iraq was the subject matter of much, often heated, discussion during focus groups. The last focus group of this project took place on 30th April 2003, the day before the Scottish Parliamentary elections. Almost a week before this focus group, the font page headline of the Edinburgh Evening News (24th April 2003) stated 'Labour facing Muslim Protest Votes', and the article discussed how Muslims living in Edinburgh and the Lothians had formed a committee in order to encourage the electorate to vote against Labour due to the war in Iraq. Much of the focus group discussion on the 30th April focused on the

forthcoming election, and the young men were aware that the Lothian Muslim Voting Committee was urging Muslims to vote tactically in an attempt to out vote Labour candidates, as Sabir clarifies:

Sabir: I think that…from what I see I think a lot of people are not going to vote Labour because of what has been said

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 30th April 2003)

However, the young men did not completely reject the Labour Party and were aware of the views of politicians such as George Galloway and Robin Cook who both spoke out against the war. This all highlights young Muslim men's awareness of national politics and governance as well as the different ways in which they might contest and resist who controls these scales.

4.3.3. RESPONSES TO THE FAR RIGHT

In 2001, the British National Party (BNP) launched a campaign against Islam that European Union authorities described as a 'highly explicit Islamophobic campaign' (Roxburgh, 2002: 234). A series of leaflets were distributed commenting on politicians who forced people to engage with multiculturalism, and requested that parents withdraw their children from religious studies at school. One of the leaflets claimed that Islam was a mnemonic for 'Intolerance, Slaughter, Looting, Arson and Molestation of women' (Roxburgh, 2002) and part of this leaflet is shown in Figure 9. The events of aftermath of September 11th 2001 have provided an arena for Far Right organisations to advance their propaganda, and whilst this has been experienced across much of Western Europe, their strength in Britain is often weaker (Roxburgh, 2002). However, Renton (2003) claims that the action of the press, police and government have provided the BNP with an opportunity to grow.

A major part of the young men's awareness of political issues centred on their contempt for the British National Party. It is no surprise that all of the young Muslim men consulted in this project are aware of the threat of the BNP. The only exception to this was Anwar who notes "I don't know anything" (Interview, Edinburgh, 17th

December 2002). In discussions about Scotland, the young men referred to the war in Iraq, the British government as well as the BNP. This demonstrates how the scale of the national is influenced by and influences other scales of social and political life, and so the scale of the nation is often imagined as both Scotland and Britain.

Figure 9

The BNP's view of Islam

THE TRUTH ABOUT ISLAM
www.bnp.org.uk - 0700 900 2671

Intolerance
Slaughter
Looting
Arson
Molestation of women

Source: http://www.fairuk.org/Anti-Islam%20Supplement.pdf (4th June 2004)

Although the young men show abhorrence for the BNP, my readings of their discussions are that this is a topic that the young men relate to because of the way it seeks to exclude and marginalise them. There are two reasons for this. First, the young men generally disagree with the views of the BNP and so I see their discussions as a strategy of resistance against racism. Second, discussions about Scottish politics tended to suggest that whilst the young men are able to discuss and connect with such concerns,

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they are also somewhat distant from national government because of their race/religion and age. However, the BNP has the potential to have an exclusionary and direct influence on the young men's lives. They are likely to impact upon those scales closer in by pointing out that the young Muslim men consulted are different, non-white and should be repatriated. This more immediate threat is the second reason why I think the young men disclosed their views about the BNP to the extent that they did.

Consider the comments of Mohammed and the focus group participants:

Mohammed: ... yeah, I know about them ... they're not good, they just spread racism and hatred and things like that ... they treat Asians and foreigners as problems and this and that ... you know, they shouldn't do
(Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002)

Michael: They are racist as well
Asadullah: That'll be the party that said that they wanted all of the coloured people out of Scotland, aye
John: Aye, they are stupid
(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

The young men are aware that the BNP is a racist organisation, and Mohammed also notes how the BNP is xenophobic. It is clear from these statements that the young men are aware of the BNP's intentions of encouraging 'voluntary resettlement' for those who the party agree do not 'belong' in Britain (www.bnp.org.uk – 4/6/04). Amin does not "like a lot of things that they say" (Interview, Edinburgh, 22nd July 2002) and Immy recollected their behaviour during a march in Glasgow:

Immy: They had a march in Glasgow did they not ... and they marched past the Central Mosque and broke some of the windows, yeah
(Focus Group, Glasgow, 6th March 2002)

There are a number of recollections of such incidents occurring when the BNP have chosen to visit Glasgow, and although there is little evidence to prove that the BNP actually attacked the Central mosque in Glasgow, it is clear that tensions increase when they visit the city. In this respect, the young Muslim men are politically aware and

tended to voice three main responses to the threat of the BNP: anger, justification and rejection.

With regards to the British National Party, Kabir notes that "I have always regarded them with … contempt for their stance on race" (Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002) and the BNP makes Aslam angry:

Peter: … what do you think of the British National Party?
Aslam: … I did a project on them when I was at school actually, yeah, that's just
                pure racism, facism, I don't agree at all, morally it's wrong. I think it's
                very bad … I'll try not to swear …
Peter: So you feel that you want to swear when you talk about the BNP?
Aslam   Well I think it's made … it makes me very angry …
                                        (Interview, Edinburgh, 18th December 2002)

As noted earlier, Latif felt that "because we can't vote we don't really take an interest in it" (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003), yet it was often the youngest in the cohort consulted in this research that expressed the most outrage about the BNP. For example:

Ishmail: They're fannies … bastards … they're fuckin pricks and baldy bastards
                                            (Interview, Glasgow, 12th July 2002)

Jana: The racist people … mother fuckers. I want to kill the bastards
                                            (Interview, Glasgow, 12th July 2002)

Ishmail and Jana are too young to vote, yet they are angry about the views of the BNP. Perhaps they feel disempowered because they can't vote, yet the extent to which being able to vote might transform their anger is debatable. It could also be that these young men are articulating their opinions about the BNP through anger because, unlike some of the other research participants, they might have had less opportunity to express their opinions on such matters. This could be seen as a struggle for and over scale(s) as the BNP seek to pursue their goal of a making the scale of Britain 'white', and simultaneously the young men claim their sense of belonging and connections with Britain and Scotland.

Some of the young men did not directly exhibit their anger about the BNP and instead chose to justify their Scottishness and defend the South Asian presence in Britain. Babar and Arif adopted this approach:

Babar: Okay, yeah, I mean obviously I'm totally one hundred per cent against them … I don't see why we should have to you know, why we have to leave this country. Why would they want us to leave? I mean I am Scottish, so why should I have to leave? You know, this is my home now just as much as their home, you know, so obviously I think they have a … their way of thinking is just all wrong. Obviously I am one hundred per cent against them and I don't agree with any of their views … what is wrong with the way things are just now. I mean, I think the Asian people, or the European people that come or whatever, the African people that come, I think that we all add a bit to the country

(Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003)

Arif: … I think that if you are going to have a country where you have freedom of speech and everything, then people from all walks of life are going to speak out, and it is quite alarming that people have such views. At the end of the day they think they are doing a favour by standing for the British National Party, but if you look at it, if you look at what ethnic minorities have brought to this country in terms of culture, in terms of skills and expertise, the country is going to loose out as a whole, and these people don't realise that … they probably don't realise how much we rely on people from ethnic minorities … shops are open to ten o'clock at night, they open early in the morning, the restaurants, the diversity of cuisine, and also, taking it from a professional point of view, a lot of ethnic minorities are doctors … the bottom line is the NHS … if they were to get rid of us, if they were to reduce the numbers of Muslim or ethnic minority doctors, then the NHS would collapse … and you can't replace doctors overnight

(Interview, Edinburgh, 1st November 2002)

Babar asserts his Scottishness in speaking out against the BNP, and suggests that the many different nationalities that make up the country at present add to the diversity of a multicultural society. Arif recognises that organisations like the BNP might always exist because of freedom of speech. The aims of the BNP are recognised as untenable by Arif, who justifies the existence of ethnic minorities in Britain by outlining the contributions that they make to the economy, health service and retail and food sectors.

Babar and Arif are against the BNP, yet they feel that they have to justify their existence as British citizens. It may be easy for these young men to ignore the BNP and other such organisations, yet they are still left to consider their role and justify their lives in Britain. This shows that the young men connect with the nation through racist politics, as they are forced into a position where they have to defend their existence as residents of Scotland and Britain, and so need to connect with politics in order to challenge the BNP. The young men therefore struggle for the scale of the nation (and state) through resisting racist politics and claiming scale. Iftikar takes up this challenge when he notes "how can someone go back to their country when they are already there? They've got a problem there haven't they?" (Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002). The young men's senses of belonging and residence in Scotland, as well as their contributions to Scotland, are being drawn on as a resource against racist politics.

In rejecting the BNP some of the young men chose to ignore the existence of the BNP arguing that they are not worthy of comment, however in doing so they are also acknowledging the presence of the BNP in the political landscape of the nation. Some of the research participants also chose to argue that the BNP are jealous of the economic successes of ethnic minorities groups. Consider these interview extracts:

Peter: If you were to say in once sentence what you thought of the BNP, what would you say?

Amar: … no comment

Peter: So, it's not worth it?

Amar: Not worth it at all

(Interview, Glasgow, 9th July 2003)

Peter: So, what do you think of the British National Party, the BNP?

Faruk: Oh no, no, nothing at all. I don't like that, I can't say a good word about them, you know.

Peter   If you were to summarise in a paragraph what you think about them what would you say about them?

Faruk: I wouldn't write anything, that is what I think about them. Leave a blank page. I just don't think anything about them. I mean what are they to society? Britain is coming along leaps and bounds, and these people, what do they stand for? You have to question their ethics and morals. What do they stand for? I mean I don't even know why they are allowed to even get votes; I mean we should question that as well.

(Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003)

Qamar: ... the best way to deal with these people is to ignore them that is the best way

(Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

The young men are attempting to stand above the racial hatred of the BNP, however, the transcripts show that the young men struggle to ignore the BNP. Faruk might leave a blank page when asked to comment about the BNP, yet he also questions their ethics and morals. Although the young men ignore and reject the BNP, this rejection implies that the young men are aware of the existence of the BNP and knowledgeable about what the BNP represents. Abdul's comments on a television programme about the BNP that he recently watched:

Faisal: See the BNP, I think that they are nothing. They are not going to grow, they are not going to do anything. They are just a minority of skinheads ... and that's it ...

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 10th October 2002)

Abdul: I don't really think about them, but then there was a programme on about a few weeks ago, about their young leader ... I just thought it was funny. I couldn't believe that people thought that way ... I mean, it's dangerous

(Interview, Edinburgh, 16th November 2002)

The young men's discussions and comments about the BNP in the context of national identities highlight the complex interweaving of different scales such as nation and state, and the different forms of identification that this presents people with. Also, given that Abdul chooses to engage with a television programme about the BNP, spending time thinking about and mulling over its contents, highlights that they intrigue him, and so he connects with them, albeit in opposition to their views. I see the young men's engagement with BNP as an aspect of politics that they feel compelled to voice their

opinions about, and this is based on disgust and disavowal for what the BNP represents. Whilst the BNP has the potential to impact upon those scales closest in, such as the body, they also have had minimal electoral influence in Scotland, and so it could be that the young men see the BNP as a primarily English concern and are therefore drawing on their contributions to Scottish life and culture as a resource to reject the BNP and claim scale.

A number of the young Muslim men consulted in this research rejected the BNP on the grounds that they are covetous of the success of ethnic minorities. Consider this focus group extract:

Jafran: They are fuelled by the fact that Sikhs, Muslims and all that, are successful. You know there are a lot of successful Asians and they are jealous
Omar: But why are Asian people successful … they work their asses off. That is the Asian mentality, to work hard, in the shop eighteen hours a day
Faisal: Aye, exactly
Omar: Of course they work hard and are now living in big houses, but they worked for that, you can't take that off them
Jafran: They have worked their way to the top
Omar: The BNP are just bastards, you know, they say we've come to their country and are taking their things … that is crap
                                                                (Focus Group, Glasgow, 10th October 2002)

References to home and work highlight how the young men feel that the BNP threaten those scales that act as the anchor points of the young men's everyday lives. However, the young men reject the BNP by highlighting how their families work hard and so deserve their success. Despite the fact that ethnic minorities are two or three times more likely to experience unemployment than white Scots, a recent report found that people from ethnic minority backgrounds in Scotland are more likely to become entrepreneurs (www.sundayherald.com – 01/02/04). Kelly (2002) has recently documented the rise of an Asian elite in Scotland, and the comments of Talib as noted below, coupled with a recent study of East Pollokshields, suggest that the poverty experienced by ethnic minority groups in England is more severe than for the same groups living in Scotland (Hopkins, 2004b).

Faisal suggests that the BNP is not going to grow and so will be unable to do anything, and Omar notes:

Omar: I see the BNP as a party that is trying to take away one of my identities, you know, if they could take away my Scottishness, they would ... but they can't

(Interview, Glasgow, 19th May 2002)

The young Muslim men's views, opinions and attitudes about the BNP highlight that they are not a 'generation apart' (Henn, Weinstein and Wring, 2002), nor are they 'disinterested, apathetic or inert' (Skelton and Valentine, 2003: 132). My reading of the young men's responses to the Far Right is that they are utilising subtle geographies of resistance. They are knowledgeable about the BNP because they represent one of the aspects of formal politics that are most likely to impact upon those scales closest to the young men's everyday negotiations, such as their bodies, homes and senses of personhood. The young men are not ignoring the BNP out of apathy, laziness or a passive lack of concern. Instead they are actively resisting the BNP by struggling over and for scale, through a series of carefully considered responses. Omar's resistance is perhaps more explicit than some of the other statements by the young men, however, the young men's anger and outrage, coupled with their rejection of the Far Right and their justification for their own presence in Britain highlights that these young men are engaging with political issues and concerns. Overall, this highlights the different way that scales can be struggled over, resisted, claimed and used in a variety of in/exclusionary and dis/connecting ways.

4.4 NATIONAL EVERYDAY LIVES

The previous chapter explored the anchor points of the young Muslim men's everyday negotiations, focusing in particular upon the home, mosque, school/work, sport and leisure time and negotiations of community. These are the scales where the young men's everyday lives take place and are often framed as and experienced as local. However, during discussions about those scales beyond the local, the young men often

discussed their in/exclusionary and dis/connecting everyday experiences through concerns and issues framed as in/excluding them from the national and/or global. This clearly demonstrates the difference that scale makes. Discussions about local life focused on home, school and mosque and the different ways that these scales are managed, used, negotiated and made to matter in various ways. However, during discussions about the national scale, the young men also articulated their disconnection and marginalisation from Scotland through scales closest to them. As this section on national everyday lives shows, the young men experience the street and body as more exclusionary than the landscape and economy, demonstrating that scaling is a dynamic and flexible process that can and often does have multiple influences and reference points.

4.4.1 NEGOTIATING EXCLUSION: SCOTTISH SOCIETY AND CULTURE?

During discussions about Scotland and Scottishness, the young men often articulated a sense of exclusion and maginalisation because of the racism that they experience on an everyday basis. 'Everyday racism is never a singular act in itself, but a multidimensional experience' (Essed, 2002: 207). It is clear that the young men feel upset and excluded as a result of their experiences of everyday racism. I asked Ahmed if it made them angry and he said "yeah, and stressed" (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002). Shafqat comments:

Shafqat: Straight up name-calling, black this and black that ... that's it, that is the core of it. When we played football, we used to get straight up, black this and that, and they try to chop you up when you're on the pitch ... I don't know how we got away with it, but we stuck together and got out of a lot of situations

(Interview, Glasgow, 17th June 2003)

Everyday experiences of racism make the young men frustrated and stressed, and also result in the young men having to develop strategies for dealing with the intensity of such experiences. Shafqat highlights how he "stuck together" with his friends in order to minimise potential racism and violence. This could be one of the reasons for the high

levels of mental ill-health experienced by ethnic minority men (Fatunmbi and Lee, 1999, Heim, Howe, Cassiday, O'Connor and Warden, 2003).

Whilst it could be argued that the multitude of incidents of name-calling were 'just a joke', or a 'wind up', there is a fine line between 'jokey and serious cussing' (Phoenix, Frosh and Pattman, 2003: 190). It has been suggested that where racist name-calling is used, racist constructs and images are used as a 'strategic resource' and it is in such incidents that the relationship between white and black young people is most vulnerable. However, young white people also have a 'highly fractured and ambiguous' racial consciousness and in this way, they can use racist name-calling, yet also utilise positive images of black people (Back, 1996). Many of the young Muslim men in this research who recollected incidents of racist name-calling suggested that much of this was 'just a joke' or someone 'having a laugh'.

Given the connections between racist name-calling and masculinity (Back, 1996), it could be argued that some of the young men are performing a form of hegemonic masculinity by playing down the significance of their experiences of racist name-calling or racism in general (Connell, 2000). It is possible that some of the young men were unable to cope with the intensity of the racist name-calling, or did not want to admit to being a victim of racism. Both could result in their masculinity being questioned, or could result in them being the victims of further name-calling from their peers. Recollections of incidents of racism tended to be discussed more frequently during individual interviews than they did during focus group discussions. This suggests that the young men are more likely to prescribe to dominant forms of masculinity during focus group discussions, and are more inclined to open up during individual interview discussions (Phoenix, Frosh and Pattman, 2003). Overall, however, everyday experiences of racism work in a range of different ways to exclude and marginalise young Muslim men, constantly reminding them of their difference.

Discussions about experiences of racism also highlighted the influence that certain events have had, and continue to have, on the young men's everyday experiences and their future prospects. The events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 as well as

the recent war in Iraq have both worked to heighten the young men's experiences of racism.

Asadullah:	... see nowadays, there is a lot of racism going on now. People calling you black bastards and swearing and things like that. So, there's lots of racism and we don't like that
Bob:	It's got worse, also because of the war
Michael:	Aye, the war
John:	That's it in it ... people blame us for the war. But it has got worser because of the war, it's got worser

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

It is clear from this focus group extract that the young men regularly experience racism, and that these experiences have been exacerbated by the recent war in Iraq. It would appear that these events, amongst others, have worked to (re)formulate Scottish racism, as some of the research participants suggest that, as a result of September 11th and the war in Iraq, racists have been encouraged to argue that young Muslim men do not belong in Scotland. This shows how events on various scales can influence people's understanding and appreciation of the scale of the nation, and result in them seeking to exclude particular groups. This is an example of scale as a process operating in everyday life. Events and decisions on the global scale are experienced bodily yet articulated through the dis/connecting and in/exclusive scale of the nation.

Qamar thinks that "it will get more racist because of the way the media represents things, the way pictures are shown of terrorists and things" (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003). Some of the young men also suggested that they do not have a future in Scotland either because they will decide to move away due to the intolerable levels of racism, or that they will be forced to leave:

Saeed:	I think that one day, eventually, we will be chucked out of Britain
Nasser:	Aye, it's going to get worse
Imran:	Yeah

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 24th July 2002)

This extract highlights the intensity and seriousness of the young men's experiences of racism. Alongside persistent name-calling and the demonisation of Muslims as a result

of September 11th 2001 and the influence of the media, the young men in this focus group suggest that they will be forced to leave Britain. This is supported by other comments from some of the research participants suggesting that they do not have a future in this country. This is a powerful narrative of exclusion and rejection focusing on a particular scale which simultaneously influenced and is influenced by other scales.

Everyday experiences of racism exclude some of the young men from connecting with Scotland, and so too does the drinking, pub and club culture that they see as being an important part of Scottish culture. Abdul comments on how he thinks people find it "strange and alien" that he does not drink alcohol (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002). Also, Ifty notes:

Ifty: It can be difficult, as there are a lot of distractions and things like that. There's dancing and people like, peer pressure and people offering you drugs and things
                (Interview, Glasgow, 16th July 2002)

The young men are excluded from a strong sense of belonging in Scotland because of certain times of the day and year where a heightened sense of Scottishness is perceived to be experienced by some people. The young men suggest that these spaces and times are crucial to belonging and feeling a part of Scotland. Arif does not drink alcohol and so is excluded from participating in annual events such as Hogmanay, which he stereotypically associates with alcohol consumption:

Arif: For example, like, I don't, I don't indulge in the pub culture and things like that. So I can't say that I'm completely Scottish eh, alcohol plays a big role in people's lives and I don't drink and something like the Hogmanay set up, I mean, yeah, it's the New Year but I don't consider it like my New Year
                (Interview, Edinburgh, 1st November 2002)

This research shows how the drinking culture in Scotland, itself a stereotype, excludes young Muslim men from connecting and feeling included in certain places that they perceive to be associated with Scottishness and Scotland. Experiences of

in/exclusion can therefore change through time, as the young men might feel more excluded from belonging in Scotland during the evenings or weekends where the pub and club culture is more evident than at other times. Arif, for example, regards alcohol as playing an important role in Scottish people's lives and Aktahr sees getting "pissed" as a Scottish "trademark" (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002). Mohammed puts this form of exclusion down to Islam by suggesting that drinking and going clubbing to "pick up a girl" are "completely not allowed for a Muslim" (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002). The young Muslim men mention how the drinking culture in Scotland encourages racism as they feel that people are more likely to be racist if they are under the influence of alcohol. The drinking culture that these young Muslim men see in Scotland initially excludes them as they are "not allowed" to drink, and works to further exclude them by increasing the likelihood of racism.

There were also a variety of ways that the young Muslim men sought to negotiate this exclusion. Some of the young Muslim men mention how they accept the drinking culture and choose to ignore it, whilst others, such as Ahmed suggest that this is the "difference between the Scottish people" and the Muslims. Many of the comments appear to suggest that the young men think that they would feel more included in Scotland and more connected with places that are perceived to be Scottish, and be less likely to experience racism, if they actively participated in drinking and clubbing. However, the young men are also drawing upon a stereotype in assuming that drinking and clubbing is important to all Scottish people. Whilst this may be the case, there are many people in Scotland who do not participate in drinking and clubbing, yet identify as Scottish.

Whilst the drinking culture in Scotland might work to exclude young Muslim men, there were some indications that a minority of young Muslim men participated in drinking alcohol and going clubbing. One focus group with five young Muslim men in fifth year at school included a discussion based around what they do in their spare time or at the weekend. They tended to go clubbing together, although there was universal agreement amongst the five young men that they did not drink alcohol, and would spend the evening drinking soft drinks or water, and "dancing the night away." There was

agreement that they did not go clubbing "to pick up a girl." At a later date I interviewed two of the young Muslim men who participated in this focus group. After the interview, Latif mentioned to me how he thought that all of the other young men in the focus group were not telling the truth about drinking alcohol. Latif explained to me that whilst he did not drink alcohol, he was extremely frustrated by his friends who had started drinking vodka and bacardi, sometimes getting drunk. This creates a further example of in/exclusion. Some of the young Muslim men may not be as excluded from fully belonging to Scotland as they suggest in discussions, and are instead embracing certain aspects of what they perceive to be Scottish culture. This however, leads to two differing forms of in/exclusion. Young Muslim men like Latif feel in/excluded as they strive to be a "better Muslim" yet feel isolated as their friends stretch the boundaries of their religion. Also, young Muslim men who do start drinking alcohol may feel increasing pressure from their families and peers who might monitor their behaviour through discourses of Islam (Dwyer, 1999b).

In negotiating the ways that racism and drinking/clubbing are framed as national issues, the young men also drew upon aspects of dress and behaviour which they felt marginalised their Islamic identity. Consider the views of Amin and Mohammed:

Amin: I think that the lifestyle of lots of people in Scotland can make it hard to be a Muslim, like the ladies wearing mini-skirts and things like that...you know, Islam wants people to wear moderate clothes, no matter who you are, however, I think that people should be able to get round these things, but some people do find it difficult

(Interview, Glasgow, 22nd July 2002)

Mohammed: I mean you go into a newsagent and you know, you just want to buy a newspaper or a computing magazine and all these, you know, pictures of naked women staring at you, and they are right in front of you...I mean they should at least be out of sight, but, no...

(Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002)

Behaving and dressing modestly are important for both Muslim men and women, and this was discussed regularly in interviews. The young men consulted in this research often commented on what they see as the lack of modesty present in Scotland, and so

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this excludes them from connecting with the scale of the nation, and in particular impacts upon their negotiations of the street, the club and some shops as Amin and Mohammed suggest. Sabir also comments on the lack of modesty in society, and suggests that this is a form of oppression. He counters the argument that women are oppressed in Islam commenting on the pressure faced by young Scottish women to conform to stereotypes based on appropriate gendered dress, body size and behaviour.

Sabir: I think really in society really, women are oppressed, but it's a different type of oppression ... people like say that like women in Islam [that] wear a hijab or dress or whatever are oppressed, but like, when I walk down the street and I see women that are wearing next to nothing, that is a sort of oppression ... when you look in the newsagent ... like pictures of half naked women, that is a sort of oppression. The British mentality is that it is all right for women to display themselves and everything, but in my opinion, it's like making so many women feel uncomfortable
                                                (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 30th April 2003)

Young Muslim men in Scotland feel excluded from certain places associated with Scotland because of the lack of modesty that they see as a significant component of Scottish society. Yet they are also frustrated by assumptions made about Muslim women being oppressed given the different types of oppression that they see taking place in Scotland's streets.

The young men experience exclusion from the spaces of Scotland because of everyday racism, and the drinking culture and lack of modesty that they see as significant features of Scottish society. The young Muslim men's negotiations of the nation highlight that there are two forms of exclusion at play. The most intense form of exclusion comes through the racism and discrimination that the young men experience. This is often down to their race and hence their phenotypical features, and is therefore something that they have little control over. The young men sometimes, however, choose to exclude themselves, and choose to be different. They may refuse to visit local clubs and pubs, and prefer to dress in a certain way. It could be argued that the young men are choosing to exclude themselves in such circumstances, emphasising that their experiences of in/exclusion are multi-faceted and complex. It might be difficult to

change the young men's perceptions of the pub and club culture, and the lack of modesty that they experience in Scottish society. However, most impact could possibly be achieved by reducing the frequency and intensity of the racism that works in a range of powerful ways to exclude and marginalise the young men, and this may require encouraging others to realise that their claims for the national scale are racist, exclusionary and worrying for many others.

4.4.2 INCLUSIVE LANDSCAPES, SCOTTISH LANDSCAPES

Whilst the young men feel excluded and marginalised from certain aspects of Scottish society and culture, they also talked about feeling included in, and appreciating Scotland, as a result of physical, economic and multicultural landscapes. In terms of multicultural and political landscapes, the young men were aware of political differences between Scotland and England, and in particular Kabir articulated his relief that "the BNP ... they haven't been very successful in Scotland" (Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002). Anwar as well as Kabir also articulated his perception that there are higher levels of racism and Islamophobia in some English cities, and so appreciated the perceived tolerance of the Scottish people. Talib aggressively noted during a focus group discussion:

Talib: When I first came to Scotland, I came in 96 and I came round this area, just for a look around ... the first thing that I saw was how affluent people are, you know what I mean ... that is like a major difference between Scotland and England in terms of like the Muslim community and the Pakistani community especially ...

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002)

Talib expanded upon this statement by describing the poverty, unemployment and deprivation experienced by many Muslims and Pakistanis in England, contrasting this with the affluence and comfort of Muslims and Pakistanis in Scotland. Talib now lives in Scotland's most residentially segregated neighbourhood in terms of ethnic group membership. This highlights important differences between Scotland and England in terms of issues of race, ethnicity and religion, and stresses the need for further research

about the experiences of different ethnic minority groups in Scotland. Alexander (2000a: 6) comments on how Tariq Modood 'has contrasted Indian 'achievers' with the disadvantaged 'believers' (1992: 43), an emergent Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi 'underclass' given its notorious embodiment in the 1993 *Panorama* documentary *Purdah in the Underclass'*. Talib's comments, as well as some of the comparisons made by the young men highlight an important criticism of most research about Muslim communities in Britain in that there is a need to differentiate between British Muslims, who are referred to using examples and research based in England, and Scottish Muslims, who until now remain marginalised from most social research. However, the young men's comparisons of the multiculturalism of England with Scotland highlight how they connect with the nation through perceptions of tolerance, racial equality and the perceived wealth of Muslims in Scotland.

Alongside discussions about Scottish society, the Scottish Executive's strategy of 'One Scotland, Many Cultures,' was referred to by some of the young men in their discussions about Scotland. This strategy was set up in 2002 with the aim of tackling racism in Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2002b). Amin sees Edinburgh as a multicultural place, and Ali and Kabir both comment on how they already see Scotland as a place with a diverse range of cultures:

Amin: … very friendly people, good people. Edinburgh…I love Edinburgh because it is multicultural, and it's got the Scottish scenery and you're near the countryside
(Interview, Edinburgh, 22nd July 2002)

Ali: We're at school with many cultures and stuff anyway, like a lot of the guys come from abroad and things…so we sort of see different nationalities and stuff, so when we go out and you see lots of different people…it's not exactly anything new
(Focus group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

Kabir: I think the idea is brilliant. I think we are already one Scotland with many cultures
(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

The young Muslim men positively discuss the idea that Scotland is a multicultural space which is open and welcoming to different people. Ali's mention of "different nationalities" and Kabir's suggestion that One Scotland, Many Culture is a "brilliant idea" highlight for me the fragility of the young men's connections with the nation. Although they talk about appreciating multicultural Scotland, and connect with national politics and the Scottish landscapes, Ali and Kabir's comments hint at feelings of inclusion being an idea rather than a reality, and feelings of difference therefore dominate. Given the frequency and intensity of the young men's experiences of racism and discrimination, it seems contradictory that they identify with Scotland as tolerant and multicultural. Perhaps the young men are attracted by the idea of this campaign rather than the reality of being a resident in Scotland.

As well as commenting on ideas about multiculturalism, the young men often referred to the perceived friendliness of the Scottish people. Nasser comments that "there's some nice people" in Scotland (Focus group, Glasgow, 17th July 2002) and Saeed notes "the people are quite nice as well" (Interview, Edinburgh, 14th June 2002), and Kabir notes:

Kabir: Yeah, I've heard people say, you know, the weather's cold but the people's hearts are warm. I think that is quite true about Scotland...
                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

The perceived friendliness of Scottish people appears to be an aspect of the young men's everyday lives that gives them a positive association with Scotland. Ahmed suggests that there is a generational aspect to the openness of Scotland's people by suggesting:

Ahmed: It's everyone in Scotland, you know, you look up to them, and you know. People, like adults are happy to be Scottish and I guess you just look up to that and see them as an example...
                                    (Focus group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

The perceived openness of the Scottish people is an aspect of Scotland that the young men are comfortable with, and often comparisons are made between Scotland and

England. For example, Amin notes that "I would say that Scotland is one hundred per cent more welcoming than England is" (Interview, Edinburgh, 22nd July 2002). Hussain and Miller's (2004) recent research found that, using five strictly comparable indicators, thirty-eight per cent of people in Scotland were Anglophobic. The Anglophobia amongst some of the young men may be down to a number of factors, the most influential of which Hussain and Miller (2004) identify as education (which reduces Anglophobia by twenty-five percent). Overall, however, the comments of the young men quoted above contradict the main narrative of exclusion and disconnection that appears in the discussions about Scottish society. I am sure that the young Muslim men consulted know "friendly" and "nice" Scottish people, however, these narratives are marginalised by the intensity of feelings and experiences of difference, exclusion and disconnection. The young men's experiences of exclusion and marginalisation often involve concerns that are more personal and impact upon the personal scale of the body. Their comments about Scottish society highlight the range of different contradictions that the young men are forced to negotiate, demonstrating the various ways that the scaling of nation can be experienced as simultaneously as a process of in/exclusion and dis/connection.

During focus group and interview discussions with the young men, I asked them how they would describe Scotland to someone who had never been here before. In doing so, I hoped that the young men would expand upon their own views about Scotland commenting in particular upon aspects of spatial and social relations that the they feel are important to their everyday lives and so worthy of repetition to a visitor. It was during such questions that the young men often talked about the physical and economic landscapes of Scotland.

In focus group and interview discussions, the natural environment, rural scenery and mountains are aspects of Scotland that were a regular point of reference. Ahmed, Nasser and Saeed's note:

Ahmed: Yeah, there's nice countryside and scenery and things like that
<div align="right">(Focus group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)</div>

Nasser: The Highlands…nice scenery and places to visit

(Focus group, Edinburgh, 14th November 2002)

Saeed: …and it's a nice place as well when you go up to the islands, yeah, that's
nice … I like the people, the people are more friendly than most English
people…I like the fresh water, I like the fresh air, I like the nice
scenery…mmm…I like Irn-bru…yeah ((laughter)), I like a lot of things
but the best is the environment and the people

(Interview, Edinburgh, 14th June 2002)

The young men could be interpreted as describing Scotland to an outsider and so
highlighting aspects of Scotland's landscape that they feel are important but that they do
not necessarily feel are significant to their lives as young Muslim men living in
Scotland.   However, the young men could also be interpreted as connecting with
Scotland's landscape as a result of the utility that it offers them.   Amin, for example
mentions being "near the countryside" (Interview, Edinburgh, 22nd July 2002) and
Rehman talked about the different "places to visit" (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June
2002). My reading of what the young men say about Scotland's landscape is that they
connect with it because it offers them a safe part of Scotland to identify with. It is
interesting to note that this topic was always one of the first issues that I raised during
focus groups and interviews and so the young men may not have yet 'warmed up' and
there may still be some rapport building to do between the young men and myself
(Valentine, 1997: 118). It could be suggested therefore, that the young men's responses
to these particular questions might be likely to conform to what they think I want to
hear, or what they think would be the most appropriate comments to make, as opposed
to what they really think and experience. After all, it was during this part of the focus
groups and interviews that the young men drew upon aspects of their national residence
that I suggest are distant from their everyday experiences.

Alongside the young men's references to the Scottish landscape is the Scottish
economy, and this proved to be an important feature of their understanding of the nation.
The focus group and interview discussions often focused on the buoyancy of the Scottish
economy, the potential employment and career opportunities, and the range of choices
and prospects open to the young men. Aktahr and Abdul agreed that they have a better

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standard of living in Scotland than they would in their parent's or grandparent's country of origin. Aktahr, Nasser and Saeed also comment on how Scotland has more economic opportunities compared with less developed countries or Pakistan. The young men attributed Scotland's economic buoyancy to the accessible education system that offers them a range of qualifications and potential career pathways.

Aktahr: ...A better living here...mmm, better jobs, better money
Abdul: better career
Aktahr: It's got good jobs like compared with less developed countries
                                    (Focus group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

Nasser: It's different from Pakistan in it...it's mmm, there's more to do, there's more opportunities and all of that...
                                (Focus group, Edinburgh, 14th November 2002)

Saeed: ...You've got a better chance of being someone
                                    (Focus group, Glasgow, 17th July 2002)

Kaukab, a 24 year old young Muslim man who moved from Pakistan to Scotland at the age of two commented on how some countries, like Pakistan, "think backward and are not educated ... They have to start to learn new things" (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th December 2002). Kaukab explained how he is excited by the economic opportunities available in Scotland, and he likes the way that Scotland's economy embraces new forms of technology. Kaukab is hoping to start his own business, and suggests that he would struggle to do this in Pakistan, but is now going to do this given the opportunities that the Scottish economy permits. Similarly, some of the young men were appreciative of the opportunities available to them in terms of further and higher education, and the job prospects that this offered them. Eight of the young men are studying for degrees in technical and science based disciplines, and two of the young men are working towards qualifications in medicine. These young men appreciate the educational, economic and employment opportunities that they perceive to be available to them in Scotland.

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4.5 CONCLUSIONS: NATIONAL FUTURES

So, there are certain aspects of the nation that the young men connect with and feel comfortable talking about and these tend to focus on issues such as politics as well as the physical and economic landscapes that the young men associate with Scotland. These features of the nation are safe for the young men to discuss, focused as they are on aspects of belonging and politics. The young men are comfortable discussing Scotland's scenery and economy, and have strong opinions about political debates, especially those that seek to exclude and marginalise their sense of citizenship and inclusion. I would like to suggest that the young men tend to focus on these markers of the nation because they are distant from the young men's everyday experiences. After all, the young men in this research live overwhelmingly urban lives, and whilst they might appreciate Scotland's landscape and scenery, this appears a distant marker of the nation for the young men to pick up on. Similarly, politics and governance are also safe topics to discuss, and whilst I do not advocate that the views of the BNP are safe in any way, they provide a secure position for the young men to argue against and claim their place in Scotland. It seems somewhat inconsistent that the young men connect with Scotland's economy given the reality of everyday life for Pakistanis living in Scotland. Twelve percent of Pakistanis in Scotland are unemployed; double the rate of unemployment for the white population and twenty-six percent of Pakistanis aged 16-34 have no qualifications (Scottish Executive, 2004).

Alongside feelings of belonging and attachment with Scotland, the young men overwhelmingly identify as Scottish Muslim and do so because they were born, brought up and educated in Scotland, speak with a Scottish accent and participate in everyday activities that they see as important aspects of being Scottish. Simultaneously however, the young men also narrated a sense of connection and attachment to a series of global networks that link with family heritages, languages and accents in countries such as Pakistan, India, Morocco and Iraq. I have shown that a lot of research about national identities (for examples, McCrone, 2002a) adopts a simplistic understanding that does not problematise the categories being used and instead sees identity categories as fixed and static. By exploring narratives of (dis)location, using the ideas of Anthias (1998;

2001), I have demonstrated that the various contradictions, struggles, claims and sense of belonging experienced by the young men can be better understood and appreciated.

Through exploring the scaling of nation, I have also shown how the young men's exclusionary and marginalising accounts of Scotland and Scottishness are often experienced through and impact upon those scales closest in, such as the body, street and community. The young men, as this chapter highlights, struggle over their sense of belonging in Scotland because they are marked out as different as a result of their skin colour, dress choice and other phenotypical features. This is often exacerbated by the young men's awareness of racist political organisations such as the BNP. Similarly, certain spaces and times associated with Scotland and Scottishness, such as Hogmanay and the pub and club culture, also work to restrict the young men's attachment with Scotland as they distance themselves from alcohol consumption and the perceived lack of modesty present in such circumstances. As the next chapter highlights, although focusing on the scaling of the global, similar issues about those scales closest in and their exclusionary and restrictive outcomes, are also a major concern.

5

GLOBAL

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the process of conducting this research, I have become increasingly aware of the complex influence and power of globalisation and global events in the young men's everyday lives and experiences, coupled with the young men's responses to and understandings of such influences: Globalisation is:

> a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999: 16).

This implies that activities in a particular part of the world can, and often do have, a significant impact on people living elsewhere. The views and experiences of young Muslim men in Scotland make it clear that globalisation and global events work in a

range of diverse ways with the result often being struggles for and over various scales. These struggles often lead to contestations regarding the young men's senses of belonging and feelings of dis/connection with certain scales. In this chapter, I explore the young men's resistance to, use of, and ambiguity towards the notion of the umma (global Islamic community), alongside their opinions and reactions to the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001. In particular, I focus on the ways in which signifiers of a Muslim identity have heightened in significance since these events, demonstrating the range of ways in which the young men's local lives have changed as a result.

5.2 GLOBAL IDENTITIES: MUSLIM IDENTITIES

The young men's narratives about being Muslim tend to focus on issues of spirituality and practice, the misrepresentation of their religion and the notion of the umma. The concept of umma 'is the recognition of a bond linking Muslims everywhere and even over all time' (Beeley, 1995: 191). The umma is therefore often understood and framed as a united global Islamic community, and so Muslims are often characterised as possessing global identities (see for example, Beeley, 1995). However, the range of opinions and views from the young Muslim men consulted in this research highlight the heterogeneity of Islam as opposed to it being fixed, rigid and homogenous. Tariq Modood (2003: 100) notes:

> Muslims are not, however, a homogenous group. Some Muslims are devout but apolitical; some are political but do not see their politics as being 'Islamic' (indeed, may even be anti-Islamic) ... The category 'Muslim', then is as internally diverse as 'Christian' or 'Belgian' or 'middle class', or any other category helpful in ordering our understanding.

This section on global identities highlights the different ways that the young men resist, claim and challenge the idea that their identities are global, demonstrating that understandings of what it means to possess a Muslim identity are constantly being negotiated, played out and contested.

Previous research about Muslim youth highlights the importance of the umma, and in particular the significance of the notion of brotherhood amongst young Muslim men where such associations can be used as a form of empowerment where young people can feel they belong to a global network of identifications (Dwyer, 1998; Archer, 2003; Alexander, 2000a). Unlike these studies, this research project found that the young men displayed a mixed response to the idea of the umma. Sabir asserts the significance of the umma as an important aspect of his Muslim identity stating that, "yeah definitely - we are part of the same brotherhood" (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 30th April 2003). Similarly, Talib draws upon his understanding of the global nature of Islam and his linkages with Muslims living in other parts of the world. Clearly, Talib sees national and states boundaries as economic and political constructions:

Talib: Islam, it is a peaceful religion yeah, but Islam is about justice, and ...
            whenever there are Muslims being oppressed you are not supposed to
            stand there and take it, you know what I mean, if it is for money, or for
            politics or to make up some stupid boundary or a piece of soil or
            something, that wouldn't be ... according to the way that I sort of deduce
            it, that wouldn't be permissible. But if it is for the betterment of people's
            lives, like you have to fight, you know what I mean.

                                      (Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002)

Similarly, the focus group extract below clarifies how belonging to the umma means that the young men are able to identify with other Muslims and feel unified in their presence:

Peter: ... there is the global Islamic community and in the Koran it talks about
            brotherhood, do you all feel like brothers?
Michael: Yeah, aye
Kobe: Yeah
Asadullah: Yeah, you can walk pass another Muslim in the street and you will know.
            You shake hands with him and say Islam to him
John: When someone walks into the mosque, just like anyone right, like any of
            us, you just shake hands

                                        (Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

So the young men quoted above feel empowered by the idea of brotherhood and umma, and are comforted by the unity and knowledge that it gives them. In this sense, the

young men are proud to possess an identity that is framed as global. This link is stronger than that of any form of identification as stressed by Shafqat, demonstrating that being a part of a series of global connections and identifications are crucial to Shafqat's identity as a Muslim:

Shafqat: I am a Muslim first and my Muslim brothers and sisters are getting killed in Iraq, getting blamed for bombing in September 11th, things like that, so that hurts me.

(Interview, Glasgow, 17th June 2003)

Although Shafqat feels that the linkages he has with the global Islamic community are very strong, other research participants chose to resist the notion of belonging to or connecting with a global Islamic identity. For example:

Azhar: They are the same in their beliefs obviously
Nadeem: But they can't be the same because they live in different cultures
Jamal: But some people are taking it like too far
Latif: Yeah, I mean would you be proud to say that you are the same religion as like Osama Bin Laden or Saddam Hussein?

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003)

Whilst Azhar and his friends acknowledge that all Muslims have the same beliefs, they resist the notion of the umma on the grounds of cultural differences between Muslims living in different parts of the world. In this sense, their definition of their Muslim identity therefore hinges on it being situated in a particular place, be that Scotland or the particular city and neighbourhood in which they live. This highlights that an identity marker that is often framed as global can be influenced and experienced through a range of other different identities and senses of belonging. The young men in this focus group may feel part of a global Islamic community, yet they also feel senses of belonging to Scotland and Edinburgh. Some of the young men commented on the differences between Sunni and Shia Muslims. All of the young men, except one, identified as Sunni Muslims and many suggested that Shia Muslims were not "proper" Muslims as they did not follow all of the requirements of being Muslim. Latif resists belonging to the umma,

as he wants to distance himself from what Archer (2003: 1) has referred to as 'dangerous Muslim men'. Nasser and Tahir note:

Nasser: I think that we are all different, very different from all different countries ... just because of religion you can't just put us all in one group and label us...we are all different and we are all in different places and we adapt to different cultures, so mmm...someone from Scotland is going to have different views from someone from Pakistan or elsewhere...so mmm, I don't think either that everyone has the same views, especially with like different generations, they have different views, so I don't think that we are just one big community...

Tahir: I don't feel that we are part of a global community I mean because we are part of the western world, and we may have different views...but I feel more British or Scottish rather than thinking of myself as a group of Muslims...

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 14th November 2002)

Nasser and Tahir reject the idea of the umma by highlighting the difference and diversity within the global Muslim community. In particular, Nasser notes the significance of place of residence and generation as differentiating influences within the umma, further clarifying the diversity within the Muslim community. The young men draw on a number of different scales in order to resist the notion of umma and highlight the diversity of the Muslim community. Tahir, for example draws upon the discourse of the 'West' and how it differs from the rest of the world, yet he also claims a sense of feeling Scottish and British. There is therefore a struggle for scale as the young men attempt to resist belonging to a global Islamic community, and in doing so, some of them also claim their sense of belonging and attachment to the scale of the 'West' or the nation and/or state.

Overall, I read the young men's narratives of resistance to notions of the umma and brotherhood in one of two ways. First, I think that part of the young men's resistance to the umma and brotherhood relates to the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, the subsequent global circulation of images of Muslim men as terrorists, and the increasing levels of Islamophobia experienced as a result. By standing outside of the umma and distancing themselves from notions of global brotherhood, the young men

can resist, oppose and reject the connections that might be made between their religious beliefs and practices and that of those involved in certain global events.

Second, Archer (2003) suggests that the boy's assertion of a strong brotherhood in her research was a resistance to notions of a weak Asian masculinity. I would like to suggest that the young men's resistance to notions of brotherhood and umma could also be read as a masculine and patriarchal response to something that they feel they do not need or want as an aspect of their Muslim identity. It could be that in narrating a resistance to membership of the umma the young men are portraying aspects of a tough, confident masculinity that does not need to be supported or empowered by the umma. This could therefore also be read as a response to the perception that Asian men and boys are passive and weak, even although Muslim men are often represented as patriarchal and authoritative (O'Donnell and Sharpe, 2000).

Rather than focus on the umma and the global identification that being Muslim is often associated with, many of the focus group and interview discussions tended to focus on the challenges of being a "proper" Muslim and therefore more attention is given to doing Islam rather than being Muslim. In narrating the practicalities of Islam, Jamal states that it "is not hard to do" all of the duties required of a "proper" Muslim (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003). So, like the Muslim boys that Archer consulted, the young men that I spoke to regularly:

> ... engaged in debates about the definition of a *'proper'* Muslim. The boundaries of Muslim identity were constantly negotiated and contested within the discussion groups and the boys asserted, resisted and justified various positioning of themselves within or outside particular boundaries. In particular, while the boys claimed authentic Muslim identities through a notion of strength of feeling, or belief, they also acknowledged their more peripheral location in relation to ideals of Muslim identity as enacted through religious practices (Archer, 2003: 53-54).

In this context, consider this extract:

Latif: The five pillars of Islam

Jamal:	The first thing that you have to believe is in the oneness of Allah, and no one should be worshipped but Allah, and Mohammed is the Messenger or prophet. That's the first one and then the second one is the five prayers a day. It's really hard to pray five times a day with school and everything on, but when you get the time you should. The five prayers are basically to remind you about Allah during the different parts of the day. The first one is before sunrise
Latif:	The third one is that you have to travel to the holy place, Mecca. You have to pray from there once in your lifetime.
Jamal:	If you can yeah
Latif:	And you have to give money to the poor
Jamal:	Yeah zakat, you're supposed to give five per cent of your money to the poor
Nadeem:	Yeah, you can do that when you go to the mosque like
Latif:	There is the fast
Jamal:	Yeah that is part of being a Muslim, you have to fast … like five things, they're not that hard to do at all you know.

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 4th February 2003)

The young men in this focus group extract fall short of the requirements of a "proper" Muslim as they all commented on how they did not pray five times a day due to educational and other commitments. My reading of the narrative constructed in the focus group is that the young men are aware that there are certain duties that they should fulfil as a "proper" Muslims. Yet these duties are also flexible, and the whilst the young men are "supposed" to do them, not doing them can be justified because of a lack of time, educational commitments and the other duties that everyday life might entail. The boundaries of Islam are therefore flexible and can be contested. The young men therefore give primacy to doing Islam through adherence to the five pillars, rather than being Muslim.

The young men's accounts of doing Islam often highlight their own shortcomings in fulfilling the requirements of what it means to be a "proper" Muslim. The focus group extract below reveals some of the practicalities of being Muslim that the young men find important, such as prayer and belief in one God.

Asadullah:	If you go to the mosque regularly to do your prayers and you read the Koran and you know it
John:	And you've got the faith

Asadullah:	And you believe in one God … you like talk to other people and show respect and all the rest of it, in' it
Michael:	The only way that you can become a proper right Muslim, is to go to Saudi Arabia, like going on the hajj, you become a proper Muslim
Bob:	It's not just saying that you are a Muslim, you need to do all the things, pray, fast and all that. You need to know a lot of stuff to become a proper Muslim.

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

Michael asserts that you only "become a proper Muslim" if you go on the pilgrimage to Mecca, stressing that he sees neither his friends nor himself as "proper" Muslims as they have not yet completed the hajj. Along with series of other obligations and rituals, an important part of the hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) is where all Muslims stand together on the Plain of Arafat where they 'experience the underlying unity and equality of a worldwide Muslim community' (Esposito, 1998: 92). In this sense, given the primacy that the focus group participants give to the completing of the hajj, a global sense of community and belonging are an important aspect of the young men's Muslim identities. Bob notes that being Muslim is not just about the appropriation of the label 'Muslim', but is about doing all of the things mentioned in this extract. This emphasises the contested nature of what being a Muslim means, as the young men attach varying levels of significance to different aspects of Islam in terms of belief and practice.

As well as discussions about doing Islam, the young men often also referred to the heterogeneity of the Muslim community, thereby challenging the misrepresentation of their religion and emphasising the importance of belief and practice. The focus group extract below displays one particular case where the young men, having talked at length abut the misrepresentation of Islam in the media assert their view that Islam is a peaceful religion:

Peter:	So if Muslim or Islam to a lot of people means terrorism, what should it mean?
Asadullah:	It should mean peace
Michael:	Aye peace
John:	Peace
Asadullah:	That's it man, it should mean peace … our countries don't go to war over silly things like oil and that, they go to war when they are defending themselves

Bob: Aye and none of the Muslims go to mosque to talk about bombing other
              countries
Asadullah: Yeah, we just go to pray for our God, in' it

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

The young men's responses and negotiations of the misrepresentation of Islam are explored in greater detail later in this chapter in the section on global everyday lives. However, whilst the young men highlight the peacefulness of Islam in the focus group extract above, they also draw on a global discourse referring to issues of war, control, violence and terrorism. Overall then, the young men have raised a number of contested issues such as the misrepresentation of their religion and the challenges of being a "proper" Muslim. Although some of the young men resisted the notion of the umma, it is clear that there are various ways in which the young men's Muslim identities are framed, experienced and negotiated on a global scale.

Aside from the discussions mentioned above, around a quarter of the young men consulted in this research focused on being Muslim through issues of spirituality. For example, Omar's understanding of his Islamic identity is framed as a spiritual and moral experience:

Omar: ... for me it's spiritual ... Islam is my guiding light. It has given me my
              morals and it has given me strength through all the difficult times I have
              had ... Islam is a faith, it's a total way of life ... it's not something that
              people should feel threatened about because Islam is a relationship
              between God and you, and no one can change that or take that away from
              you ... the word Islam means peace, you know ... for me Islam is a
              beautiful faith. I think that people should study it and not look at
              Muslims, as Muslims are a very bad example of Islam, but if they look at
              the faith itself then, I think they would see that it's not that bad, and it is
              actually very nice.

(Interview, Glasgow, 19th May 2002)

For Omar, Islam is experienced as a "total way of life" and is something that is between the individual and God, and therefore personal. 'Narratives of location are structured more in terms of a denial (through a rejection of what one is *not* rather than a clear and unambiguous formulation of what one *is*)' (Anthias, 2002b: 501). Omar, whilst

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narrating the significance of the moral and spiritual side of Islam also comments on what Islam and being a Muslim is not about. In highlighting that people should not feel threatened by Islam or Muslims, Omar feels that Islam is often misrepresented and misinterpreted. Taking this a step further, Omar suggests that the best example of Islam is not found in the vast majority of those who claim to be Muslim. A clear distinction is made between the religious faith of Islam, and the use of a Muslim identity that often falls short of the requirements of the religion itself. In this context, almost all of the young men played down their religiosity. For example, Anwar noted the following regarding the rules of Islam: "actually I'm not sure because I'm not the most religious of people" (Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002). All of the young men identify as Muslim, and chose to participate in this study because of their identification as young Muslim men, yet the meaning of being Muslim varies amongst the young men linking with the earlier discussion about being a "proper Muslim".

Ahmed emphasises the spiritual side of Islam, focusing on belief in god and being a good person. It is clear that the young men value their Muslim identity as an important part of their lives:

Ahmed: … I guess it's just like … believe in God, do good things, do good things … being a Muslim is good
Aktahr: Being a Muslim makes you feel high … it's quite hard
                                        (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

The narratives performed by the young men tend to focus on either the religious and spiritual aspects of Islam as a faith, or the actual practicalities or duties associated with being a Muslim, and this is an important distinction. There are subtle differences between religiosity and spirituality, with the latter usually lacking a formal institutional base, while both are about beliefs, morals and ethics. Many people who classify themselves as being religious are also spiritual, yet some religious people will not be spiritual at all, and will simply be following a religion for reasons other than faith and belief. This could be classified as the difference between doing and being, or both or neither. This is, in my view, an issue that is often overlooked by human geographers

who tend to discuss religion and spirituality together as if they are mutually inclusive of each other. In this respect, consider Rehman's comments:

Rehman: Being a Muslim is about, just generally being good, kind, clean ... by clean I don't just mean in terms of clothes I mean like inside as well ... having respect for everything basically

             (Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Rehman highlights the spiritual side of Islam, emphasising the importance of inner cleanliness and respect for self and others, whilst the young men in the focus group extract mentioned earlier highlight the practicalities associated with being Muslim and therefore the religious aspects and institutional characteristics of being Muslim. In discussing the practicalities of being Muslim, it could be that the young men were responding to my whiteness and their perceptions that I am not Muslim and so felt the need to discuss the main requirements of the religion. Also, especially during focus group discussions, some of the young men might have found it challenging to talk about their faith, emotions and ethereal aspects of the spiritual side of their religion.

The young men's narratives of their Muslimness highlights the diversity of what it means to identify as a Muslim, as well as the importance of this identity marker to the young men consulted. Halliday (1999: 897) reliably informs us that "Islam' tells us only one part of how these people live and see the world: and that 'Islam may vary greatly''. Some of the young men emphasise the practicalities of Islam and thus the doing of their religion, through prayer, pilgrimmage, attending mosque and fasting. Other young men concentrated on the spiritual side of their religion and therefore the significance of being Muslim and the positive feelings and emotions associated with being Muslim. Some of the young men focused on both doing and being Muslim and others mentioned neither. This all highlights the multiple natures of the meanings of Islam, even although all of the young men identified as Muslims and often used this form identification in the singular. Overall, much of the discussion about being and doing Islam led the young men to frame their views in global terms, and so they discussed their membership of, or resistance to, the umma, and the importance of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Whilst the discussions about

spirituality made little reference to global experiences, it is clear that the young men's Muslim identities are often framed, experienced and negotiated on a global scale.

5.3 GLOBAL EVENTS

The global framing of the young men's Muslim identities is also connected to other events and happenings that are associated with Islam and the scale of the global. The events of September 11th 2001 in New York occurred in a specific place and time, and are often associated with the global scale. For the remainder of this chapter, I focus on the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, exploring the young men's opinions and reactions to these events, thereby demonstrating the major impact that they have had on the young men's everyday lives. This highlights how scale is a process (see Swyngedouw, 1997) and so, an event in a particular time and space that is frequently framed as global impacts upon other scales through a series of economic, cultural, political and social practices.

This short focus group extract highlights one of many incidents that occurred in Scotland that is perceived to be directly attributable to the events of September 11th 2001 and the resulting aftermath in which Muslims in Scotland experienced increased levels of harassment.

Nabil: … the mosque got panned in, and it happened quite a few times after that
Iqbal: Yeah

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002)

Nabil is referring to the constant abuse and threats experienced by Muslims attending the Central Mosque in Glasgow the days and weeks after September 11th 2001, coupled with the vandalism, graffiti and damage endured by the mosque building (see Figure 10). The Annandale Street mosque in Edinburgh endured more severe damage when it was firebombed on 3rd October 2001 causing £20,000 worth of damage. These two incidents, alongside a range of experiences of harassment and intimidation, resulted in creating a setting where Muslims in Scotland feared for their safety, felt protective of their possessions, and therefore had to negotiate changing urban geographies as a result.

Figure 10

Many mosque buildings were the target of vandalism after September 11th 2001

Glasgow Central mosque, Gorbals, Glasgow
Source: http://www.users.globalnet.co.uk/~nsidle/glasgowmosque/centralmosque.htm
– accessed 6/4/04

Annandale Street Mosque, Edinburgh
Photograph: Peter Hopkins

Unsurprisingly, almost all of the young Muslim men consulted in this research disagreed with the events of September 11th 2001 in New York and Washington, and regard the killing of innocent lives as their main objection. Anwar and Sabir note:

Sabir: Taking September 11th right, it was wrong, there's no doubt ... three thousand innocent lives were taken, yeah, and that is wrong
                                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 10th December 2002)

Anwar: ... I didn't think it was such a great thing to do. I wouldn't have recommended it myself. It's just ... what's the point of it? I mean, that's like five thousand people and it was, people that didn't need to die. I mean, the World Trade Centre has nothing to do with these guys who want to start up a war, why kill them?
                                                    (Interview, Edinburgh, 17th December 2002)

Anwar is confused by the fact that the World Trade Centre was targeted as he sees little connection between the people working there and the aims of those who committed the acts. For others, the World Trade Centre was symbolic of the oppression experienced by many due to the actions of the American government and people. For instance, Talib was the only young man in this research project who suggested that he agreed with the events of September 11th 2001, and this was largely motivated by what he saw as the symbolic nature of the events, although this comment is influenced by the line of my questioning. In this extract, Talib makes a direct link between the USA, the World Trade Centre and slavery. Whilst this might be a rather tenuous link to make, it is clear from the comments made by Talib that he is exceptionally bitter about his experiences of racism and so he could be using this discussion to highlight how he feels oppressed, exploited and mistreated:

Talib: I was happy ... the world trade centre is not our world, it's just an exploitation of people, that's what it was, not a world trade centre, you know what I mean. People think that slavery doesn't exist, but it does, and it's not always, you don't have to be in chains ...
Peter: So that was like a symbolic event for you?
Talib: Yeah, I was well happy about it
                                                    (Focus Group, Glasgow, 5th September 2002)

The strength of Talib's views were not repeated by others, however, his disapproval of the role of the USA in the world was a topic of regular discussion during focus groups and interviews. In this sense, the young men are aware of the 'Americanisation' of the world. As Short and Kim (1999: 75-76) clarify 'the fact that people across the globe are watching CNN and MTV, that McDonald's franchises are opening around the world, and that many Hollywood films dominate the world film market, are taken as indisputable evidence of the Americanization of the world'. Muriel Gray recently highlighted this in a column in the Sunday Herald (16/2/03) where she provocatively stated that September 11th 2001 is 11/9/01 to most people in Britain, rather than 9/11 as it is in the USA. This shows the ways in which the Americanisation of everyday lexicon subtlety enters our vocabulary, and for this reason I do not use '9/11' unless quoting from elsewhere. The young men often referred to the power, control and influence that they perceive the USA to have in the world and they did this through discussions about politics, economics and culture. English is a global language (Short, Boniche, Kim and Li Li, 2001), and due to generational differences 'young Pakistanis overwhelmingly consume mainstream media in the English language' (Samad, 1998: 431). The young men in this research, like the 'diasporic groups' in the work of Samad (1998: 437) are 'aware of the power of representation in the media'. The young men's discussions demonstrate that the power of the media lies in its global reach and therefore its ability to be experienced by so many people.

In terms of the influence of the media, the majority of the young men regularly discussed the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, read books, newspapers and reports about the events, and explored the politics and debates surrounding what took place before, during and after September 11th 2001. Abdul suggests that the events of that day cannot be viewed outside of the context of wider political activities and other issues:

Abdul: The important thing to remember about September 11th is you can't analyse the events on their own, you can't isolate them, you have to look at the bigger picture

Through viewing the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 in this context, the most frequently voiced opinion of the young men is that whilst they disagree with the occurrences on that day, they feel that what happened has been exaggerated to the extent that other significant events are ignored or reduced in magnitude. Neil Smith (2001: 632) makes a similar point stating 'amidst the discursive frenzied hysteria after September 11, the silences are as important as the frenzy', going on to discuss how the media quickly forgot about the attacks on the Pentagon and focused instead on the World Trade Centre. Obviously the significance of the events of September 11th cannot be understated, however, many of the young men were angered by the contradictions between the misrepresentation of Islam and the depictions of other religious groups and events. AbuKhalil's (2002: 30) views complement those of the young Muslim men and highlight one aspect of the many contradictions in this debate:

> Christian leaders are not exhorted to reign in "bad Christians" after abortion clinics are bombed by Christian fundamentalists or when African-American and immigrants are victimised by the burning crosses and hate crimes of the KKK ... Similarly, Israeli terrorists living among settlers operate freely with the support of the government of Israel in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, are not described as terrorists ... In reality, the fundamentalists of the three faiths are quite similar in outlook and objective: they all are intolerant, misogynist, obscurantist, homophobic, puritanical, armed, and willing to use violence to advance their causes.

As AbuKhalil demonstrates, the misrepresentation of what it means to be Muslim, coupled with the willingness of the media to overlook certain issues and exaggerate others frustrates the young men. Also, as many of the young men's accounts highlight, these contradictions, images and stereotypes are most frequently experienced during the young men's everyday local lives as they watch TV news coverage, visit the local shops and read newspapers and magazines. In order to make evident these contradictions, the young men referred to the persistent killings of the IRA, the violence between Catholics

and Protestants in Scotland's streets, and the deaths in other places of the world associated with civil unrest, wars and famine. As Iftikar notes:

Iftakar: I think that was kind of shady right, but it has been blown out of complete proportion. Like three thousand people died, you know what I mean, yet there is that amount of people dying in Africa every single day, and nothing is happening

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002)

For Aslam, the global events of September 11th 2001 have resulted in Muslims being targeted as society's 'undesired, irredeemable, alien[s]' (Alexander, 2002a: 564):

Aslam: … innocent people being killed is not a good thing, but I think it's been blown out of proportion because, even after September 11th, a lot more people have died in the Muslim community, a lot more than what people died on September 11th. The only reason that September 11th is so big is because they happened to have the opportunity to blame a really big thing on Muslims, and it happened to be in America and it happened to be the biggest financial symbol or building that was knocked down. And I think that's the only reason that they have that they have used to their advantage to attack the Muslim world, which I believe they have planned from day one … it was not an accident, or something that was done by Muslims at all

(Interview, Edinburgh, 18th December 2002)

This suggests that this event would not have been regarded as so significant had it taken place elsewhere in the world, and had the target of the attacks not been a global financial centre. It is clear that Muslims as a group are strongly associated with, and to an extent held responsible for, these events in the public consciousness, and so have often been mistreated and demonised as a result. However, as I mentioned earlier, the focus group and interview discussions about the events and aftermath of September 11th overwhelmingly concentrated on the ways in which the events manifested in the young men's everyday local lives.

Despite the extensive influence of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, academics have not been slow to respond to the events. There has been renewed interest amongst political geographers to debate issues of borders, the idea of the nation-

state and the significance of the global geopolitical order since September 11th 2001 (Anderson, 2002; Flint, 2002; 2003a; 2003b). Several journals have also offered space to editorial board members to record their thoughts, emotions and reactions to the events (Smith, 2001; Qvorturp, 2002; Mitchell, 2002). Apart from a few isolated examples (see Khalema and Wannas-Jones, 2003; Peek, 2003; Kwan, 2003), I found few publications that considered the experiences and opinions of Muslims with regards to September 11th 2001, and so there is a need to include their voices in this developing literature. In order to do this, the next section on global events, local negotiations and everyday lives focuses on the methods whereby events framed as global have had, and continue to have, a direct impact on the young men's experience of the anchor points of their local lives, and so influence the markings on the young men's bodies, the character of the street, and the young men's sense of self and community.

5.4   GLOBAL EVENTS, LOCAL NEGOTIATIONS, EVERYDAY LIVES

The crisis unleashed by the events of 11 September is one that is global and all-encompassing. It is global in the sense that it binds many different countries into conflict, most obviously the USA and parts of the Muslim world. It is all-encompassing in that, more than any other international crisis yet seen, it affects a multiplicity of life's levels, political, economic, cultural and psychological (Halliday, 2002: 31).

There were a range of responses to the events of September 11th 2001 in New York and Washington. For some the 'shock, anger [and] fear' (Flint, 2002: 77) were the main emotions, and whilst those who were perceived to be of Muslim faith also experienced these feelings, they also 'became the victims of discrimination, harassment, racial and religious profiling, and verbal and physical assault' (Peek, 2003: 271). Research has focused upon the experiences of American Muslims (see for example, Kwan, 2003, Peek, 2003), and my work shows that Muslims in Scotland have also experienced increasing levels of harassment, violence and scrutiny since September 11th 2001, particularly during the months shortly following the events. I focus on the young men's local everyday negotiations following the events of September 11th 2001. In doing so, I

highlight the racist exclusion that the young men experienced, along with the ways in which markers of Muslim identity have heightened in significance since September 11th 2001. All in all, the result of this is that the young men often had to negotiate the anchor points of everyday life under intense and anxious circumstances.

5.4.1 RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL HARASSMENT, AND ANTI-MUSLIMISM

In terms of officially recorded racist incidents, figures from the Racial Equality Councils in Scotland appear to show a decrease in racist incidents between 2000 and 2002 as Figure 11 shows (Commission for Racial Equality, 2001; 2002; Black Community Development Project, 2002). However, these statistics are skewed by variations in staffing levels between and within racial equality organisations as well as changes in monitoring procedures. These statistics are also reliant on who complains to their local racial equality office. Maggie Chetty, the Director of the West of Scotland Racial Equality Council has also recently warned about the threat of rioting and unrest due to the funding problems facing racial equality organisations in Scotland (Glasgow Herald, 17/07/03), further clarifying the unreliability of these statistics. These statistics are therefore inaccurate given the various discrepancies in recording procedures.

Figure 11

Racist Incidents Reported to Racial Equality Councils

	2002	2001	2000
Central Scotland	25	32***	211
Edinburgh and Lothian	-*	45	91
Fife	21	18	25
Grampian	70	25	33
Tayside	10**	45	77
West of Scotland	17	116	178
Total	143	281	615

*Edinburgh and Lothian REC had no paid employees from April 2002

**Tayside REC dissolved in July 2002

***This figure does not include incidents reported in the first quarter after which new monitoring procedures were introduced

Information about the number of racist incidents from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary for Scotland shows a steady increase in incidents since the mid 1990s. This not only highlights the weaknesses of the Racial Equality Council's information, but emphasises the significance of racism as an issue in Scottish society (Figure 12). However, these statistics do not show a sharp increase in racism after the events of September 11th 2001, only a steady increase. Since the figures are only available on annual accounts, it is not possible to know how many racist incidents actually occurred after September 11th 2001.

The weaknesses of these two sets of statistics contradict the findings of other organisations and researchers who report a sharp increase in racist incidents following the events of September 11th 2001. Amin (2002: 964) refers to the 'frenzied Islamophobia that has followed September 11', and Kelly (2003: .3) notes:

> The terrorist attacks of September 11th in the heartland of the United States of America precipitated a dangerous surge in hatred of Muslims throughout Britain ... in Scotland, the police in Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders reported that racist attacks increased sharply – physical and verbal abuse, vandalism, graffiti and arson. A mosque in Edinburgh was firebombed, bricks were thrown at the central mosque in Glasgow, shopkeepers were abused, school children and their parents became fearful.

One of my main contentions in this chapter is that Muslims in Scotland have been experiencing more harassment since September 11th 2001, and these experiences have been wide ranging in their intensity. Although this might not be indicated in the statistics mentioned previously, I would contend that the reliability of these statistics are questionable for three reasons. First, a fear of further experiences of racism may lead to the underreporting of experiences by victims, and some of the young men that I spoke to suggested that there was little or no point in reporting racist incidents as they would not achieve anything in doing so. A second issue relates to the definition of a racist incident, and the different interpretations of this by police officers, organisations and governments. For example, one of the comments made by the Scottish Executive suggests that a racist occurrence may involve one or more incidents that can be classified

as racist. Third, a range of recent reports, along with the experiences of the young men consulted in this research, demonstrate that there was an increase in racist incidents following September 11th 2001.

<u>Figure 12</u>

Number of racist incidents in Scotland

(including crime and non-crime incident) reported to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary for Scotland

Year	Total incidents in Scotland
1996/1997	810
1997/1998	1078
1998/1999	1271
1999/2000	2242
2000/2001	2731
2001/2002	3355
2002/2003	3607

Source: E-mail Communication 1/4/2003
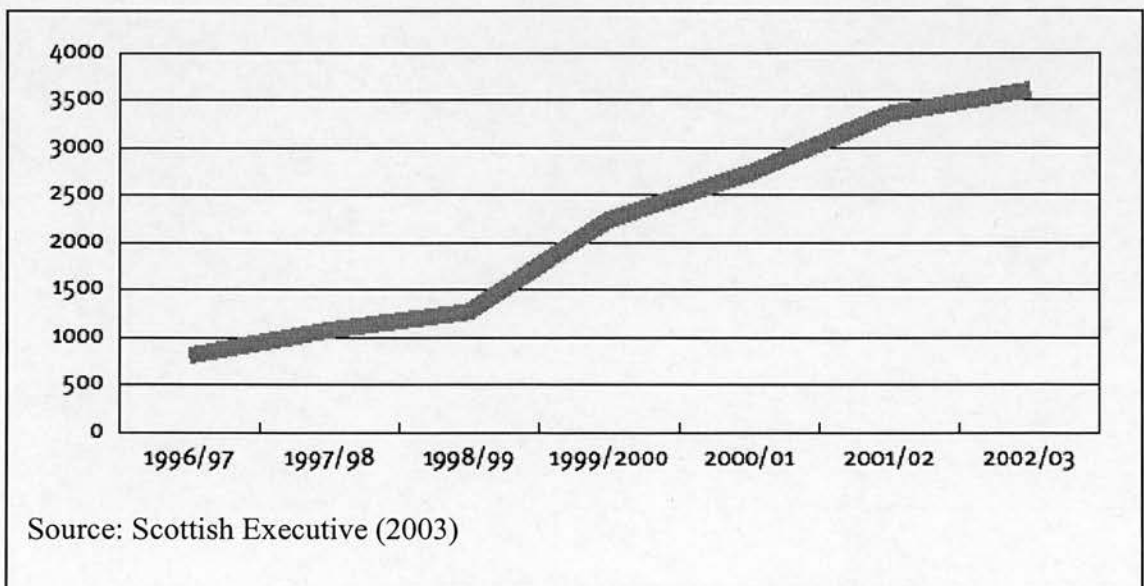
Source: Scottish Executive (2003)

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A recent survey found that eighty-four percent of survey respondents agreed that non-Muslims have tended to be more suspicious of Muslims since 11th September 2001 (YouGov, 2002). There were 206 incidents of anti-Muslim harassment, discrimination and hostility reported to the Islamic Human Rights Commission (2001) in the one month period following the events of September 11th 2001, and 43% of these were recorded as serious crimes of violence. The European Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2002) also reported an increase in levels of racist attacks in Scotland and across the United Kingdom since September 11th 2001.

The increase in levels of harassment experienced by Muslims is reflected in the everyday lives of the young men consulted in this research. Mohammed (Interview, Edinburgh, 16th May 2002) showed me the smashed window of an Edinburgh mosque. Babar (Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003) explained that after September 11th 2001, money was regularly stolen from the mosque he attended at university. The sister of Kabir's friend was spat at in the underground (Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002) and Michael recalled eggs being thrown at the central mosque in Glasgow (Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003). All of the young men consulted in this research stated that they experienced increased levels of racism, harassment and suspicion as a result of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001.

Some of these incidents were reported and so are included in official statistics such as those mentioned earlier. Others, however, are not reported. The comments of the young men in this research highlight that there has been an increase in unrecorded incidences of racism and discrimination. These incidents are wide-ranging and include racist name-calling, victimisation, and more violent acts of Islamophobia, and so involve a complex mixture of racist and religious discrimination. Therefore, the young men in this research could be experiencing racial discrimination or religious discrimination, or a combination of both, and accounting for these experiences depends on the classifications used. This is one of the reasons why I contend that there has been an underreporting of incidents of harassment after September 11th 2001.

Before exploring the young men's experiences, it is important to recognise the complexity of the intermingling of racial and religious harassment and discrimination. Many of the young men experienced what some classify as Islamophobia (Runnymede Trust, 1997). Since hostility towards Islam and Muslims 'has taken different forms at different times and has fulfilled a variety of functions', it has recently been suggested that 'Islamophobias' might be a more appropriate term (Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 2004: 7). However, Halliday (1999; 2003) contends that 'the more accurate term is not 'Islamophobia' but 'anti-Muslimism', (Halliday, 1999: 898) as the attacks of the last decade have not been on Islam as a religion but Muslims as a group of people. Moreover, Halliday (1999) also critiques the use of the term 'Islamophobia' suggesting that it reproduces the idea that there is only one Islam, and can prevent inter-faith dialogue leading to all sensible critiques being labelled 'Islamophobic'. People tend not to engage in discriminatory practices because someone attends mosque, or chooses to pilgrimage to Mecca, or fasts during Ramadan. Yet, this dynamic changes when a person identifies as, or is identified by others, as a Muslim. This could all be classified as religious discrimination.

However, from the accounts outlined in this chapter, I would like to suggest that the factor that has most potency is not religious affiliation but race. Many of the incidents recollected by the young men are based on the assumptions of the perpetrators about the religious affiliation of a person based on phenotypical features such as skin colour, hair texture, facial structure as well as dress and general appearance. Their experiences appear to be less aligned with the personal and practical aspects of their religion. The young men do not mention experiences of harassment because they fast, pray or read the Koran, yet they recollect incidents where they are victimised because of their skin colour, dress and beards. This is more akin to racial discrimination where these phenotypic variations are assumed to have a biological significance. Overall then, the young men's personal accounts witness a complex alliance of racial and religious discrimination and harassment, which is partly attributable to the 'racialization of religious identity' (Alexander, 2002a: 564). Having outlined the complex interplay of racial and religious factors in the young men's experiences, I consider the ways in which

signifiers of a Muslim identity have heightened in significance as a result of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001.

5.4.2 HEIGHTENING SIGNIFIERS: DRESS, BEARDS AND SKIN COLOUR

According to the views, opinions and experiences of the young men consulted in this research, markers of "Muslimness" have heightened in significance as a result of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001. In particular, dress choice, beards and skin colour are recognised by the young men in their personal accounts as markers that identify themselves and others as Muslims, and therefore as a threat. This research has found that these markers have a powerful influence in determining the experiences of young Muslim men as they negotiate their everyday lives. This not only highlights the salience of race as a marker of social difference, but demonstrates how an event often framed as global has its greatest impact when the aftermath of that event is critically shaped by those scales closest in.

Claire Dwyer (1999c: 5) informs us that for young Muslim women in Britain, 'dress is a powerful and overdetermined marker of difference', and that, in reality, wearing the veil actually tells people little about the moral or sexual propriety of the wearer. The young Muslim men consulted in this research drew upon gendered discourses suggesting that young Muslim women suffered most as a result of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, and this related specifically to their dress choice:

Imran: I don't think that men were really affected that much, as Muslim women were affected the most, especially those who wear the scarf or cover their faces. My sister got hassle for wearing the scarf
(Focus Group, Glasgow, 17th July 2002)

Aktahr: Well my sister gets a lot of hassle because she wears the shawl since she went on the Hajj and for prayer, and I think she gets a lot of problems from wearing that
(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

Imran and Aktahr both suggest that signifiers of female Islamic identity have heightened in significance since September 11th 2001. Dwyer's (2000) work highlights how young Muslim men reinforced local patriarchal gender relations through monitoring the

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behaviour of young Muslim women, thereby protecting their masculinity, and this could be a similar example. From the young men's experiences and opinions, it appears that they were subject to a great deal of racism, discrimination and victimisation, and so I see these gendered comments as a method whereby they are conforming to a patriarchal masculinity. Dress choice, after all, influences the lives of many Muslims in Scotland:

Rehman: I mean ... to walk around the streets in like traditional Muslim dress, I think people would have looked at you and wondered what you were up to and would be suspicious

(Interview, Glasgow, 23rd June 2003)

Rehman's comments follow a discussion about September 11th 2001, and so he sees dress choice as an important indicator of Muslim identity for both women and men. Mei-Po Kwan (2003) has suggested that Muslim women are easily identified in public spaces because of their distinctive religious attire, yet this can also, although not always apply to Muslim men as well. Young men who choose to wear 'Asian clothes,' such as Mohammed and Amin, explained that they felt more threatened and were more likely than others to be the targets of racism and 'anti-Muslimism' because of their dress choice. This signifier of Muslim identity increases in potency when combined with the decision of a young man to keep a beard.

Two young Muslim men in this research displayed anger and resentment at the marginalisation they experienced due to the fact that they had a beard, and others recalled incidents involving family members and friends where the choice to keep a beard was one of many factors that resulted in an increase in experiences of harassment. Consider the comments of Mohammed and the focus groups participants:

Mohammed: ... like obviously I've got a beard, but if I was clean shaven it would be fine for me, but you do get discriminated against just cause you have a beard, you know and sometimes you don't get a job and things like that for that reason ... quite a few times I've been walking around at the Highfield area and I've been called Osama Bin Laden or the Taliban or things like that ... yeah ... but it does seem that a beard is a major deal for some people. I mean, bloody hell, coming from them ... it's natural, you know ...

Peter: ... when September 11th happened?
Nabil: The next day it was really quiet
Shakir: I was offended as well ... like my uncle was saying that people were coming up to him and like he doesn't look anything like Osama Bin Laden and ... they don't even know him, and they just started swearing at him and everything
Jamail: Because he had a beard yeah

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002)

So, Asian men with beards experienced an increase in levels of racial and religious harassment as a result of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001. The young men claim that this is because of a strong association between Asian men with beards, Osama Bin Laden and terrorism. The global circulation of racist and Islamaphobic literature exacerbated this situation emphasising the power of the global scale in excluding and disconnecting people. Consider Amar's account:

Amar: ... I was coming back from Pakistan ... coming through security, they spoke to my cousin and I mean he has a really strong English accent, but they questioned him because he has a beard and kind of looks quite Pakistani. I just said to them that they didn't have a fuckin' clue because they let me through and I was born in Pakistan, and they were on at him and he was born in England, I mean for fuck sake

(Interview, Glasgow, 9th July 2003)

An Asian man with a beard can therefore evoke a heightened sense of difference and otherness, regardless of their country of birth and accent. This highlights the significance of the body as a marker of difference, and the power that the visual appearance of an individual can have on their life experiences and opportunities. However, as Babar clarifies, the choice to keep a beard is often down to a desire to follow the example of the prophet Muhammed and so uphold the ideals of Islam:

Babar: ... basically it is to follow the example of the prophet Muhammed, peace be upon him. Basically it is something that the prophet has done and you should try to follow it. It's not like a sin to not have a beard, but it is sin to shave. That might sound stupid, but some people might have little

growth and so even if they don't shave they still won't have a beard. So it's not wrong to not have a beard, but it is wrong to shave. I mean I shave and I really shouldn't. I should have a beard and I have no excuse. I've tried in the past, but I've always shaved it off

Peter: What do you think it is that has put you off having a beard?

Babar: ... I think it is ... that is a good question actually. Me and my friend tried keeping a beard about a year and a half ago ... people were coming up to me and asking what my beard was for and what I was keeping it for and telling me to shave. I tried explaining to people but there was even Muslims coming up to me

(Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003)

Like Babar, some of the young Muslim men in this research advocated that keeping a beard was an important aspect of being a "proper" Muslim. Babar, amongst others, explained to me that Muslim men should try to follow the example of the prophet Muhammed by keeping a beard, yet as Babar's account highlights, many people, including some Muslims questioned him about his decision to keep a beard. From the young men's accounts, it would appear that a young Asian man with a beard is more likely to be a committed Muslim than a young Asian man without a beard as he could be following the example of the prophet Muhammed. This is in direct contradiction to perceptions that links bearded Muslim men with terrorism.

In combination with beards and dress choice, skin colour is another factor that creates a heightened indication of an individual's Muslim identity, as Aslam notes:

Aslam: I reckon racism in general has changed since then ... if you're coloured, you know if you're a Muslim, you're related to Al Qaeda. That is the first thing people think of now. Or, you're a terrorist. Do you know what I mean? I think in that way it has affected me. No one has ever said it to me, but I know somebody who has had that said to him. Oh "you're a Muslim, you must be a terrorist" and it was actually a very scary time for that person

(Interview, Edinburgh, 18th December 2002)

Alsam suggests that skin colour is often interpreted as a marker of a Muslim identity, and so asserts that racism increased after September 11th 2001 due to links being made between Muslims, terrorism and skin colour. Part of one of the focus groups also

involved a discussion where the young men recollected incidents where non-Muslim Asians were the victims of harassment, highlighting the significance of skin colour. This is supported by the Scottish Executive's (2002b) suggestion that Sikhs and Hindus also experienced increasing levels of harassment after September 11th 2001. Aslam's comments also highlight the interplay of racial and religious discrimination by suggesting that racism has increased because of the assumption that a person's skin colour equates with their religiosity. In this content, using the scale of the global as an entry point to discussions about the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 highlights how scale is also a process, as well as the context for social relations. The accounts of the young men show how a global event can have a major impact upon their local everyday negotiations and the various ways in which their bodies are marked out as different.

Overall the young men suggest that dress choice, keeping a beard and not being perceived to be white, all contribute to the recognition by others that they are Muslims. It is the combination of these three markers of difference that evokes the strongest sense of difference and can lead to harassment and discrimination. The main contention of this section is that these signifiers have heightened in significance since the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001. The exclusion and harassment experienced by the young men, coupled with the increase in racist incidents, highlight that these markers have increased in importance. The young men's negotiations of the local anchor points of everyday life have also changed as a result of events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, and so I now focus on the associated struggles, tensions and anxieties.

5.4.3 NEGOTIATING LOCAL LIFE: STRUGGLES, TENSIONS AND ANXIETIES

In Chapter three, I focused on the home, mosque, school/work, as well as leisure time, peer group and community, highlighting the different ways that young Muslim men draw upon, manage and resist local frameworks. During discussions about the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001, the young men frequently referred to these local frameworks and how their experiences and negotiations of these anchor points of

everyday life became more edgy and anxious than they had been before September 11th 2001. In this context, I explore some of the local struggles and tensions that the young men negotiated.

Whilst the division of public and private space has been recognised by geographers as problematic (see for example, Staeheli, 1996; Bondi, 1998), the street is often perceived to be a public space that is inclusive, democratic and so can be used as a site of protest and political action. However, the street is also a potentially feared space that needs to be policed, and there is ongoing debate about the end of public space (Mitchell, 2003). As Nicholas Fyfe (1998: 1) notes 'streets are the terrain of social encounters and political protest, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety'. The young men that I spoke to see the street as a place where they are likely to experience racism, and they suggest that the possibility of this occurring has increased after September 11th 2001. For example, Ifty notes:

Ifty: ... I think that when people see a Muslim walking down the street they think that is good, nice and friendly and things like that, but now I think that there is more racism and things like that...

Peter: So you think that there have been more problems for Muslims since September 11th?

Ifty: Yeah, definitely ... racism has increased; definitely ... there is lots of fighting like white youths and black youths and stuff

(Interview, Edinburgh, 16th July 2002)

Ifty suggests that racism has increased since September 11th 2001, and the street is the place where these experiences are most likely to take place. Similarly, Asadullah recalls an incident where he felt isolated, ashamed and embarrassed by his religious faith:

Asadullah: ... after it, all of these guys started shouting things out of a van at me, saying Osama bin Laden and all that

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd April 2003)

Like Asadullah and Ifty, many of the young men explained that the racism that they experienced after September 11th 2001, coupled with the fear and expectation of experiencing racism, led them to use the streets as little as possible. Some of the young

men withdrew from social networks that required them to negotiate their local streets to visit friends, youth groups or other activities. Others would only go out into the streets as a group or with family in the hope that a group identity might discourage potential racists. Given the significance of the local anchor points of peer group and leisure time in the young men's lives, these changes to their everyday routines have had a major impact on their senses of self and community.

Withdrawal from religious practice was also an action that some of the young men, such as Abdul decided to take. This was not just because of fear of racism, but also because of the threat that many mosques faced following the events of September 11th 2001. The senses of belonging that some of the young men gained from attending mosque were therefore threatened due to the possibility of having to negotiate the racist streets, as well as the potential threat to the mosque building following the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001.

Ahmed: I think a lot of people stopped going to mosque
Abdul: I used to go with him but I don't now

(Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

Although not all of the young men consulted in this research attended school, nine of the eleven focus groups included young Muslim men of school age, and six of these focus groups took place in schools during school time. The place of school in young people's lives is very significant and as I discussed in chapter 3, the school is an important aspect of the young men's everyday local frameworks. It is an agent of socialisation and a place where young people are free from parental control, yet it is also a place where children are monitored, controlled and subject to the rules of the institution. 'Two worlds make up the school. First there is the world of the institution … then there is the world of the children themselves: of social networks and peer group cultures' (Valentine, 2001: 142). Both aspects of the school influence the experiences of young Muslim men following September 11th 2001. The school playground was experienced much like the street in that the young men were subject to racist name-calling and threats. In particular the journey to and from school was a threatening time

for the young men, although some of them argue that the risk diminished with time. The institutional aspects of school also changed for some. Consider Aktahr's account:

Aktahr: ...I had people calling me Osama Bin Laden and things like that ... After the bombing happened and you walked into registration class, you could feel the tension and atmosphere against you ... it was rough ...
                 (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 19th June 2002)

In stating that the atmosphere in class changed the day after September 11th 2001, Aktahr also incorporates the influence of teachers in his account. Similar to their recollections of racist incidents experienced in the street and playground, the young men often claimed that their classroom teachers were also racist, misunderstood their religion and drew upon stereotypes and skewed media coverage thereby neglecting the views and experiences of the young men.

In terms of negotiating access to employment many of the young Muslim men suggest that the markers of their religious identity lead to a lack of job opportunities, as potential employers choose to appoint people who are not visibly Muslims:

Ifty: I think Muslims are stopped from getting more job opportunities. See my brother he was looking for jobs for ages, and he has good experience, you know, and he keeps getting knocked back, and I think it's cause he's Islamic ... you know ...
                 (Interview, Glasgow, 16th July 2002)

Sammy: Well my sister used to always wear the headscarf, and she got knocked back when she went for interviews ... she got knocked back from quite a few of them ... and then she stopped wearing it and she actually got a job the second time after not wearing that
                 (Focus Group, Glasgow, 6th March 2002)

It is difficult to fully support the assertions of the young men, however, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men experience unemployment rates of 38 and 42% respectively, almost three times the rate of the white population (Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith and Virdee, 1997). Also, the Scottish Executive's (2004) analysis of the 2001 Census found that Pakistani unemployment in Scotland is almost double the rate of the white

population. This is also shown in the assertions made by young people in Heim, Howe, Cassidy, O'Connor and Warden's (2003) research about experiences and expectations of racism. However, many of these claims highlight the need for further research, and work by Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance (2003) stresses that there is a lack of information available about the employment issues, opportunities and prospects facing ethnic minority young people in Scotland. It might be easy for the young men in this research to argue that they do not get paid employment because of their religion, as opposed to their possible unsuitability for the job in question. However, the frequency of such comments in this research project suggests that some employers are racist and anti-Muslimist. This appears to have been exacerbated by the way that the events of September 11th have worked to (re) formulate Scottish racism.

The media is identified by the young men as the most influential aspect on their negative experiences following the events of September 11th 2001. As Valentine (2001: 181) notes, 'the media play a pivotal role in moral panics by representing a deviant group or event and their effects in an exaggerated way'. Cohen (1972: 9 in Valentine, 2001: 181) defines a moral panic as:

> A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media, the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible.

Young Muslim men have been identified as society's 'Ultimate Others' (Phoenix, 1997), and they are aware that there has been, and continues to be a 'moral panic' about Muslims, and in particular about young Muslim men. The participants in this research suggest that the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 and the subsequent heightening of markers of Muslim identity have further intensified this panic, assisted by the coverage of the media. The significance of the media in influencing the lives of young Muslims is an important finding of other research in this area (see for example, Dwyer, 1998; Samad, 1998). Furthermore, the media, be it through television

programmes, films, newspapers or magazines, is experienced, engaged with and consumed by the young men during their everyday local lives, and so it has an impact upon the character of the home, the atmosphere of the street and the influence of visits to local shops, school and leisure facilities. Faruk and Guzzar comment:

Faruk: People have got the wrong impression of Islam at the moment with this terrorism and all this crap going on, and all of this bad press that we are getting at the moment. Everyone can just blame anything that happens on Muslims

(Interview, Glasgow, 25th June 2003)

Guzzar: If you think about it, a Muslim man with a beard is a terrorist, but a Jewish man with a beard, then he is following his religion. You see a woman in the street and she is wearing the hijab, she is a terrorist, then you see a nun doing that and she is practising her religion ... that is true you know ... What is the difference between the two? It is because one is Islamic and the media has warped people's thinking. The media is doing it because they are scared of them, because it is the fastest growing religion.

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002)

Both of these young men comment on the significance of the media in influencing people's opinions about what it means to be Muslim. However, the young men also claim that the media is biased against Muslims and is threatened by the resurgence of Islam. The young men were particularly outraged by the persistent showing of Muslim men with beards, and were suspicious by the speed at which Osama Bin Laden was identified as responsible for the events of September 11th 2001. Like those in Peek's (2003) research, the young men questioned the legitimacy of the videotape that showed people celebrating the bombing of the World Trade Centre. The young men felt that Muslims were being strongly associated with terrorism, and so were being victimised and treated as a homogenous group. In this respect, the young men were aware of what Appadurai (1996: 35-36) calls 'mediascapes' and 'ideoscapes'. The former refers to the 'electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations)', with the latter being 'concatenations of images [that are] often directly and have frequently to do with the ideologies of states'. This frustrated them,

because other groups who commit criminal and violent acts are not treated with similar disdain nor are they misrepresented to a similar extent:

Iftikar:	It made me really pissed off
Nabil:	Offended by the way that everyone assumes that all Muslims are terrorists
Jamail:	Yeah
Iftikar:	Yeah, I mean look at the IRA, they never say all of these Christian bombers or Catholic
Azam:	Yeah, they never bring religion into it, but when it is a Muslim, it's fundamentalist, radical nutters

(Focus Group, Glasgow, 3rd October 2002)

The young men are angered and outraged by the persistent misrepresentation of their religious faith and the constant association of Islam with extremism, terrorism and violence. The media is to blame and I think that the young men would agree with the sentiments of Arun Kundnani (2002: 74):

> Since September 11, media attention has focused on Muslim fundamentalists in the UK, such as Abu Hamza al-Masri, of Finsbury Park mosque, and Sheikh Omar Bakri, leader of the Al-Muhajiroun group, who have become household names ... [however] little effort has been made to point out how small their respective followings are.

So, the reaction of the young men to these changing geographies was to restrict themselves as much as possible from those places where they felt they might experience racism and violence. They restricted their use of the street, their journeys to mosque and they carefully negotiated the school playground. These experiences of racism and exclusion, coupled with fear and apprehension have had, and continue to have, marked emotional and psychological impacts for young Muslim men, as well as the wider Muslim community. Consider Kabir's comments:

Kabir:	... I felt upset, maybe I felt angry, probably, a little bit worried and insecure about what might happen to our community. You know, you worry about what may happen to your own family, and I was walking down the street after and I just didn't feel very safe walking around and it

was a terrible feeling where you somehow feel guilty for something that you shouldn't feel guilty about

(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

Like others, Kabir experienced waves of different emotions after the events of September 11[th]2001. The young men recollected their initial feelings of shock and anger; however, the speed at which Muslims were identified as the main threat soon changed the young men's emotions to that of worry, stress and insecurity. Kabir feels confused because he feels guilty for something that he should not be feeling guilty about, and the interview transcripts are littered with comments about the young men's feelings of fear, guilt, anger, stress and tension. In various ways, these reactions led the young men to restrict their use of everyday local frameworks at certain times. Also, these reactions and restrictions encouraged several of the young men to try to take some responsibility for world events and the influence that these have had on the young men's experiences and the demonisation and radicalisation of their religious faith.

This responsibility manifested itself through the young men's clarification of their religious faith and what this means to them as Muslims. Arif (Focus Group, Edinburgh, 30th April 2003) stated that he thought "a lot of Muslims realised that [they] had to show an example of how Muslims actually are". Similarly, Kabir's views sum up the opinions of many of the young men I spoke to during this research:

Kabir: I think that a lot of events, especially September 11th was the biggest turning point for … the Muslim world, because it forced a lot of Muslims to wake up, and say … look, you can't go oblivious through your life, living … I think that hurts because at the end of the day, you're going to be questioned and you might be attacked for being Muslim, so do you know what being a Muslim is? If you had to defend yourself, I mean, defend yourself and verbally defend your corner, do you know the first thing about Islam? Can you explain to somebody that you're not a terrorist, that Islam doesn't encourage terrorism? Can you explain that? Do you have sufficient knowledge? A lot of people's answer is obviously no, so they have to try and politicise themselves. So really, I think these events have forced the community to become more politicised, to become more responsive to the media, to various elements and, you know, respond to things that they see as detrimental and inaccurate. More and more people are doing this now. They see what's

being printed and they're reading it and rather than just complain to themselves … why not write to the person and say, "look, you're inaccurate about this", for this and that reason and that's what has started to happen. Obviously I'm just mentioning one aspect, but people are becoming more involved, trying to learn more and they're looking for information, so I think that's one major way in which the events have influenced … Muslims

(Interview, Edinburgh, 12th December 2002)

As this extract highlights, young Muslim men, as well as other Muslims, have been placed in a position where they have had to be proactive in asserting the true meaning of their religious faith. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Babar recalls money being stolen from the mosque he attended at university (Interview, Glasgow, 24th June 2003). He also talked about how the students who attended the mosque decided to write a letter to the university authorities in order to clarify that they did not agree with terrorism and violence as their religion did not support such action. The university authorities relayed this to other student groups and the thieving stopped. This is a clear example of the young Muslim men being forced into a situation where they have had to clarify their views, attitudes and opinions about world events and actions.

Kabir's sentiments above chime with the recent letter than the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) sent to all 'Imams, Ulema, Chairs and Secretaries of Mosques, Islamic Organisations and Institutions' on 31st March 2004 (see Appendix E). This letter was motivated by the terrorist attacks in Madrid, Spain, coupled with the concerns of the British Prime Minister and Police that there was a 'high probability of an imminent terrorist outage in the UK'. The main purpose of the letter was to urge Muslim organisations to provide balanced guidance to their communities, to co-operate with police, remain vigilant of crime and violence, and to forge purposeful links with other faith communities. One of the seven requests of the correspondence was 'to proactively engage with the media in order to refute any misconception about Islam and the Muslim community'. The significance of this letter led to the subject matter being the main headline in British newspapers and television news coverage. The reactions of the young men to the events of September 11th 2001 and the subsequent restrictions that this has had on their personal, religious and working lives have led some of the young men

to take responsibility for the misrepresentation of their religion. This has encouraged them to be vocal about their disapproval of terrorism, and outspoken about what they see as the main substance of their religion.

5.5 CONCLUSION: GLOBAL ISSUES, LOCAL LIVES

The terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 in New York and Washington changed many aspects of the world, including the everyday lives of young Muslim men living in Scotland. With only one exception, all of the young men that I spoke to during this research project disagreed with the events that took place on that day, and were confused and angry about the way that the Muslim world was immediately held accountable. Following these events, young Muslim men in Scotland experienced increased levels of racism, harassment and victimisation. These events have worked to (re) formulate Scottish racism in that markers of Muslim identity have heightened in significance as a result. In particular, the dress and skin colour of young men, along with the decision of some of the young men to keep a beard, resulted in certain people being identified as Muslims, as others, and therefore as a threat. The significance of the body as a marker of identity and difference is therefore important.

The reaction of the young men was to restrict their use of certain spaces, and the street, school playground and journey to mosque were deemed problematic in this regard. Experiences of racism coupled with threats of violence were the main issues that the young men feared in using such spaces. The biggest issue for the young men, however, was their constant misrepresentation in the media, which in turn has encouraged the young men to be identified as society's 'ultimate others' and has resulted in a moral panic about what it means to be a Muslim. This has had a strong emotional and psychological influence on the young men, with experiences of anxiety, stress and fear being voiced frequently during discussions. Perhaps the most positive result has come from the way that the young men have voiced their discontent with regards to the way that their religion has been misconstrued, and that they are now keen to articulate what they see as the significant aspects of their religion.

I have highlighted how an event that took place at a particular time and place has had a direct impact upon young Muslim men and their negotiations of the local anchor points of everyday life. The young men claim that their experiences of harassment decreased in intensity and volume as time moved on. However, the motivation of the Muslim Council of Britain instigated by the constant threat of terrorist attacks highlights that this issue is not disappearing. The front cover of a recent edition of Newsweek pictured injured civilians of the Madrid bombing with the words 'Europe's 9/11' across the centre of the page. It might be that events like those in Madrid have worked to further exclude young Muslim men and increase their experiences of racism. As such, we should be wary of the influence that events, as well as time, have on young people and their negotiations of place. I have shown how an event that took place on the global scale has influenced those scales of social life closest in, such as the body, street and community.

6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers voice to young Muslim men living in post-devolution urban Scotland through focus group and interview discussions. This methodology provides an opportunity for 'lay' voices to comment on, confirm and challenge traditional ideas about race and residence, religion and place, and geographies and identities. Overall, more than seventy young Muslim men aged sixteen through to twenty-five were consulted, and, like all qualitative research projects:

> The portrait painted in these pictures is, then, time and place specific, more a series of snapshots than a full-fledged documentary; the events are located within a particular geographical and temporal space, enacted through a particular group of individuals within a bounded period of their lives (Alexander, 2000a: 223).

This research focuses on young Muslim men from Pollokshields and South Edinburgh, and so is temporally and spatially specific. I interviewed Kabir on 12th December 2002, and in an e-mail on 29th March 2004 he noted 'Maybe some of my opinions have changed since last year!' It is important to note that the young men whose voices are recorded in this thesis are likely to have moved on since I spoke to them. But where they were then is both a product of their histories and biographies, and a pointer to their future trajectories. Their views and experiences may have been collected at one time and place, but they help us to understand, re-think and appreciate the entanglement of race, religion, youth and masculinities in a specific geographical and temporal context. Overall, this thesis has engaged with the lived experiences of a particular group of young people whose voices are usually silenced, often unheard and frequently distorted. Furthermore, until recently, young Muslim men have been marginalised in human geography research due to the ways in which issues of youth, masculinities, and religion have (and have not) been researched. This thesis has addressed these shortcomings alongside challenging traditional ideas about race and racism which tend to assume that Britain's race 'problem' is an English issue, with Scotland being associated with whiteness. I offer a brief summary of this thesis demonstrating the main contributions that this work makes to understandings of scale in the context of race, religion, youth and masculinities. In the final section, I situate this thesis in the context of a programme of future research.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THESIS

The thesis has explored the geographies, identities and everyday lives of young Muslim men living in post-devolution urban Scotland, using scale to frame the discussion, and recognising scaling as a process which shapes people's lives as a result of the complex ways in which it is used and manipulated. Chapter 2 summarises the research process and methods used in this project. Initially building on the decision to use qualitative methods, I explore issues of access, the selection of participants and some of the issues faced when coding the transcripts, all in the context of a desire for youth-centred research. In particular, I make the point that the aim of doing youth-centred

research is often an ideal rather than a reality, however, youth geographers should try be attentive to the various ways in which young people's lives are often controlled, manipulated and supervised by adults.

Referring to the use of focus groups, I also argue in Chapter 2 that there is a need to develop a critical focus group literature that is attentive to the group size, the age of the participants and the topic(s) being discussed. The various influences on focus group dynamics are wide ranging and complex, influenced by markers close-by such as gender relations and markings on the body, as well as impacted upon by global events and influences such as September 11th 2001, geopolitics and war. Attending to these issues in other projects could help researchers to appreciate the range of issues that can, and often do, influence the synergy of focus groups, and some of the changes and considerations that may be put in place in different circumstances.

One of the other main contributions of chapter 2 is the problematisation of the positionality of the researcher vis-à-vis the participants and the potential influence that this has on the research process. Through reflecting on aspects of difference, otherness and similarity between the research participants and myself, I suggest that the researcher is never entirely the same as or entirely different from their participants. This is significant because we may be judged to be very different or similar to our participants based on certain markers of social difference, yet the various positions that we all occupy means that we are often in a situation where there are various points of similarity and difference being explored throughout the research process, and many of these are open to transformation and negotiation.

Chapter 3 focuses on local anchor points of the young men's everyday lives, highlighting in particular the different ways that the young men frame, use and draw upon constructions of home, mosque, school/work, leisure time and peer group as well as negotiations of community. The local areas of Pollokshields in Glasgow and South Edinburgh are introduced in this chapter, providing the context for the study as well as the basis for a discussion about the young men's negotiations of the scale of the local in terms of ethnic residential clustering. Overall, the young men from both areas prioritise safety and well-being, anchoring their experiences in the home, mosque, peer group and

leisure time. This exploration of the young men's everyday lives highlights the significance of the scale of the local in structuring the young men's experiences of difference and belonging, alongside the various ways in which these local anchor points are made, experienced and used in a range of gendered, racist and ageist ways. Overall, I challenge some of the stereotypes that place young Muslim men on the street and in conflict with their parents' generation, not least because the search for safety and well-being draws them to the segregated spaces of the home, mosque and per group. This opens the opportunity for the (re)imagination of young Muslim men's local geographies.

In chapter 4, I highlight the range of different ways that the scale of the national in/excludes the young men from a strong sense of connectedness and belonging with Scotland. I demonstrate that, when discussing geographies and politics, the young men tend to focus on those aspects that are safe to discuss. The young men spoke at great length about their disgust for the BNP and frequently referred to the landscape as an important aspect of Scottishness. However, these issues are safe to discuss and debate, whilst those issues which are more direct and sensitive to their everyday lives, such as personal racism and their negotiations of Scottish society, were difficult to articulate. The young men therefore experience difficulty in making a space in an environment of mistrust and racism. Thus, although the young men tended to identify as Scottish Muslims, employing Anthias' ideas highlighted how they also turned towards the safety of a global network of associations through family heritage and language.

Finally, the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 set the context for an analysis of the young men's opinions about these events and their subsequent experiences in the context of the scale of the global. I show that the vast majority of the young men disagreed with the events that took place on September 11th 2001, and used religion as their main form of justification. The changing geographies that young Muslim men in Scotland have to negotiate as a result of the events of September 11th 2001, and the subsequent increase in racism and Islamophobia, demonstrate that some young men were restricted from visiting the mosque, some withdrew from social networks, and many felt isolated and excluded as a result. Their links to global identities and networks, and the racialisation of religion that terrorism has inspired, has led the

young men to return to their safe local anchor points of home, family and peer group. Some of the young men have taken personal and political actions, either through writing to politicians, through protesting against world events or through reiterating the true meaning of their religious faith.

So, where does this journey through local everyday lives, national politics and identities, and global events leave young Muslim men in Scotland? Overall, I suggest that this journey leads the young men back to the safety of home, mosque, peer group and leisure places and times. I have demonstrated the complex ways in which scale is used and manipulated, and the power struggles through which the young men's everyday lives are lived. Local life draws the young men to the safety and well-being of home, mosque, friendship circles and leisure time. In the struggle for the scales of the national, the young Muslim men consulted also prioritise well-being through concentrating on issues that are safe to discuss, such as the Scottish landscape and their disgust for the BNP. The mistrust and personal racism that the young men often associated with the national scale led them to narrate their connections and linkages with global identities and networks. Also, through the global scale, the young men gave primacy to personal welfare and security as they resisted their connections with global terrorism and struggled to (re)present their religious identities. Through a complex series of struggles and various claims for safe-keeping, the different ways in which scale is used, exercised and manipulated, leads young Muslim men back to the security and well-being of friends, family, home and mosque.

6.3 KEY CONTRIBUTIONS OF THESIS

6.3.1 SCALE MATTERS, LOCAL MATTERS

I have shown how scale works, and is used, to shape people lives, and how scale is a framing device for understanding the world, highlighting a number of different ways that scale is used, experienced, struggled over and understood by young Muslim men in Scotland. Building on the suggestions of Martson (2000) and Kong (2001), I demonstrate that scale provides a useful concept for exploring social relations and for appreciating the diversity and difference that may vary between different scales. I have

also shown that scales are not neat hierarchies of power, but instead are like networks, or to paraphrase, 'multi-layered scaffolding of intertwined, co-evolving' (Martson, 2000: 227) concepts for exploring, understanding and appreciating local social relations. In doing this, my work makes a number of important contributions to understandings of scale and markers of social difference.

At an international conference on 18th August 2004, Sallie Marston presented a plenary paper about 'Human Geography without Scale'. Marston (2004: 2) attempts to render scale 'unnecessary for human geography', although she acknowledges that research about scale has advanced geographers' understanding of society and space. This claim is problematic because, as I have shown in this thesis and reiterate now, scale matters. The main point of Marston's (2004) plenary paper is that 'the non-capitalist practices of daily life have remained largely unincorporated in scale theorising', and therefore there is a need to focus on issues of social and cultural significance such as social reproduction (Martson, 2000, 2004). So, a perspective that sees 'the global as a space that is dynamic, thrusting, open, rational, cosmopolitan and dominant, while the local is communitarian, authentic, closed, static, nostalgic, defensive (but ultimately defenceless) and the site of ethnic, sexual, regional and other fragmentary identities' (Ley, 2004: 155) neglects the negotiations, contestations and struggles that are an important part of everyday local life. The scales that matter most to the young men consulted in this research are those scales that the young men depend upon and engage with most often, and these are the local anchor point of everyday life. Overall, this thesis has demonstrated that scale matters, and it is often the local scale that matters most, highlighting that Marston is correct in her claim that geographers need to focus on the local, but flawed in her assertion that scale is unnecessary for human geography.

In the introduction I quote McMaster and Sheppard (2003: 15) who state the following about scale: 'we need to understand not only why their relative importance may vary over space and time, but also *whether these are even the right scales to be thinking about*' (my italics). Marston (2000: 238) boldly states that there is 'nothing in the geographical literature,' apart from one exception, 'that *explicitly* links scale construction to either social reproduction'. This thesis has made links between scale as a

construction and wider issues of social relations. Furthermore, Martson (2000: 235) sees spatial scales as 'sites of engagement', and this thesis has extended this suggestion by highlighting a range of different ways that scales work, and are used to dis/engage, in/exclude, and dis/connect young Muslim men from feelings of belonging. This thesis provides a range of examples where various scales operate in a complex range of processes to influence the everyday lives of young Muslim men in Scotland. The scale of the national, for example, offers the young men a sense of inclusion and engagement with Scotland through being born and brought up in Scotland. They also talked positively about the landscape and economy. Yet, simultaneously, the scale of the national excludes and segregates the young men as they distance themselves from the drinking culture that they see as an important part of Scotland, and are made to be different as a result of racial and religious discrimination. Moreover, through exploring the scale of the national, this thesis has also highlighted the connections between this scale and that of the body, urban, community and global scales.

In this thesis, I think that one of the most interesting findings relates to the ways in which the scales that matter most are often those scales closest in such as the markings on the body, the placing of the home, the character of the street, and the young men's senses of personhood. So, to answer the query of McMaster and Sheppard (2003), the scale that geographers need to consider are the local scales and those scales closest in, as these are the scales where people manage, negotiate and resist personal identities, political futures and senses of in/exclusion. Negotiations of identities and difference, and the ways in which different scales of social life are used, struggled over and resisted by the young men, often impact most upon the scale of the body and the young men's senses of personhood. Winchester, Kong and Dunn (2003: 173) discuss how the body is the most intimate scale, and bodies '… are landscapes of power, of the margins, of the everyday and of resistance'. I have demonstrated that, even when the scale of the global, and so the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 are discussed with the young men, these conversations often led to emotional accounts of marginalisation, exclusion and rejection lived out in the young men's everyday local lives, influencing and being caused by the markings on the body, thereby impacting

upon those scales closest in. As Ash Amin (2002: 959) notes, 'much of the negotiation of difference occurs at the very local level, through everyday experiences and encounters'. Overall, scale matters and it is often the local scale that matters most.

The anchor points of the young men's lives, and in particular the markings on the young men's bodies have an important impact on their personal identities and political futures, as well as their senses of community and feelings of difference.

> The shifting landscape of difference, played out on global, national and local stages, currently against a backdrop of carpet-bombing and viral paranoia, is a testament both to the continuance of (enforced, often lethal) modernist categorizations of racial, cultural and religious categorization and hierarchy, and their ceaseless transformation and translation (Alexander and Alleyne, 2002: 545).

Since the markings of the young men's bodies are significant to their experiences, and as Alexander and Alleyne confirm, it is important to consider the significance of categories such as race and religion, and the various ways in which they are used, transformed and manipulated. This connects with the way in which markers of Muslim identities have been racialised and this is an important contribution of this thesis.

6.3.2 THE RACIALISATION OF RELIGION

I have demonstrated the continuing salience of various markers of social difference. In particular the continuing significance of race is prevalent in this research project. Susan Smith (1989: 2) notes that 'the erroneous belief that human races exist as distinct biological types, identified by physical traits and reflected in cultural diversity, has longstanding, widespread and disturbingly enduring appeal'. Through using scale, particularly as a context for social relations and a device that shapes, and is shaped by, people's lives, I highlight the continuing salience of race as a marker of social difference. In particular, it would appear that the racialisation of religion, and in particular the racialisation of what it means to be a Muslim has happened in Scotland, and so race remains a significant indicator of social difference.

Scaling social relations also highlights the way that race is employed by those who want to exclude young Muslim men from connecting with and belonging in Scotland, and also how the young men themselves may choose to articulate their difference in racial terms. Thus, race is an exceptionally powerful marker of social difference, employed as it is by those who want to exclude others and those who want to identify as different. This thesis contains many examples that support this assertion. For example, the young men's skin colour and choosing to keep a beard often marked them out as Muslims according to the people who chose to discriminate against the young men as they negotiate their everyday lives. The young men were not victimised because of the fact that they attended mosque, read the Koran or prayed, and were instead targeted because of phenotypical features such as skin colour. This clearly demonstrates that the young men's Muslim identities lead them to experience racism, and emphasises the racialisation of religious identities. As well as being marked out as different by racists, the young men sometimes also choose to articulate their religious identities in racial terms and the interchanging between identifying as Muslim and Asian highlights this. So, notwithstanding complexities and diversity, this thesis explores and seeks to comprehend the changing faces and manifestations of racism, and in particular, the racialisation of religion.

It is also clear that the racialisation of religion takes place on local, national and global scales. The events and aftermath of September 11th 2001 and the subsequent war on Iraq influenced the methods whereby the young men's religious identities were racialised, as well as the speed and intensity at which such racialisation took place. Alongside this, the British National Party sought to capitalise on such events by seeking to exclude the young men from the nation and/or state arguing that Britain should be a white place that is free from Islam. These examples clearly demonstrate that the racialisation of religion has taken place, and this is often the product of a range of different interests groups in their struggle for exclusivity (such as the BNP) or their claims for belonging (such as the young men).

6.3.3 ASIAN MASCULINITIES

Attitudes about appropriate gendered behaviour, and in particular the performance of hegemonic forms of masculinity, has emphasised the persisting importance of gender as a marker of social difference. The most striking example of the significance of gender is in the young men's views on the role of Muslim women as outlined in Chapter 3, coupled with their comments about generational differences. The young men's understandings and narratives of gender relations support and subvert traditional approaches that demonstrate that young Muslim men possess patriarchal masculinities that seek to oppress Muslim women. Through the scale of the community and home, the young men suggest that men and women are equal in Islam, yet they simultaneously use sexist stereotypes about the role of women. There are a range of masculinities inhabited and performed by the young men in this research, highlighting the complexity of their experiences and the different ways that they see themselves, and are seen by others, as men. In different settings and at different times, the young men performed hegemonic masculinities, thereby placing emphasis on macho behaviour and toughness, yet at other times the young men displayed masculinities that were sensitive to experiences of racism and harassment, and were thus open to emphasising the importance of safety and well-being.

The various ways in which the young men construct Asian masculinities is therefore an important contribution of this thesis. As I stated in the introduction, it has only been in the last ten years that geographers have started to focus on the construction of masculinities. Although there now exists a range of studies about men and masculinities in a variety of different contexts (see for example, Longhurst, 2000, McDowell, 2003, Nayak, 2003), few studies in human geography have looked at the construction of Asian masculinities. This thesis is therefore original in that is seeks to explore the geography of masculine identities inhabited by young men who, with a couple of exceptions, are of Asian heritage.

Alongside contributing to research about the geography of masculinities, this thesis also adds to the literature about Asian Muslim masculinities in general. The research conducted by Louise Archer (2003) involved Muslim boys aged 14-15, of

which 18 identified as Pakistani, eight as Bengali and four as Pakistani/Kenyan. The young men involved in Alexander's (2000) study were around 15-20 years old, and the majority were Bengali. Given the age of many of the young men that I spoke to, an important contribution of this thesis is the inclusion of a slightly older group of young Muslim men in research about Muslim masculinities. Also, it is likely that the profile of young men that I consulted are more middle class and highly qualified compared with the Muslim men involved in previous studies. A key argument of this thesis is that, in terms of race and racism, there is a need to think more carefully about the Scottish situation. As the majority of studies about Asian masculinities in Britain have taken place in England, this thesis includes the voices of young men living in post-devolution urban Scotland in such debates. As I suggest, there are various ways in which the young men's everyday experiences in Scotland are bound up in a series of struggles and jostles for and over the scale of the nation. These struggles for a sense of belonging in Scotland are often connected to the young men's Asian masculinities, such as the ways in which they negotiate local streets and the way they respond to racism and politics.

The Scottish perspective of this research also highlights another original contribution of this thesis. Generally speaking, black masculinities are often associated with sexual prowess, control, power, and are often labelled 'black macho' (see Alexander, 2000, Archer, 2003, O'Donnell and Sharp, 2000) while Asian masculinities are regarded as more effeminate and weaker than black masculinities (O'Donnell and Sharp, 2000). Along these lines, Alexander suggests that Muslim masculinities are often represented as 'failed masculinities' (Alexander, 2000: 235). Young men's masculine identities are also influenced by the masculinities inhabited by other young men of the same age, and many of the young Muslim men that I spoke to have been brought up in Scotland where the black population is very small compared with the South Asian population. This may have a direct influence on the ways the young men perform their masculine identities. Rather then being the weak masculinity amongst black and Asian youth, they may inhabit the powerful, strong and dominant masculinity often associated with black men. The fact that some of the young men stated that nobody "messed with them" supports this assertion. The young men's location in Scotland and the

demographics of the black and minority ethnic community therefore has an influence on how their Asian masculinities are developed, performed and contested.

6.4 PROGRAMME OF FUTURE RESEARCH

Overall, this thesis has started to explore and unpack young Muslim men's understandings and negotiations of their geographies, identities and everyday lives as experienced in urban Scotland. As this conclusion highlights, this research has made a number of important contributions, however, it also highlights that there is a need for further research about young people, racism and place. I see this thesis as part of a larger programme of work that could involve a range of different research methods and techniques. For example, the recent interest in participatory research methods amongst social geographers offers the possibility for more inclusive research that involves people in all stages of the research (Cahill 2004; Kesby, 2000; Pain, 2004). This programme of work could focus on three areas: the geographies of Muslim identities, the place of race and racism, and childhood and youth geographies.

First, my research demonstrates that being Muslim is not a fixed and static category and is instead heterogeneous, and may be defined and experienced in a range of different ways in different places and times. Alongside the work of Dwyer (1999b), my research makes a useful contribution to understandings of the geographies of Muslim identities, highlighting in particular the importance of the markings on the body and the placing of the home in the context of such identifications. Further research could seek to understand more fully the intersection of the geographies of Muslim identities with other markers of social difference, such as class, sexuality and disability. Sociologists have made useful interventions in this area; however, much of their work denies the significance of place in the construction of identities (see for example, Yip, 2004).

Second, one of the starting points of my research is that there is a need to focus upon experiences of race and racism in Scotland, and not rely entirely on English examples that are said to speak to British understandings of racism. Whilst this thesis has offered voice to young Muslim men in Scotland, future research could usefully explore the experiences of other racialised groups in Scotland. For example, there is an

established Sikh community in Leith in Edinburgh, and a research project looking at the geographies, identities and everyday lives of Sikh youth would make an important contribution to understandings of the place of race and racism, as well as the role of religion and age. Research of a comparative nature, possibly exploring the lives of ethnic minority youth in two English cities could also highlight significant similarities and differences between the Scottish and English experiences, and so contribute to understandings of the place of race and racism.

Les Back (2004: 4) states that 'countering white supremacy is not simply a matter of disavowing whiteness. Rather it is a matter of focusing on what whiteness is, and what it can do'. Given the regularity of experiences of racism and difference recorded in this thesis, there is a clear need for further research to investigate the perceptions of young white people on issues concerning the place of race and racism. As Les Back notes, challenging racism partly involves looking at whiteness, how it works and what it can do. Research needs to explore young white men's views on Muslims, racism and other connected issues. This would not only find out more about what whiteness can do, but would be helpful in understanding some of the experiences of young Muslim men in Scotland, and why their complex experiences of in/exclusion and dis/connection exist in the form that they do.

Third, my research explores a group that has been, until recently, marginalised from childhood and youth geographies. My work has started to unpack the complex masculinities of young Muslim men, yet further research is needed in order to explore relations between and within young Muslim men's peer groups and their relations with young women (Muslim and non-Muslim). Mac an Ghaill (1997: 61) suggests that:

> ... we need to consider not only gender *differences* but also *relations between* young men and women and *within* young men's peer groups ... Masculinities are also developed in specific institutional contexts in relation to and against each other (authors own emphasis).

Research that explores the geographies, identities and everyday lives of young Muslim women would make an important contribution to human geography alongside the

findings of this thesis and the work of Dwyer (1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000; 2002). Furthermore, given that this research explores the young men's perceptions of Muslim women and gender relations in general, it would be interesting to explore young Muslim women's perceptions of Muslim men.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Young Muslim men: citizenship and identity in Scotland

Interview schedule

General introduction to research, followed by a reminder that everything that is said is confidential, and that the interviewee may drop out of the interview at any time. I want to hear their views as young men living in Scotland.

Thinking about Scotland?

- Have you always lived in Scotland? If not, where?
- What do you like most about Scottish life and culture?
- If you had to describe Scotland to an outsider, what would you say?
- Would you describe yourself to them as Scottish?
- What would you say is / not Scottish about you? (Images?)
- Do you feel that you have associations with any other nationality or identity?
- Has the Scottish Parliament made any difference to you?
- Do you think that the Parliament has changed Scotland in any way?
- Have you ever voted in the Scottish elections? (or would you if you were old enough?) If not, why?
- Have you ever voted in the British elections? (or would you if you were old enough?) If not, why?
- What do you think about the Scottish National Party (SNP)?
- What about the British National Party (BNP)?
- Do you think much about the difference between Scotland and England?
- Do you think much about the difference between Scottish people and English people?
- What do you think Scotland might look like in 10 years time?
- What kind of things might have changed? (only as prompts - Society, environment, politics, culture, racism?)
- Do you think that you will stay in Scotland all that time? If yes, why? If not, why not? Where might you go?

Thinking about where you live in Scotland?

- What are the best things about living in Glasgow/Edinburgh? The worst?
- What do you like about your local neighbourhood? Not like?
- Is there a sense of local community spirit?
- Would you say that people round here know and help one another; do people trust and support each other?
- Is your local area a place where people enjoy a high quality of life?
- Is there a lot to do around here? What kind of things? (Work, leisure?)
- Do you belong to any local organisations? What do they do? Feelings?
- Are you involved in your local area in any other ways?

- Are there times when people in your local area feel isolated or at risk?
- How helpful is the local Council? Is the area tidy? Safe and Secure? Good repair?
- Do you vote in local election? If not old enough, would you? It not, why?
- Do you think that the local Council is influential?

Thinking about being young and male?
- Tell me about a typical day in your life
  - Work, opportunities, achievements, ambitions, attitudes?
  - Leisure, when, where, how and why?
  - Family
- Do you think that your average day is typical of any young man in Scotland? Yes, what? No, what?
- How does your day/life differ from older Scottish men? (e.g. your father)
- People sometimes say that it is harder being a man than being a woman these days (women often do better at school, get better jobs etc.) Do you agree?
- Where do you see yourself in ten years time?
- What will you be doing?
- Where do you think you'll be living? What kind of housing? What kind of neighbourhood?

Thinking about being Muslim?
- For an outsider like me, could you say briefly what you feel being a Muslim is basically about?
- Do you think of yourself as typical among Muslims?
- Do you associate with a particular group of Muslims?
- And how does being Muslim and being Scottish work for you? (Do you think of yourself as a Scottish Muslim, a Muslim Scot, or as someone else altogether, e.g. young British men, for example.?
- Is it possible to say how, in a practical way, being a Muslim influences your day to day life?
- And, how easy it being a Muslim in Scotland today?
- Are there particular things that you like / do not like about being a Muslim in Scotland?
- I often get the impression that there is a much bigger difference between the lives of Muslim men and women than there is among non-Muslim men and women in Scotland? What do you think about this?
- Have there ever been any circumstances where you have been made to feel different because you are a Muslim?

Conclusion of interview
- As you know this is an interview about you and your life, and I have been particularly interested in your experience as a young Muslim man in Scotland. Is there anything else that I should have asked you?
- Thank interviewee for taking part and stress confidentiality.

APPENDIX B

CODING FRAMEWORK

GLOBAL   POLITICS
            'The West'
                USA/George Bush
                UK/Europe
            'The (Muslim) Rest'
                Palestine
                Iraq
                Other

GLOBAL   EVENT (SEPTEMBER 11TH)
            Recollections of event
            Signifiers heightened
            Labelling (generally negative)
            Impact on how others label Muslim
            Impact on how Muslims feel about themselves (emotional)
            Events thereafter
            Behaviour(s) towards Muslims

GLOBAL   IDENTITIES
            Global identities
                Global citizenship
            Islam v West
            Muslim identity as singular and diverse
            Being Muslim

NATIONAL   POLITICS
            The Far Right
                The BNP
            Britain
            Views on Scottish governance
                Good / Bad
                One Scotland, Many Cultures
                Voting behaviour
                Scottish National Party

NATIONAL   GEOGRAPHIES
            Scotland (the place)
                Landscape
                Economy
                    Career/educational opportunities
                Society
                    White
                    Multicultural

NATIONAL   IDENTITIES
            Being Scottish (and Muslim)

Scottish claims
                    Born in Scotland
                    Scottish accent
                    Scottish upbringing
                    Scottish performances and lifestyles
                    Feeling Scottish
               Being Scottish and Muslim
                    Easy / Difficult
               Not being Scottish (excluded from being)
                    Difference
                    race / colour / ethnic origins
                    Religion
                    Traditions
                    Lifestyles
               Being Muslim
                    Good / Bad
                    What it means to be a Muslim
                    Events / Festivals
                    Muslim futures

LOCAL   POLITICS
               Local democracy / participation
                    Support networks
                    Local mosque
LOCAL   GEOGRAPHIES
               Segregation
                    Segregation as positive
                    Segregation as impact of reaction to racism
                    Whiteness / White areas
               Pollokshields
               South Edinburgh
LOCAL   IDENTITIES
               Being Muslim
                    Good / Bad
               Identification with local community
                    Family networks
                    Peer Groups
                    Religious focus/practice
               Masculinity
                    Gender and Generational differences
                    Crisis of masculinity
                    Perceptions on the role(s) of Muslim women

APPENDIX C

TIMETABLE OF FOCUS GROUPS AND INTERVIEWS

Date	Focus Group	Interview
06/03/02	1	
16/05/02		Mohammed
19/05/02		Omar
14/06/02		Saeed
19/06/02	2	
12/07/02		Jana
12/07/02		Ishmail
16/07/02		Ifty
17/07/02	3	
22/07/02		Amin
24/07/02	4	
05/09/02	5	
03/10/02	6	
10/10/02	7	
01/11/02		Arif
14/11/02	8	
16/11/02		Abdul
10/12/02		Sabir
12/12/02		Kabir
16/12/02		Kaukab
17/12/02		Anwar
18/12/02		Aslam
04/02/03	9	
25/03/03		Latif
25/03/03		Jamal
03/04/03	10	
30/04/03	11	
17/06/03		Shafqat
23/06/03		Rehman
23/06/03		Qamar
24/06/03		Babar
25/06/03		Faruk
09/07/03		Amar

APPENDIX D
CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Young Muslim men: citizenship and identity in Scotland

A researcher at the University of Edinburgh is undertaking research into the lives of young Muslim men living in Scotland. One of the ways in which they will be doing this is to interview people to allow them to tell their own stories, and to report their own experiences, in their own words.

The University understands that you are willing to be interviewed by Peter Hopkins, one of the University's researchers. It is important to the University that only people who want to do so participate in this study. We make sure of this by asking you to sign this form to confirm that you have freely agreed to be interviewed. You do not need to answer any particular question and you may stop the interview at any time.

The interview will be recorded and we will then use what you have said to help us in our research. We will not intentionally reveal your identity to anyone outside the research team.

It is important to us to publish the results of our projects, so that others can learn from what we have found. When we do publish the results, we may include quotations from some of the interviews, including yours. Neither your own name nor any of your other personal details that would identify you will ever be associated with these quotes. We would be grateful if you could confirm, by signing this form, that you are happy for us to use the recorded interview or extracts from it in this way.

I confirm I have freely agreed to be interviewed for this project and that the recorded interview or extracts from it may be used as described above.

Signed: ....

Print Name: ....

Date: ....

APPENDIX E

DETAILS OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

FOCUS GROUP	PARTICIPANTS NAMES (AGE) AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND	
Pilot group 6th March 2002	No details collected	
Edinburgh (6) 19th June 2002	**Abdul** (17) Pakistani **Aktahr** (16) Pakistani **Ali** (15) Pakistani	**Ahmed** (17) Pakistani, **Musharf** (16) Pakistani **Saddam** (16) Pakistani
Glasgow (4) 17th July 2002	**Nasser** (16) Pakistani **Amir** (16) Pakistani	**Saeed** (16) Pakistani **Imran** (17) Pakistani
Glasgow (3) 24th July 2002	**Nasser** (16) Pakistani **Amir** (16) Pakistani	**Saeed** (16) Pakistani
Glasgow (3) 5th September 2002	**Talib** (24) Pakistani **Sheikh** (17) Kosovan	**Kanwar** (18) Iraqi
Glasgow (11) 3rd October 2002	**Shakir** (17) Pakistani **Barkat** (16) Pakistani **Azam** (17) Pakistani **Munwar** (16) Pakistani **Guzzar** (16) Pakistani **Ibrahim** (16) Pakistani	**Noman** (17) Scottish **Iftikar** (16) Pakistani **Nabil** (16) Pakistani **Jamail** (17) Pakistani **Iqbal** (17) Pakistani
Glasgow (8) 10th October 2002	**Omar** (17) Pakistani **Nusart** (17) Pakistani **Sharif** (17) Pakistani **Badar** (18) Pakistani	**Jafran** (17) Pakistani **Faisal** (16) Pakistani **Faqir** (17) Pakistani **Jamail** (17) Pakistani
Edinburgh (6) 14th November 2002	**Tahir** (18) Pakistani **Omar** (16) Pakistani **Emile** (16) Pakistani **Nasser** (17) Pakistani	**Afzal** (16) Pakistani **Ali** (16) Pakistani
Edinburgh (5) 4th February 2003	**Nadeem** (16) Pakistani **Jamal** (17) Pakistani **Latif** (16) Moroccan	**Din** (16) Pakistani **Ashar** (17) Pakistani
Glasgow (6) 3rd April 2003	**John** (17) Pakistani **Nadeem** (17) Pakistani **Michael** (16) Pakistani	**Bob** (16) Pakistani **Asadullah** (18) Pakistani **Kobe** (16) Pakistani
Edinburgh (3) 30th April 2003	**Ali** (19) Pakistani **Sabir** (20) Pakistani	**Arif** (22) Indian

Please not that the names of all of the participants have been changed in order to protect their confidentiality.

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APPENDIX F

DETAILS OF INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

NAME (Age) Education	Marital Status Job	Ethnic Origins Place of birth	Family
MOHAMMED 25 HNC Computing	Married Computing consultant	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum – housewife, Dad – shopowner 3 brothers, 2 sisters
OMAR 25 BSc and MRPharm	Single Pharmacist	 Pakistani Huddersfield	Mum – housewife, Dad – Business -owner, 2 brothers, 1 sister
SAEED 22 School certificates	Married -	 Pakistani Huddersfield	Mum – housewife, Dad – shopowner 1 brother, 1 sister
JANA 16 At school	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum – chef, Dad – (passed away) 3 brothers, 1 sister
ISHMAIL 16 At school	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum – housewife, Dad – shopowner 2 brothers, 2 sisters
IFTY 16 At school	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum – housewife, Dad – shopowner 1 brother, 2 sisters
AMIN 25 Youth Work, Islamic Scholar	Married Youth Worker, Islamic Scholar	 Pakistani London	Mum – retired, Dad – retired 2 brothers, 2 sisters
ARIF 21 At university (medicine)	Single -	 Indian Glasgow	Mum – housewife, Dad – doctor I brother, 1 sister
ABDUL 19 At university (computing)	Single -	 Bangladeshi Dunfermline	Mum – housewife, Dad – restaurant owner. 1 brother, 1 sister
SABIR 19 At university (medicine)	Single -	 Pakistani Leeds	Mum – teacher, Dad – local govt. officer. 1 brother

KABIR 18 At university (Islamic Stud)	Single -	 Pakistani Bishopbriggs	Mum – social worker, Dad – teacher 2 brothers
KAUKAB 24 BA Community Education	Married Café Owner	 Pakistani Pakistan	Mum – retired, Dad – retired 1 brother, 3 sisters
ANWAR 21 At university (Computing)	Single -	 Pakistani Edinburgh	Mum – social worker, Dad – builder 1 brother, I sister
ASLAM 22 BSc Health Sciences	Single Computing	 Pakistani Edinburgh	Mum – retired, Dad – retired I brother, 2 sisters
LATIF 16 At school	Single -	 Moroccan Edinburgh	
JAMAL 17 At school	Single -	 Pakistani Edinburgh	
SHAFQAT 23 BSc Electronics	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum – housewife, Dad – shopowner 3 sisters
REHMAN 22 BSc Archaeology	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum – retired, Dad – retired 2 brothers, 3 sisters
QAMAR 22 HND Computing	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	 1 brother, 2 sisters
BABAR 22 BSc Pharmacology	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	 2 brothers, 1 sister
FARUK 23 At university (pharmacology)	Single -	 Pakistani Glasgow	Mum-housewife, Dad-taxi driver 3 brothers, 1 sister
AMAR 21 At university (business)	Single -	 Pakistani Pakistan	Mum – housewife, Dad-unemployed 3 brothers, I sister

MUSLIM COUNCIL OF BRITAIN LETTER TO MOSQUES

31 March 2004
To: Imams, Ulama, Chairs & Secretaries of Mosques, Islamic Organisations and Institutions

Dear Respected Colleague

As salaamu 'alaikum wa rahmatullah

The last few weeks and days have been fraught with tragedies and dangers. I am sure you are fully aware of the concerns expressed by the Prime Minister and the Police Authorities about the high probability of an imminent terrorist outrage in the UK.

I have no doubt that as a leader in the community you are already discharging your Islamic duty in helping to preserve the peace of the nation as well as protecting the community against falling into any trap or provocation.

Following the criminal terrorist attack on the Madrid trains, and despite our immediate, public and unequivocal condemnation of those atrocities some, however, continue to associate Islam with terrorism by using such misleading terms as 'Islamic terrorist'. The words of the Qur'an are clear:

"If anyone kills a human being, unless it be (in punishment) for murder, or of spreading corruption in the land, it should be looked upon as though he had slain all mankind, and if anyone saves a life it should be regarded as though he had saved the lives of all mankind."(5:32)

We therefore urge you to take the following actions:

1) To provide the correct Islamic guidance to the community, especially to our youth, as to our obligation to maintain the peace and security of our country
2) To observe the utmost vigilance against any mischievous or criminal elements from infiltrating the community and provoking any unlawful activity

"And those who criminally plot evil deeds, a severe punishment awaits them; and all their plotting is bound to come to nought." (35: 10)
3) To liaise with the local Police and give them the fullest cooperation in dealing with any criminal activity including terrorist threat
"Help one another to virtue and God-consciousness and do not help one other to sin and transgression." (5:2)
4) To engage proactively with the media in order to refute any misconception about Islam and the Muslim community

5) To develop active contacts with other faith communities and civic organisations in order to help maintain social peace and good community relations.

6) In the event of any tragic incident taking place, give the fullest cooperation to the Police and other concerned authorities.

7) Lastly, but most importantly, seek Allah's help and support and pray for His guidance and protection all the time.

We also urge you to convey the above message in your Friday sermon and bring awareness to our community of our duties and obligations in combating any threat to peace and stability. By doing so, insha' Allah it will help to dispel the misrepresentation.

There is no need however to be daunted or intimidated by any Islamophobic propaganda and we should continue with our daily lives – normally and in accordance with the tenets of Islam.

All of us as Muslims will have been appalled to see some of the headlines in today's newspapers (for example 'Islamic Bomb Plot Foiled' - Daily Telegraph; 'The Truck Bombers of Suburbia', The Times 2004). This kind of sensationalised reporting has done immense damage to British Muslims as well as to community relations and we assure you that the MCB's Media Committee will be taking this matter up urgently with the editors concerned.

You will no doubt recall that in November 2002 the police made high-profile arrests of six Muslims accused of plotting to release cyanide gas into London's Underground system. Yet nearly 18 months later, none of the men have been charged with any crime, let alone being convicted of terrorist activity. There are other examples of incidents that have received prominent media attention only for the individuals to be subsequently released without any charges brought against them. The impact of such ordeals on the persons concerned and their families is unbearable. Therefore we urge against hasty pronouncements of guilt. Every person is to be considered innocent unless proved guilty.

The Muslim Council of Britain is planning to organise a number of events and meetings of which we shall keep you duly informed.

"O believers, be patient and let your patience never be exhausted. Stand firm in your faith and be conscious of Allah, so that you may attain success." (3:200)

May Allah protect and guide us.

Yours sincerely

Iqbal AKM Sacranie
Secretary General
The Muslim Council of Britain

APPENDIX H
PUBLISHED WORKS BASED ON THESIS

The following is a list of current and forthcoming publications associated with the research contained in this thesis

EDITED BOOKS

Aitchison, Cara, **Hopkins, Peter E.**, and Kwan, Mei-Po, (Editors), (accepted for publication 2005/6) <u>Geographies of Muslim Identities: representation of Diaspora, Gender and Belonging</u>. Aldershot: Ashgate

BOOK CHAPTERS

Hopkins, Peter E., (accepted for publication 2005/6) Global events, local lives: the experiences of young Muslim men. Aitchison, Cara, Hopkins, Peter and Kwan, Mei-Po, (Editors), (forthcoming 2005/6) <u>Geographies of Muslim Identities: representation of Diaspora, Gender and Belonging</u>. Aldershot: Ashgate.

REFEREED JOURNAL PAPERS

Hopkins, Peter E., (under review) Global events, national politics, local lives: Young Muslim men in Scotland. <u>Environment and Planning A</u>

Gwanzura-Ottemoller, Fungi, **Hopkins, Peter E.**, Lorimer, Hayden, Phillip Lorna, (accepted for publication) Reflections on Postgraduate Research Training: Staff and Student Perspectives. <u>Journal of Geography in Higher Education</u>.

Howard, David, and **Hopkins, Peter E.**, (2005) Editorial Introduction: Race, Religion and the Census. <u>Population, Space and Place</u> 11(2) 69-74.

Hopkins, Peter E., (2004) Young Muslim men in Scotland: Inclusions and Exclusions. <u>Children's Geographies</u>, 2, 2. 257-272.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SESSIONS ORGANISED

Hopkins, Peter E., and Kwan, Mei-Po, (2004) Geographies of Muslim Identities. Panel Session for the Association of American Geographers Annual Conference, Philadelphia, 14th - 19th March 2004.

Hopkins, Peter E., and Howard, David (2003) Contested Geographies of Race and Religion. Three-module session organised for the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference, London, 3rd-5th September 2003

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Hopkins, Peter E., and Smith, Susan J., (2005) Scaling segregation: racialising fear. Paper to be present at the 'Fear: critical geopolitics and everyday life' conference, Durham, 11th-12th July 2005.

Hopkins, Peter E., (2005) Global Events, National Politics, Local Lives: Young Muslim men in Scotland. Paper presented at the Political Studies Association Annual Conference, Leeds, 5-7th April 2005.

Gwanzura-Ottemoller, Fungi, **Hopkins, Peter E.**, Lorimer, Hayden, Phillip Lorna, (2004) Reflections on Postgraduate Research Training: Staff and Student Perspectives. Paper presented at the International Geographical Union Conference, Glasgow, 16th-20th August 2004.

Hopkins, Peter E., (2004) Young Muslim men in Scotland: Global politics, local lives. Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers Annual Conference, Philadelphia, March 14th-19th 2004.

Hopkins, Peter E., (2003) Young Muslim men and "blue squares": Negotiating Citizenship and Nationality in Scotland. Paper presented at the Royal Geographical

Society with the Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference, London, 3rd-5th September 2003.

Hopkins, Peter E., (2003) Young Muslim men: some marginalised voices and identities of human geography. Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers Annual Conference, New Orleans, 4th - 8th March 2003.