

**Racialising assemblages and affective events:
A feminist new materialism and post-human study
of Muslim schoolgirls in London**

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Doctor of Philosophy

SIGNED DECLARATION

I, SHIVA ZARABADI, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

.....
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ABSTRACT

Recent years have seen rising trends in terrorism, hate crime and Islamophobia in the UK. Enforced Prevent and counter-terrorism strategies have re-located all Muslims as threatening and having potentiality to radicalisation. This PhD thesis is concerned with how a Muslim schoolgirl feels, lives and experiences everyday life in this era. I follow fifteen Muslim schoolgirls across time and space by mapping relational materialities between things that matter for them in their ordinary everyday practices and experiences. This thesis takes up the feminist new materialist and post-humanist call for anticipating potentialities of the virtual, material and affective to find a different capacity for the analysis of events, practices, assemblages, feelings, and the backgrounds of everyday experiences against which relations unfold in their myriad potentials. I argue that the affective atmospheres around Muslims provide the conditions for the emergence of racialising encounters. Multi-sensory methods of walking intra-view, creating photo-diary and face-to-face interview were developed to explore relations between bodies, spaces, times, virtual and actual. Stories, places, objects, thoughts and feelings that emerge as data and in-between relational materialities were mapped and read diffractively through one another.

Thinking through relationality, materiality and affect enabled this thesis to actualise the plurality of Muslim schoolgirls' relations-in-the-world and their subjectivity as part of the becoming-assemblages with human and more-than-human bodies. This thesis mapped and challenged some of the racialised, gendered and hegemonic views of Muslim schoolgirls as risky, threatening and with a potential to radicalisation. Mattering with what those Muslim schoolgirls mattered with, their fear of racial harassment in the course of their everyday lives, of what to say, do and wear, their desire to live in safe houses and blossom in safe schools, all showed that safeguarding educational policies need to shift their focus towards threats of racial harassment, of living in overcrowded housing and being silenced rather than seeking to prevent the threat of radicalisation.

IMPACT STATEMENT

This study, situated in the field of innovative post-qualitative educational research, could be put to various ontological, ethical and epistemological beneficial use within and beyond academia. Much of this study generates new methodologies to map affective relational materialities that enable us to see, think and feel differently about the ordinary everyday experiences of Muslim schoolgirls. It includes research on racial harassment and the atmosphere of fear which governs their lives and jeopardises collectively their well-being. This study can help enable the reader to re-think the concepts of education, subjectivity, vulnerability, radicalisation and Prevent policy combined as complex webs of affective, material and relational processes, moving beyond the boundaries of school walls, human bodies, space and time.

Through mapping my participants' material lives I show how they experience various levels of fear in public, particularly when using public transport or within their local communities. This study proposes ethical and political interventions in education research that engage directly with material and affective processes and relations that allow the endurance of racism, Islamophobia, heterosexism and ableism. By following the affective life of counter-terrorism's mobilisation of threat and fear, I illustrate how everyday stories, feelings and desires as political, material affective sites of doing research can be beneficial for academia and beyond. This would call to re-locate the safeguarding focus towards an anti-racism, anti-inequality and anti-discrimination scheme. This thesis maps how crucial it is for any political activist's collaboration with young people to pay attention to the ethical relationality of the research processes and to the more-than-human elements that contribute to those young peoples' lives. I explore how the use of multi-sensory creative methods involving technology, art and walking encouraged Muslim schoolgirls to communicate their experiences in ways which enabled their potentialities to emerge.

The material and situated everyday ordinary experiences of Muslim schoolgirls mapped in this thesis intersect with areas outside academia and could be beneficial for wider policy makers, public institutional and political landscapes, for example, within their housing situations, well-being, school environment or commute to school. It could be used to extend policies on how the contemporary application of security thinking in education and wider society normalises forms of violence, racial harassment and living with fear, and thus utilised as guidance on how schools, local communities and public transport can be modified to become safer for schoolchildren.

I hope that, to some extent, this work has already begun to open up and address the wider concerns of how political agendas must take on board the vital materiality of space (schools, houses, streets, public transport), personal and impersonal affect, environment, social and material relations.

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Dedication

To Iranian *Mothers for Justice and Truth* whose loved ones were gunned down in the street for demanding freedom and democracy.

I would like to acknowledge the array of humans and more-than-humans whose lively connections allowed this thesis to happen. This more-than-personal academic journey would not have been possible without thinking of times, places, histories, hopes, concerns and bodies: the losses and givings that happened, the illnesses that hit and took some, the life and death that became real and felt close. Then, at other times the findings and takings that came, that made me move on eagerly. The sense of being here and there never left and is leaving. A part of me lived through the social and political uprisings in Iran as I worked on this research, from June 2009 (Khordad 88) till the most recent in November 2019 (Aban 98), shooting and killing people on the street and in the air (Flight PS752). We became quite a crowd on this journey.

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Chapter 1: The emergence of this thesis

To be entangled is not simply to be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but to lack an independent, self-contained existence. Existence is not an individual affair. Individuals do not preexist their interactions; rather, individuals emerge through and as part of their entangled intra-relating.

(Karen Barad 2007, ix)

What is this thesis?

This thesis is a journey of entanglements and of movements, matters, bodies, spaces, feelings and time. The entangled world I seek to explore is that of Muslim schoolgirls, the relations and experiences of their bodies to themselves and to others and how these experiences and individual emergences are intertwined with humans and more-than-human multiple forms. Inspired by Barad's notion of spacetimemattering, where agency emerged through the 'iterative reconfigurings of topological manifolds of spacetimematter relations' (Barad 2007, 178), this thesis is built upon the relation between four main components of time, mattering, space and body. The order of the data analysis chapters emerges through these agential aspects. My own experience as a non-practicing Muslim woman is one of the intertwined components of this collective emergence; the marginalisation in different forms, temporal and spatial contexts, carrying the stigma of non-conformism towards dominant radical Islamic ideologies in Iran and the experiences of being a brown migrant, threatening, Muslim-woman-other in the UK's counter-terrorism age.

This study is an extended body of millions of women in Iran, where I was born and lived for most of my life. The background to my study is one of entanglements of bodies that pulled my participants and myself into the heart of this journey. I was eight years old when the Islamic regime came to power after the 1979 secular revolution. Women's bodies suddenly became a gazing object for exercising Islamic ideologies, schools became single-ed segregated girls and boys; women, including schoolgirls, should wear hijab in public and with no exception in schools despite all teachers, staff and students being female. They could and still can be dismissed from school or workplace for not

wearing the state-preferred version of hijab, which must be long, fully covering hair and shoulders, black or, with some compromise, navy.

In school I remember every morning school staff were obliged to search our bags and pockets, subjecting us to body searches to ensure we hid nothing under our uniforms, inspecting our faces for any sign of make-up. We would be in huge trouble, possibly detention or being marked down in final grades, if they found anything, a small pocket mirror, lip balm, comb, picture of a western singer or an audio cassette. Thinking of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's notion of 'lines of flight' (1987) as the moments that rupture the normalised structure, I think of our moments and lines of flight when we stealthily pushed our hijab back to show our hairline or to fold up our baggy school trousers to reveal shoes or ankles. These were exactly the moments and actions that school authorities and the Islamic regime were scared of and warned us against doing. In public, during my school years on the way to and from school I witnessed and listened to stories of many young women, including my friends, beaten by *Gashte Ershad*¹, imprisoned and handled like criminals by Islamic police. I was lucky that I was neither imprisoned nor whipped for how I liked/like to be, although somehow, I felt/feel it in my body and tasted/taste its bitter heaviness on my tongue. I cried, angered, hated and carried/carry that anger in my throat. Now that I have learnt how affect works, a body that knows through other sensory relationships, I know that I was affected; my body took something from those experiences which still remains, perhaps forever. Later, during my work as a journalist in Iran, I interviewed, researched and wrote about those shared experiences as much as the state censorship machine let me. This was/is part of my generation's scholastic experience, the daily fear and threat of being labelled, excluded and prosecuted for ordinary bodily actions defined as sexualised and aberrant through the discursive Islamic ideologies and material forces at play. The relationship between bodies and

¹ *Gashte Ershad* is a moral police constituted post-Revolution as part of the Islamisation of society, controlling and capturing women who do not wear proper hijab in the public. They remove women to a prison-like detention centre named *Makaze Ershad* to be taught morality, write and sign a redemption letter, pay a fine and/or be whipped.
<http://www.wluml.org/sites/wluml.org/files/Hejab-Report-JFI-English.pdf>

spaces was channelled through fear. Fear made me always attentive towards my body, ensuring its proper fit between space and others.

My migration to the UK in 2008 did not end my relationships with Islamic regime and the sedimented fear of the past though its relational materialities extended and still extending in my new positionalities in the UK. Regardless of whether I was for or against the hostile political actions and diplomacy of Islamic regime of Iran in the Middle-East or with the US and Europe, I re-positioned and still re-position as someone who is Muslim (no matter if I am practicing Islam or not), risky, hardliner, Iranian, terrorist or supporting terrorism only because my birthplace was Iran. Fear still moves and makes. Iranians pay the price of the US sanctions on Iran's Islamic regime, in their everyday ordinary practices in Iran or other parts of the world, to name a few, from difficulties in opening a bank account and transferring money to travelling around the world. The lived experiences and feelings of many Iranians inside and outside Iran shape through these temporal and material relations, representing them as hardliners, mullahs, Islam, nuclear weapons, terrorism, and more. In turn, these made me think how people's lives are impacted by the acts of others, and how people live through the feelings of others, as Ann Cvetkovich (2012) and Elspeth Probyn (2005) suggest, and made me wonder how things which are not directly related to us become related, carried, stay and do things to our relations. These experiences made me contemplate how I became, and am still becoming, through a series of emerging rhizomatic² entanglements and material moments of bodies, spaces, time, objects and feelings. These different, new experiences for me include not only living and studying as a migrant in a new country but working and writing in English, a second language, not my native tongue. My studies not only partially enabled my orientation to the UK but released my ability to fully comprehend the English language, however differently through concepts and theories I read.

² Deleuze & Guattari use rhizome as a philosophical figuration of anti-genealogy to overcome, overturn and transform structures of rigid, molar, fixed or binary thought and judgment. Rhizomatic thinking helps us to map processes of networked, relational and transversal thought, without resource to analogy or binary constructions (1987, 11-12).

After I migrated to the UK, I encountered more involvement with hijab, the different views and experiences of Muslim women in the UK. I met Muslim university students at London's University of Westminster, where I studied a BSc in Sociology. Most of them wore hijab proudly, making me consider these two different contexts of women's experiences of hijab in Iran and the UK, and the struggle to resist ordained hijab by some Iranian women and the challenges of British women who want to wear hijab but fear stereotyping. Those Iranian feminist activists who are against mandatory hijab predominantly consider it as an oppression, a tool for constraining women's liberation and objectification of women's bodies (Sedghi 2007; Moghadam 2002). As an anti-Islamic regime independent journalist, woman, child's rights activist and mother of two girls with a fear for the future of her daughters and daughters of others, my understanding of mandatory Islamic hijab in Iran was close to the latter's accounts. The views of my Muslim university friends in London ruptured my thoughts and eventually became the entry point to study a PhD on this topic. Black, objects, hair, hijab, war³, bombs, fear, school monitoring and suchlike constituted the memories of my body that grew into this research.

This study emerged as embodied and embedded assemblages of women's shared feelings of fear in their everyday ordinary experiences, where and when hijab-body-woman makes connections between fear, outside, bodies and everyday. It emerges as part of the experiences of carrying the fear of being different-others as opposed to a normalised one; those who do not want to wear state mandatory hijab or conduct mandatory religious practices, particularly in school, and those who *do* want to wear hijab or practice religion. The fear moved and still moves along the assemblages of woman-body-hijab although in different atmospheres affected by different emerging political events, once a revolution, another time terrorism, ISIS and those whom the media label as 'Jihadi brides'. The shared fear of our impossible/possible body-spaces connected and connects us. What I carried with me as a non-practicing Muslim woman living in Iran and then migrating to the UK positioned me within

³ Iran/Iraq war began on September 22, 1980, when Iraqi armed forces invaded western Iran along the countries' joint border. It lasted for eight years costing more than a million lives on both sides.

a new cluster of relations. As a former journalist, sociologist and qualitative researcher, I became interested in exploring how Muslim girls experience being and interacting with others in school and how wider society's incidents impact their schooling experiences and feelings. For this, I follow the relational materialities between bodies, spaces, time, objects, feelings and stories, to map things that matter for the Muslim schoolgirls in my study.

The events we become with

I was 9 years old in 1979 when the Iran hostage crisis happened during the chaotic aftermath of Iran's revolution. Some Iranian fanatic militants captured the US embassy in Tehran (Iran's capital) and held 52 American citizens hostage for more than a year. This event became the hallmark of new hostile relations with the US and bringing further relational materialities for generations. Thinking about these crises and others in those times of revolution, war and later Islamic dictatorship, reminds me of Mbembe's (2003) call 'to be wary of declarations of crises and emergencies, as such declarations are often accompanied by the creation of fictionalised enemies, objects/subjects in danger, and agents ideally placed to undertake rescue'. These events entangled/entangle my body, feelings, desires, what I can and cannot do, with wider political events, making new relations between me and others. They continue to matter in my subjectivity-becoming experiences. Years later after migration, another series of events mingles with my becomings as a (non-practicing) Muslim with time, space and other bodies; the emergence of terrorist attacks committed by some Muslim British citizens in the UK. These events bring to the fore issues of Muslims as others in the UK context such that hardly a day passes without Muslims hitting the headlines. On one side, brutal terrorist attacks happen across the world, particularly in Europe, and on the other side what have been latterly called hate crimes and Islamophobia rose. 9/11 re-located Muslims, and particularly Muslim women, into new affective zones of contact, which I call threat-assemblages where threat, Muslimness and hijab open up new capacities and experiences for them. One of the incidents that particularly gained significant long-lasting attention from media, policymakers and public alike was that of three British-

Bangladeshi Muslim schoolgirls who flew to Syria to marry Jihadi fighters in 2015⁴, they are being called by media as 'Jihadi brides'. Their stories still make news headlines and appears automatically in our newsfeeds. The only one of them who survived; 'Shamima Begum'⁵ and her rights to citizenship and to return to the UK, has recently raised much debates. In academia too, 'Jihadi brides' has been reified into a topic of study for instance, in the Journal of Critical Studies on Terrorism. I argue here and in Chapter 2 that the automatic image loops of Jihadi brides create a new assemblage, making connections between schools, Muslim girls and terrorism. After each terrorist attack, the instant kneejerk reaction of the media and public was, obviously, that all terrorists are Muslims, whilst there was increased media attention on terror attacks by Muslims⁶. The construction of Muslim girls as vulnerable necessitates policy intervention and monitoring. The event of 'Jihadi brides' has em-placed in the embodied and embedded memory of those who live in this era, however for some it is more and different to others. As I know how revolution, war, Islamisation of society and politicisation of women's body changed my experiences and relation of my body to others, how I feel and I know myself and others, I began thinking about how these events of Jihadi bride, terrorist attacks and Muslim-related incidents can change my participants' relational materialities according to the times we live in now.

Mapping the temporal context: Prevent policy

Prevent policy in schools and wider counter-terrorism strategies are part of those new engagements with time and how we experience it. I take these policies as connection points that make racialising assemblages to move across time, space and body. My relationship with Prevent policy is not through discourse analysis of the policy or how this policy is conducted in

⁴ See these articles: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-jihadi-brides-women-british-syria-kadiza-sultana-radicalise-terror-trapped-abuse-married-air-a7187946.html> and <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/24/isis-brides-secret-world-jihad-western-women-syria>. Both accessed on 29 May 2020.

⁵ Shamima Begum is one of the 3 schoolgirls who fled to Syria. and the only one of the three who survived; her recent plea to return to the UK has raised much debate. Shamima Begum news, Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/topic/shamima-begum>,. Accessed on 29 May 2020.

⁶ Terror attacks by Muslims receive 357% more press attention than those committed by non-Muslims, study finds (The Guardian, 20 July 2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jul/20/muslim-terror-attacks-press-coverage-study>. Accessed on 29 May 2020.

schools but through mapping the relational materialities and affective capacities that it enables or constrains in my participants' subjectivity becomings with humans and more-than-humans. I consider Prevent policy as part of the wider counter-terrorism strategies and one of the agential factors in enabling the 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009) of threat and 'racialising assemblages' (Weheliye 2014) to flow across bodies, time, spaces and objects. For Alexander Weheliye (2014) racialising assemblages 'ascribe "incorporeal transformations...to bodies," etching abstract forces of power onto human physiology and flesh to create the appearance of a naturally expressive relationship between phenotype and socio-political status' (2014, 50). Drawing on him, I think of Prevent policy and counterterrorism as racial and political projects that enable a particular distribution of economic and social resources along race lines.

The aim of Prevent policy is 'to reduce the threat of the UK from terrorism by stopping people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism' (HM Government, 2015). With this aim education has been charged with another tasks on top of teaching, learning and knowing: to engage with education through security measurements (Thomas [2016](#)) and the increasing domination of police and the Counter-Terrorism Unit (CTU) within local Prevent decision-making and even delivery (178). Securitisation takes shape in school through the language and discourses of safeguarding (Thomas [2016](#), 181), vulnerability (Heath-Kelly [2012](#)) and having potentiality that provides the intellectual justification and the technological 'know-how' for normalising state practices of discipline and social control of Muslim children and young people (Coppock and McGovern 2014, 248). Prevent policy not only allows security thinking, learning and knowing to enter schools to construct new knowledge of Muslims through security and risk pedagogy, but also to practice a type of political safeguarding that provides safety for some at the expense of the constitution of risky others.

Prevent policy was implanted in schools as part of a strategy to combat global terrorism. Introduced in 2003, following 9/11, Prevent became part of the UK's counter-terrorism strategy (CONTEST) aimed at preventing the risk of radicalisation. In 2015, it was given a statutory footing in the Counter-Terrorism

and Security Act, coming into force on 1 July 2015 in schools, transforming them into active partners of a wider security system. The latest figures (Home Office 2019) show that in 2017/18, 42% of the total 7,318 referrals to Channel⁷ were from the education sector, with 45% related to Islam and 44% to right-wing extremism, 40% were signposted to alternative support, 42% required no further action and 18% were discussed at Channel panels. This contrasts with a sum total of 3,934 referrals made during the seven years from the beginning of the programme in 2007 to 31 March 2014 (National Police Chiefs' Council [NPCC] n.d.). However, between 2015-2016, when right-wing extremism had not yet been introduced as the main focus of Prevent strategy, most referrals to Channel were 65% Muslims (NPCC) which suggests how this new policy took feelings, learning and knowing about Muslim pupils to another level. Of individuals supported by Channel in 2017/18, 66% were aged 20 years or under. According to NPCC figures obtained by the BBC, between January 2012 and December 2015 a total of 1,839 children aged 15 and under and, of these, 415 children aged 10 and under, had been referred to Channel regarding concerns they were at risk of radicalisation (Kotecha 2016). These figures show how education and young children are involved in the state's counter-terrorism programme. Even for those whose cases end with no further action (42%) or are only discussed at Channel Panel (18%) this experience might well impact their relations and feelings to themselves and others.

Prevent policy 'obliged' school staff and students to be vigilant, look for any signs of radicalisation and report them to school before referral to Channel (Sian [2015](#)). Since enforcing this policy there have been copious complaints about its aim, approach, language and implications from local authorities, schools, academics and the Teachers' Union (NEU), all leading to the Government's revision of a section of it⁸ and an independent review⁹. Since

⁷ Channel is a programme that focuses on providing support at an early stage to people who are identified as being vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism. The programme uses a multi-agency approach to protect vulnerable people (Channel Guidance, 2015).

⁸ Teachers back motion calling for Prevent strategy to be scrapped (2016): <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/28/teachers-nut-back-motion-calling-prevent-strategy-radicalisation-scrapped> Accessed 16 April 2020.

⁹ Prevent strategy on radicalisation faces independent review (2019): <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jan/22/prevent-strategy-on-radicalisation-faces-independent-review> Accessed 16 April 2020.

the implementation of this policy in schools, Ofsted also began to evaluate school performances on risk assessment of radicalisation, working in partnership with local authorities and parents, staff training, IT policies and building children's resilience to radicalisation (HM Government 2015).

A part of the legal duty to prevent young people from radicalisation is to promote 'fundamental British values'¹⁰ [FBV] in teaching and challenge opinions or behaviour in school that are contrary to it (Department for Education 2014, 5). FBV has been largely criticised by academics and educators because of its over-emphasis on national and cultural supremacy and British (white Western European) values which brings with it the danger of a biased and inaccurate education (Patel [2017](#); Lynch [2013](#); O'Donnell [2016a](#)). The point of contention is not the teaching of 'values' rather the representation of 'democracy, rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance' as being essentially British (white Western European) values (Patel [2017](#), 4) or as if there is universal agreement over the meaning of values (O'Donnell, [2016a](#)). The teaching of FBV does not help to prevent radicalisation, rather by considering any 'vocal or active opposition to FBV' (HM Government 2013, 1) as expressing 'non-violent extremist ideas' and a sign of extremism, it works to monitor students and identify any having potentiality away from the dominant values towards radicalisation and/or terrorism. In forming a relationship between the War on Terror¹¹ and education (Giroux 2003), Prevent not only created a new definition of vulnerability in schools but a set of new (implicitly) racialised and colonial frameworks for those deemed 'at risk of radicalisation', establishing Muslims as a suspect community and risky subjectivities (O'Donnell [2016a](#); Mythen, Walklate and Khan 2009). The new vulnerability intertwined with riskiness creates new vulnerable, potential terrorist subjects, having a lack or absence of Britishness and inability to integrate into dictated liberal rationalities (Martin 2014, 67) as introduced in FBV (Vincent 2019).

¹⁰ See guidance on promoting British values in schools. Accessed 27 May 2020:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guidance-on-promoting-british-values-in-schools-published>

¹¹ In the wake of 9/11, George Bush, the US president called for a global 'War on Terror' to fight terrorists before they act (2001): <https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/war-on-terror-timeline> Accessed 16 April 2020.

The obligatory risk management surrounding Prevent not only blurs the actions of disciplinary and securitising governance but also turns vulnerability into potential danger (Heath-Kelly [2012](#), 78). Acting on the level of potential which teaches to target the threat and act upon it before it happens, added a supplementary element to our lives, a material awareness of threat and vulnerability to radicalisation that is registered through our bodies rather than our minds, those material moments that a body feels and then knows.

The images and imaginaries of the potential threat to those at risk of radicalisation not only establish Muslim students as passive and vulnerable subjects to be ‘infected or gripped by ideas’ and therefore in need of intervention or support ‘to be managed and corrected through pedagogies of normalization’ (Puar and Rai 2004, 94), but also simultaneously as potentially dangerous (O’Donnell [2016a](#)). Muslim students are considered vulnerable not because of real existing risks or extremist actions but because of potential future risks that must be assessed by educational staff and through potential risky students’ views, ideas (whether they are voiced or not) and some behavioural traits that are not unusual for schoolchildren *viz.*:

...becoming increasingly argumentative, refusing to listen to different points of view, unwilling to engage with children who are different, becoming abusive to children who are different, embracing conspiracy theories, feeling persecuted, changing friends and appearance, distancing themselves from old friends, no longer doing things they used to enjoy, converting to a new religion, being secretive and reluctant to discuss their whereabouts, sympathetic to extremist ideologies and groups.

(HM Government 2016)

Pre-emptive logics of becoming and paranoid knowing

The vital materiality of Prevent policy is in how as a vague temporal exchange it works through bodies, spaces, feelings, what the body can/cannot do and how we know ourselves and others. Brian Massumi’s ‘doctrine of pre-emption’ ‘could-have/would-have’ formulation and the notion of ‘ontopower’ helped me to understand this paradoxical temporality as vague but affective relations that enable particular relational materialities between time-threat-bodies. To

engage with these temporal relations, I read some of the existing invaluable studies on Prevent policy through Massumi's 'ontopower' (2015, 2017) and affective modulations. Ontopower relations work through enhancing or diminishing the capacity of body to act and, in this policy context, happen through the agency of time. Prevent policy's focus on potentiality and vulnerability to radicalisation creates forms of power relations that convey through the temporal uncertainty and the vague affective atmosphere around those Muslim students who are not terrorist or extremist yet but, according to Prevent policy, have the potentiality to become so in the future. I argue that Prevent policy works as an agential partner of racialising assemblages in line with pre-emptive logics of counter-terrorism in wider society, which promotes to act upon a threat before it happens, through its emphasis on potentiality.

The pre-emptive logic of Prevent policy has been seen as 'pre-cautionary and pre-emptive logics operating in the space of pre-crime inform policies like Prevent' (Heath-Kelly [2012](#)); the translation of intention into act to attribute potential vulnerabilities (O'Donnell [2016a](#)); pre-emptive securitisation (Mythen et al. 2012) and the production of ideological forms of victimisation that fuel material forms of racism and social exclusion (Mythen and Khan 2009). For Massumi (2015b) the doctrine of pre-emption is to act on 'the time of before' and to act upon the 'yet-to-happen' event which he characterises as the operative logic of our time. Massumi (2017) develops the notion of 'ontopower' to refer to the pre-emptive would-have/could-have logic of pre-emption, where ontopower can make macro-political measurements, decisions and interventions (i.e. Prevent policy risk assessment and referrals) or micro-interactions as right and true, even if they were or are wrong. He argues that since 9/11 and the War on Terror justifying the invasion of Iraq, George Bush introduced pre-emptive logic, pronouncing that: 'Saddam Hussein did not have weapons of mass destruction but he could have had them... and... if he could have had them, he would have had them forthwith and he would have used them' (2017, 67). Using the same pre-emptive logic to assess the risk of radicalisation, it is pre-emptively right still to intervene even though '90% of referrals to authorities of Muslims under Prevent policy end without action' (The Guardian, 28 March 2016). According to Massumi's 'could-have/would-

have' formulation and pre-emptive paradoxical assemblages, Muslim students did not have extremist ideas, but they could have had them; they were not radicalised and did not take extremist actions, but if they *could* have had them, they *would* have done them and, therefore, they *would* have become radicalised and *would* have committed extremist actions.

I use this affective turn to look at temporal and paradoxical states of becomings that pre-emptive logic produces and, more importantly, how social and body become entangled. As a new affective actant opening in schools through the pre-emptive logic of Prevent policy, threat enables any future potential danger to be felt in the present. In Chapter 4 I argue how being called ISIS (Inas, Y12, S1) or encountering the comment of 'it's gonna be you next [Jihadi bride]' (Hadil, Y12, pilot study, south-east London) from friends in schools suggest the threat that moves and affects embodied and embedded relations. Threat and pre-emptive logic enable relationships between different temporal capacities; a threat that is yet-to-come must feel like a current danger in order for us to pre-emptively act upon it. Prevent policy, media news coverage, racial harassment, racist comments and jokes emerge in the data herein, creating what I propose are components of *threat-assemblages*, that is, the affective and material gatherings of human and more-than-human agencies which are fuelled by threat; Muslimness-veiled-body-space. Through the relational materialities that my participants make and move with, I mix with some of the fluid agential components of these threat-assemblages. I pay attention to how these assemblages are made through our diffractive movements between various spaces, bodies, times, objects and feelings. The methodological affordances of my thesis enabled these diffractive movements, moments and experiences that emerge through mutual becoming through one another, their relationality and material agencies.

The possibility and images of a future threat and simultaneously the feeling of present danger, legitimise pre-emptive logic and measurement. Turning to ontopower and affect helped me consider other forms of power relations flowing transversally in between Prevent policy, space, time and bodies but those which affectively modulate bodies, objects and environments as affective

ontopowers. These enabled me to de-centre the focus on only one space or one body (human) to relational materialities between them and to follow the threads of entanglements. Jasbir Puar connects intersectionality and assemblage to explain Foucault's disciplinary societies and Deleuze's societies of control, arguing that 'while discipline works at the level of identity, control works at the level of intensity; identity is a process involving an intensification of habituation, thus discipline and control are mutually entwined, though not necessarily compatible, with each other' (2012, 62).

Temporal paradoxes of pre-emptive logic affectively and materially enable different politico-socio-cultural capacities in education and in relation to global terrorism, immigration policies and global political economies, a particular type of securitised culture in our everyday ordinary practices (Hall 2015) and a 'must' security culture (Zarabadi and Jessica Ringrose 2018b). This concept has been drawn from the notion of 'the command to think security' (De Lint and Virta [2004](#), 466). Within the context of this 'must' security culture, acting, knowing and feeling on the basis of paradoxes and vagueness generate or propel a kind of response-ability that does not entail response to a particular other but the enabling of responsiveness within particular relations to an extended phenomenon (Schrader 2010), for instance threat and racialising assemblages in my study, and to abstract future potentialities.

We cannot see any actual radicalised acts however when affected by pre-emptive logics and the imperative to think security we 'cannot not see either' (Massumi 2008, 3). The future threat in most cases never materialises; however, within our contemporary pre-emptive logics and control, the crucial point is not whether the future threat materialises or not, but to stay in a vague state, feel paranoid and always act, think and feel on the basis of 'what if' assumptions, be suspicious of suspect subjectivities. Then the body of a Muslim veiled girl showing 'visualities of suspectness' (Heath-Kelly [2012](#), 69), tangling with the pre-emptive paradoxes, becomes a launch pad for future threat that 'takes off' (Massumi 2008) from Prevent policy state control and news media images over veiled Muslim women's bodies. The pre-emptive doctrines require images and imaginaries of a potential future threat in the

present, as ‘a rhetoric of the future that is really about the present; it is a means of price setting on the promise that a future is attainable’ (Martin 2002, 105).

Pre-emptive logic of Prevent policy in schools and counter-terrorism in wider society not only leads to ‘paranoid knowing’ (Sedgwick 1990, 206) of those who are considered as potential risks or vulnerable to radicalisation but also in investing-in the legitimisation of the normal and the delegitimisation of the Muslim closeted other, through the construction of the paranoid dichotomy of terrorist-other-abnormality-insecurities and counter-terrorist-normality. In this sense, pre-emptive logic, Prevent policy and counter-terrorism construct what we know about Muslims and what Muslims know about themselves and others. Prevent policy and counter-terrorism strategies provide possibilities not only for renegotiations of threat (Martin 2014, 62) in humans and more-than-humans relations, i.e. my participants’ relations to their own bodies, other bodies and spaces, but for re-materialisation of threat, seeking to act on threats in an unknowable future and to identify potential subjects to future threat. By assembling new sets of securitised relationships, Prevent and counter-terrorism not only create new images of Muslim students but also organise affective lives and relationships between new risky Muslims and others. For instance, the security message in London's underground and train stations launched in 2016 and still running regularly: ‘If you see something that doesn’t look right, speak to staff or text British Transport Police on 61016, we’ll sort it. See it, Say it, Sorted’¹² is one of those agential actants in enabling threat in the everyday ordinary affective and material entanglements between bodies-space-time-feelings.

These ‘See it, Say it, Sorted’ security messages announced repeatedly, intertwined with posters displayed around stations, create an affective assemblage of sound-images that ‘generate different kinds of affective investments’ (O’Donnell [2016a](#), 14) in our body-space-feeling relations.

¹² The UK railway station announcement: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IC8qS3xlenI>, British Transport police: ‘See it. Say it. Sorted. How you can help keep the railway safe’. http://www.btp.police.uk/about_us/our_campaigns/see_it_say_it_sorted.aspx

Attending to threat and a 'must' security thinking, when using public transport, affectively re-modulate the relational materialities between bodies and spaces. Throughout this study I argue how threat and affective investments in security as part of the 'must' security culture silence the critique of structural inequalities and institutional racism embedded in the Muslim schoolgirls' experiences of spaces and time as national security should be the priority particularly in an age of terrorism.

What this thesis does

As my research-body-experience extended, I realised that I needed an approach to allow me to crosscut the spaces, countries, bodies, time and feelings. I know from my own life that all those supposedly ordinary experiences of my body, time, hijab, state control, public and fear matter in how I partially know myself. Similarly, Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity as assemblages of positions and affects emerge in the wake of terrorism, counter-terrorism and Prevent policy enable different and new kinds of knowledge in relation to the collectivities of Muslim schoolgirls to emerge. I became interested in critically exploring how our subjectivity shapes through multiplicity and relationality. In so doing, I had to re-think subjectivity becoming as the mutual co-constitution of humans and more-than-humans. I needed an approach to map things that cannot necessarily be represented, captured, said and seen but are taken, given, relayed, returned, carried and stay across time and space; an approach that allows me to work with things that pull my participants in, keeps them engaged, hanging: wounds, fears, past, spaces, feelings, sounds and humans. My research methodology enabled me to use multiple sensory methods to present feminist new materialism and post-humanism. I explore modalities of walking (Springgay and Truman 2018) and travelling using digital technology through mobile phone camera (Renold 2016; Renold and Ringrose 2019) and making photo-diary (Allen 2009; Malone 2015; Coleman 2009).

Drawing on Jessica Ringrose et al. (2018) I refer to my methodology as phEmaterialism; this assemblage concept enables the relations between post-humanism(ph), new materialisms (materialism), the feminist (phem) agenda

and the 'feminal' foremothers, philosophers and educational research and equity (E) (Ringrose and Niccolini 2020). Walking has the potentiality to re-animate spatial and sensory dynamics (Vannini and Vannini 2017, 179). Making photo-diaries is an art practice that mobilises feelings and materiality. Both allow the re-materialising of bodies and relationships (Hickey-Moody 2017, 4-9). Walking, photo-diary and face-to-face interviews let me walk with and make (differently) some of those wounds and fears, past and present. Theoretically and practically feminist new materialism and post-humanism allowed me to re-think and re-do notions of similarity, normative, lack and identity into difference, rupture, intensity and capacity. This approach enabled me to pay attention to the material moments and affective experiences of Muslim schoolgirls in their ordinary, everyday encounters and to work with them to re-matter these.

These methods enabled the relational materialities between body (human and more-than-human), space and time to emerge through moving and making practices. Walking with my participants virtually and actually, and thinking through the human and more-than-human relationships that were enabled to emerge, made me a walker or perhaps made my walking potentiality and my walking potentiality as a migrant, whose life stories are intertwined with moving and travelling, to emerge. Like migration moving beyond spaces, feelings and bodies to a new one, like migration moving with intertwined things, memories, fears, happiness, past and future, the body is always there, a walking with body, a making with body, walking a bodily methodology. As a researcher-walker I also walked around 10km daily whilst revising my PhD chapters during 2020's Covid-19 lockdown. I felt what was entered in these chapters was not only the production of my thinking, planning and writing but also of my walking, making and moving. In each walk, a new thought and another angle came about, which made me as much a walker as a writer. The walking became not just a bodily methodology for my thesis but for myself, a coping-moving strategy to survive during the pandemic.

At the heart of this study are the stories, places, objects, thoughts narrated in the interviews, walked in the walkings and made in photo-diaries. Walking and

making those material moments enabled engagement with human and more-than-human materials. By focusing on relations, movements, capacities, spatial, temporal, affect, texts and discourses, this study becomes 'more-than' itself. Becoming a 'more-than' study enwraps those material moments and experiences of researcher, participants and data creating knots between each relationship, which Kathleen Stewart describes as 'moving forces that are immanent in scenes, subjects and encounters or in blocked opportunities or the banality of built environments' (2007, 128). The movement between positionalities in/of/through time, space and body are those back and forth matterings between actual-virtual, material-immaterial and normalising forces-nomadic becomings. I argue that change happens in-between these movements and changing positionalities.

As many critics have observed, Prevent policy as part of the post-9/11 era represents Muslim women as risky, threatening and having potentiality to become radicalised and terrorists, it offers little purchase in attending to the multiplicity of subjectivity formations in entanglements with humans and more-than-humans. In my own life, whilst for my feminist and political activist friends and for myself at some point, hijab and religion were no more than oppression and against women's rights to their bodies, feminist new materialist and post-humanist friends were able to recognise that the assemblages of body-object-space-time-feelings matter; they do things even if we do not believe in them.

I followed 15 Muslim schoolgirls mainly from Year 12, some throughout a school year, some for shorter period (Appendix A). The various walking encounters and photo-diary sessions happened around south-east London where the two secondary schools are located: School 1 in East Dulwich and School 2 in Bethnal Green. We walked around parts of south-east London for a total of at least 14 hours, one hour or more with each participant. For School 1, I travelled on the 343 bus at least 20 times, experiencing the same journey for a year, entangling with its space, bus stops, movements, sounds and bodies, and usually with the same people around the same time as my participants. For School 2, we spent more time walking around the neighbourhood as I physically walked about 30 times with three of my

participants who preferred walking with me to using mobile Skype video calling (Appendix B). My participants and I inhaled the same atmosphere around school; the smell of cannabis, the sight of colourful graffiti, the layers of Council blocks.

With my participants' stories, walks, videos and pictures, this study takes a partial stance close to the experiences and events that emerge within school, street, home, park, bus and in their desires and feelings. The familiar experience is of a bumpy ride, when reading this study, moving in and out of different spaces and entangling with different objects and bodies. These encounters resist the fixity and closure, materialising not only the particularity of these events but also how my participants' becomings are produced in them. I consider the notion of subjectivity here as *emergent*, how Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity becomings are produced through the fluid and heterogenous assemblage of entities that agentially participate in schooling events: other humans, materialities, architectures, technologies, commuting to/from school, home, time, space, feelings and more. Therefore, even though I introduce my participants' subjectivity throughout as Muslim subjectivity, when it comes to their stories and experiences many of them show a nomadic and fluid relationship to their Muslimness, partly I explore this in their relationship to 'hijab'.

Barad suggests 'one can't simply bracket (or ignore) certain issues without taking responsibility and being accountable for the constitutive effects of these exclusions' (2007, 58). As one of the ethical responsibilities of this study, I am attentive towards 'who and what are excluded through these entangled practices' (58). Grappling with these 'ethical ambivalences' (Coleman 2019) of what is added and what is removed when thinking through distributed ethical agency between humans and more-than-humans, are however, as Sara Ahmed points out, 'difficulties [that] are, as ever, pedagogic' (2010, xvii).

Walkings and photos melded me with thick vital materiality of where my participants live and go to school and commute every day. Both schools have high proportions of Muslim students; in School 1 Muslims comprise the second

highest population after Black-Caribbean, and in School 2 almost all students are Muslim. School 1 is in a fairly affluent part of Southwark, although students predominantly live in the deprived sections of this borough, Peckham and Elephant & Castle, and have to travel across these two oppositional places. Where they go to school with huge parks and play areas and where they live, densely populated with segregated¹³ Council buildings¹⁴. Most of my participants in both schools live in over-crowded Council flats and have been on Council waiting lists for years, hoping one day to be moved to more appropriate accommodation. School 1 students usually hang with their friends in Peckham full of Pound shops and cheap supermarkets. Travelling to school daily, they witness the distinctions between these different areas with most of them living in the same overcrowded house and going to the same school for years. School 2 students live that difference differently. Bethnal Green is predominantly Bangladeshi Muslim neighbourhood, with most students living within walking distance of school, however this section of Tower Hamlet lies beside Shoreditch, known as both a 'Hipster Heaven'¹⁵ and an area that was impacted by the government's cultural cleansing and gentrification schemes. Within a five-minute walk, the halal fast-food shops, cheap megastores and crowded pavements of Bethnal Green high street turn into arty cafés and restaurants, shimmering skyscrapers daubed with colourful, professional graffiti.

¹³ It took time for me to choose the term 'segregated' rather than homogenised or standardised, as each raises numerous debates and criticism about cultural policies and urban planning amongst policymakers, scholars, urban sociologists and human geographers. Even though state housing policies have been transformed to generate more community cohesion and ethnic (Amin 2002) integrations to provide a sense of national belonging in Britain, through their stories, experiences and pictures, my participants materialised the ethnicisation and racialisation of where they live and grow up alongside other parts of London. Often, however, they re-worked these spatial racialised and ethnic boundaries.

¹⁴ The London Borough of Southwark was one of the many areas in the UK where Council housing building programmes came to play a crucial role in housing working-class and migrant urban populations. In 1994, a funding bid to regenerate Peckham (the Five Estates) described it as 'an area of unquestionable social need' (Peckham Partnership 1994) which led to demolishing old and rebuilding new estates. Changes in urban development and planning that portrayed some of these areas as 'problematic', 'valueless', 'unworthy' of the housing the state provides for them (Glucksberg 2017) raised debates around ethnic deprivation and segregation in poor urban areas. These ongoing plans for urban development and effectively 'gentrification' are still at work.

¹⁵ Shoreditch: is hipster heaven now falling prey to 'cultural cleansing'? (*The Guardian*, 22 July 2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/jul/22/shoreditch-east-end-london-art-hub-big-business-gentrification> Accessed 2 May 2020.

Mapping research aims and questions

The broad aim of my research is to map relational materialities between human and more-than-human participants in my study, Muslim schoolgirls' experiences and feelings, space, time, objects and events. This intends to respond to the racialised gendered normative and patriarchal representation of young Muslim children as risky and having potentiality to become radicalised. By paying attention to things that matter to my participants in their stories, images and experiences, I explore how they come to know, understand and feel their bodies, and in relation to others. From these aims and my engagement with both participants and the wider literature I proposed these four central research questions:

1. How do Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becomings emerge in the interactions between humans and more-than-humans in their everyday ordinary practices?
2. What are the agential human and more-than-human actants in the subjectivity-becomings of Muslim schoolgirls and how they matter with my participants?
3. How can creative, visual, digital, art-based and walking methodologies enable different ways of thinking and doing, theorising and practising in research with Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becoming?
4. How can multi-sensory participatory approaches open up new capacities for different data to emerge?

Spacetime matterings with affect

Chapter 2 maps the theoretical entry into thinking-feeling-doing of my study on Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becoming. Through affective and material turns, I diffractively re-read the existing studies around Prevent policy, Muslim subjectivities and hijab. I discuss how the theoretical approach of my study and the concepts of assemblage, affect and ontopower enable filling the gaps of existing studies through attending to other forms of power relations than disciplinary, discursive or ideological; the affective and material. The main argument of this chapter is that the subjectivity-becomings and experiences of Muslim schoolgirls emerge through the complex affective atmospheres and

racialising assemblages of humans and more-than-humans: bodies, space, time, objects and feelings. I argue that attending to the affective and relational materialities help me to have a complex map of the situated and embedded entanglements and experiences, closer to everyday material moments than the flat representations and a linear cause-and-effect analysis of phenomena.

In Chapter 3, I show how feminist new materialist and post-humanist methodologies of walking intra-views, making photo-diary and face-to-face interviews enabled me to map the relational materialities between the human and more-than-human participants of my study. These methodologies helped me to think through phEmaterialism as a human and more-than-human thinking-doing and to apply concepts of assemblage, intra-action and affect while walking, moving, making and telling stories. I show how the methodological affordances of mobile Skype technology in the walking intra-views enable the human and more-than-human participants of my study to diffractively traverse the spaces, time and bodies (participants and researcher). This enables emergence of subjectivity-becomings in-between virtual-actual, absence-presence and material-immaterial. The photo-diary making as another post-human assemblage of bodies, space, time and feelings enables the human participants of my study to affectively and materially mix with things that matter for them. I argue that colours, images, stories, drawings and lines as more-than-human agencies allow the materialisation of the affective entanglements in and beyond the photos. Through movements, emergences and entanglements both of these methodologies enable the vital materiality of more-than-human agencies of space, time and affect in my participants' subjectivity-becoming to emerge.

Chapter 4 presents the relationships with stories, experiences and relations that emerge between bodies, spaces, objects and feelings. Here, I focus mainly on one of the recurring data; the experiences of racial harassment that emerge through '*affective channels*' of jokes, comments, questions, looking and staring. I argue that racial harassment experiences as an affective 'event' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) are affective partners of 'racialising assemblages' (Weheliye 2014) that not only affect the capacity of body to act and change the

relations of my participants' body to other human bodies, space and time but also as a *racialising refrain* hold the racialised body of (Muslim) other in the historical and colonial repeating loops of racism.

In Chapter 5, I explore the relational materialities between my participants' experiences of shame and fear in relation to their bodies, veil, space and time. I argue that shame, fear and feelings as agential factors have vital materiality in the subjectivity-becomings of my participants. I show how these feelings become part of their lived 'normative youthful femininity' (Kanai 2019). I use the concepts of 'political affect' (Protevi 2009) and 'public feeling' (Cvetkovich 2012) to argue that my participants' feelings of shame and fear are part of the wider 'atmospheric attunement' (Christiansen [2018](#), 44) of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy 'racializing assemblages' (Weheliye 2014) that not only de/re-territorialise how society is primed in an atmosphere of fear, control, terrorism/counter-terrorism and Brexit and post-election moments but also re-modulate the body-space-time experiences of my participants.

Chapter 6 maps a series of material and immaterial entanglements and movements with some of the human and more-than-human participants of my study. I explore how my participants' 'nomadic subjectivity' (Braidotti [2013](#) and 2011) emerges through intra-actions with things that matter for them and in transpositions and movements between material and immaterial, corporeal and incorporeal, actual and virtual. Using data mainly from walking intra-views through Skype digital technology and photo-diary making as an art-based method, I argue how the notion of 'nomad' opened up capacities to think, walk, make and move actually and virtually in-out-with spaces, bodies and things, to make and unmake relations and to re-materialise feelings, desires, memories and bodies.

In Chapter 7, through mapping the affective and relational materialities between spaces and bodies, I argue that my participants' experiences, feelings and desires that happen in everyday intra-actions with these spaces, matter. Drawing on some of the spaces that 'glow' (Maclure 2013 and 2015) in my various research encounters with my participants during walking intra-views

and photo-diary making, I consider space as one of the affective partners of my participants' subjectivity-becoming assemblage that agentially enables or constrains different relations to their bodies and to other human and more-than-human bodies. Thinking through the concepts of 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009) and ontopowers (Massumi 2015a; 2015b) in theorising space and diffractive walking, making and moving between spaces, bodies and more-than-human bodies, enables attending to the agency of more-than-human in the experiences of subjectivity-becoming.

In many ways, my research is a work of travelling, migration and movements. In one sense, it has been part of my relationship with fear of being in public as a woman, a not good 'Muslim' woman in Iran where a few strands of her hair can materially and affectively do things to her relations, experiences and feelings. In another, it is also about material moments between possibilities and impossibilities; the thousands of times when I have pulled the hijab further down my face to cover my hair in some places and in others when I have pushed it back to show my hair, the millions of times that I pushed my trousers a few inches down to cover my legs and Nike shoes stepping into school, and pulled them up when leaving school. This study started somewhere in between those material moments, way before I delved into the literature. I have sought a way of writing about subjectivity that is less about isolated experiences of a human subject, rather about complex becomings that emerge through human and more-than-human entanglements. Some of these that integrate with more-than-human spaces, objects, feelings, desires cannot be directly observed, represented or quantified yet are still materially and affectively engaged. In accepting the vital materiality of these everyday and mundane experiences, we may also learn to embrace complexity, relationalities, multiplicities and ambivalence.

Chapter 2: Space-time-mattering with Nomadic Muslim subjectivity-becoming

Introduction

The past was never simply there to begin with and the future is not simply what will unfold; the 'past' and the 'future' are iteratively reworked and enfolded through the iterative practices of spacetime-mattering.

(Barad 2007, 315)

In this chapter, I take the affective and material turns to map Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becomings and experiences. Using feminist new materialism and post-humanism, my initial aims in this chapter are twofold; to read previous intersectional analysis of Muslim subjectivity through affect and through attending to the materiality of body, space, time and feelings and to ontologise race and religion back to feminist new materialism and post-humanism. I show how affective and material turns can not only help me to pay attention to the agencies of human and more-than-humans and their mutual co-constitution when thinking through Muslim subjectivity formations but also to map relational materialities between various fields of research; feminist new materialism and post-humanism, intersectionality, assemblage theory, Prevent policy discourse analysis, critical terrorism and security studies literature.

I use some of the main conceptual tools in feminist new materialism and post-humanism, assemblage, de/re-territorialisation and affect, to consider subjectivity formations and experiences as the co-constitutive intra-actions of humans and more-than-humans; bodies, space, time, matter, feelings and desires. In each section of this chapter, I foreground these aspects to review the existing literature and move beyond them. I look at available literature on Muslim identity (Mirza 2013; Mirza and Meeto [2018](#); Afshar [2008](#); Shain 2003), securitisation of education (O'Donnell [2016a](#) and [2016b](#)) and Prevent policy (Sian [2015](#); Heath-Kelly [2012](#)) through wider human and more-than-

human 'racializing assemblages' (Weheliye 2014) and 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009). For Jane Bennett (2010), assemblages as 'a non-totalizable sum' (12) and affective arrays of bodies and vital materialities are 'ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts [that] are living, throbbing confederations...have uneven topographies, because some of the points at which the various affects and bodies cross paths are more heavily trafficked than others, and so power is not distributed equally across its surface' (23). Thinking through the concept of assemblage allows to 'engage with what more we might think' (Allen 2015, 122), to flag points of connection rather than flattening the differences (Ringrose and Coleman 2013, 125) and to map connectivities between objects and bodies (Ringrose and Renold 2014, 2). Thinking and doing with assemblage enables me to integrate and entwine with race, gender, sexuality and disability not as 'identity markers but dynamic processes that circulate, accumulate and stick to bodies' (Springgay and Truman 2018, 47).

This conceptual framework not only enables me to explore the relational materialities and what they do to the subjectivity-becoming experiences of Muslim schoolgirls but also to capture the more-than agential actants that work at the corporeal and transcorporeal capacities and intensities. It can facilitate moving away from linear understandings, binary narratives and representations of Muslim schoolgirls as oppressed/powerful, threatening/passive towards an affective, material and relational understanding of their experiences in their ordinary, everyday interactions. Through affect theories I propose that Muslim subjectivity formation as a post-human becoming with humans and more-than-humans is entwined with racialising assemblages including Prevent policy, threat, terrorism, veil, space, time and feeling. Thinking through multiplicity and relationality, the units of my study are agential assemblages of humans and more-than-humans rather than one single subject/object/policy/place/moment. What matters in this onto-ethico-epistemological turn is not entirely what Muslimness, hijab and Prevent policy discourses mean but what particular relational materialities with racialising assemblages do to my participants' everyday ordinary experiences of their bodies and the relations of their bodies to other human and more-than-human

bodies. Barad uses the concept of 'onto-ethico-epistemology' (2007) to describe her post-humanist theories as ethics that are not inseparable from being and understanding. As Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) suggests, 'Barad's asubjective approach to ethical agency offers a most prominent attempt to engage ontologically with the ethicality of matter' (142). Following Barad's onto-ethico-epistemology, ethics is reoriented as a distributed force across the multiple agencies that enable human and more-than-human relations. I consider the subjectivity-becoming experiences of the Muslim schoolgirls in my study as part of the 'spacetime-mattering' (Barad 2007) another Baradian term to rethink relationality and affective assemblages. Schoolgirl's relations are emerging through intra-actions of space, time, matter, bodies and affect instead of conceptualising them only as the production of normative discursive discourses, that are the focus of most existing literature on the binary of one or other aspect of Muslim subjectivity. In reconfiguring the notion of 'spacetime-mattering', Barad (2008) suggests that discourses and materiality are not separate or pre-existing; rather they are intimately relational entities. Juelskjaer describes Barad's concepts of spacetime-mattering as 'time and space are produced through iterative intra-actions that materialise specific phenomena, where phenomena are not 'things' but relations. Mattering and materialising are dynamic processes through which temporality and spatiality are produced as something specific' (2013, 755). Massumi's 'ontopower' (2015a and b) also helps me to see different power relations, i.e. affective modulations that emerge through affective entanglements with humans and more-than-humans and through affective atmospheres of space. For Massumi (2017) the notion of 'ontopower' refers to the pre-emptive would-have/could-have logic of pre-emption, where ontopower can make macro-political measurements, decisions and interventions (i.e. Prevent policy risk assessment and referrals) or micro-interactions as right and true, even if they were or are wrong. I take Massumi's ontopower to think through affect when working with Barad's notion of spacetime-mattering and its agency, in order to suggest that relations between space, time, matter and bodies emerge through affective modulations as well as discursive formations. Therefore, in my analysis, not only space, time, things, objects and feelings matter, but it

matters also how ontopowers of affective modulations and atmospheres enable or constrain those relations.

Nomadic Subjectivity-becomings

In this section, I show how feminist new materialism and post-humanism ontological shifts in understanding human subjectivity helped me to consider the multiplicity of Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity as *becoming-with* through the concept of 'nomadic subjectivities' (Braidotti 2011, 289). I found this ontological shift important for my study as it not only brings implications to how I read and review previous literature but also in the method I chose and how I analyse the data for these nomadic subjectivities to emerge (as I show in Chapter 3's methodology).

Drawing on feminist new materialism and post-humanism accounts of theory and practice not in a binary relation but as constituting one another (Jackson and Mazzei 2013, 264), I found it inevitable not to re-position my stance in relation to one of the fundamental and contentious ontological aspects of this approach, i.e. the human agency and subjectivity in this chapter. Feminist new materialism and post-humanism scholars reconceptualise human beings as 'more-than-human' collectivities to challenge those legacies of humanism in qualitative enquiries that deny the dynamic relations among humans, animals, machines, things, environments and so forth (Snaza and Weaver 2015). De-centring the human subject as one vital commitment of these approaches, does not suggest rejecting the human/humanity, rather to attend to how human beings never act alone and are always entangled with/in their environments (Dernikos et al 2019, 3). I follow many post-human scholars who do not distance themselves from the humanist project entirely to embrace foundational humanist concepts such as rights, justice, equity and freedom (e.g. Barad 2007; Braidotti 2013; Snaza and Weaver 2015). This stance not only enables me to disrupt the dominant conception of Man as white, western privileged male and (Wo)man as white, western privileged female as an autonomous rational subject who is superior to other humans and more-than-humans (e.g. women, people of colour, animals, objects) but also to avoid the

risks of the silencing and invisibilising those who are already normalised as nonhuman-Muslim-other and non-white-male-subjects. I use this approach in a way that does not dismiss the experiences and agencies of the already racialised and gendered de-centred humans and more-than-humans of my study through de-humanising my theory and practice.

To clarify my ontological position in understanding human subjects in my study I open this section with Panelli's (2010) critiques of post-humanism and new materialism as a white middle class western location only for those who can afford its politic(al) to leave the question of race, power, identity and subjectivity. Jackson ([2015b](#)) also warns that the 'appeals to move beyond the human may actually reintroduce the Eurocentric transcendentalism this movement purports to disrupt particularly with regard to the historical and ongoing distributive ordering of race' (215). Ahmed (2008) critiques the new materialist notion of de-centring the human. For her, any feminist enquiry has to be attentive to the structural and institutional racism to make clear 'who is being evoked by this 'we', and to what extent this 'we' functions to interpellate the reader into a community that shares a common horizon' (26). Clough and Calderaro (2018, 3) also annotate the same critiques that queer, trans, disability and critical race scholars make; 'while a decentring of human is necessary, we need to question whose conception of humanity, these more-than-human theories are trying to move beyond'. Brennan adds another trajectory to this point that women and minorities (in particular) as 'sites of affective dumping' are often assigned to 'carry the negative affects for the other' (2004, 15).

To build on these limitations, I follow scholars in education call for humanising post-humanist methodologies (Dernikos et al. 2019) to think through the colonial violence that is potentially furthered by more-than-human relationalities (Bayley [2018](#); Zembylas 2018) such as the rise of white supremacy and right-wing nationalism and their relationships to terrorism, immigration, border controls and, recently, Covid-19. I argue that it is impossible to remove the human agency from Muslim subjectivity-becoming-assemblages and as Brennan suggests, not to think of them as sites of

affective dumping and carriers of negative affects, threat of terrorism for Muslim men and non-Muslim others.

Through this onto-ethico-epistemological shift, I avoid thinking of Muslim subjectivity as a final representation of an oppressed or free, empowered or disempowered subjectivity. The conceptual tool of 'becoming-with' (Banerjee and Blaise 2013) suggests that Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becomings emerge in-between the grouping of elements (Barad 2007); racialising assemblages, threat, hijab and affective atmosphere that events like 'Jihadi brides' and counter-terrorism Prevent policy enable. For Barad (2012), individual entities' becomings are not about producing bounded objects and subjects coming into contact but about disrupting the boundaries between subject/object and intra-acting fluid assemblages that unfold into each other (125-142). Therefore, to become and to know, instead of being an individual or just a social or cultural matter, is a thoroughly human and more-than-human matter. I consider Muslim schoolgirls' nomadic subjectivity-becomings as emerging through 'collective patterns of living with the configuration of social and non-human forces unique to the becoming of specific processes of individuation' (Lorraine [2009](#), 78), not a static representation of the binary of empowerment or oppression as in some literature on Muslim subjectivity (Mirza and Meeto [2018](#); Mirza 2013; Afshar 2008; Hoodafar 2003; Shain 2003; Rashid 2016; Sian [2015](#)).

My understanding of Muslim nomadic subjectivity enables me to tangle with, on one hand, the nuances of their everyday ordinary lived experiences in relation to bodies, space, time, things and feelings and on the other their relational and affective materialities to wider socio-political assemblages, that focus only on identity designations and 'representations that put people in opposition with one another despite the orientations they share' (Lorraine [2009](#), 78). Thinking through nomadic subjectivity-becoming is to map what a body *can* do rather than just what the body represents and means. Deleuze and Guattari write:

We can't know anything about the body until we know what a body can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or to join with it in composing a more powerful body.

(1987, 284)

The construction of a Muslim girl's identity is analysed by some scholars through the connection between neoliberal post-feminist discourses and the post-9/11 surveillance of Muslim bodies (Khoja-Moolji and Niccolini 2016). They problematise the construction of the 'good Muslim girl' (Farris 2017) and post-feminist discourse about empowerment and its intensification in the context of counter-terrorism (Mirza and Meeto [2018](#)). For Sara Farris (2017) in this particular post-race and post-feminist moment, the construction of the new 'good Muslim girl' in need of 'saving' is simultaneously an engagement in racist rhetoric and policies whilst it sees itself as enlightened, progressive and open to gender equality, sexual difference and racial diversity.

Similar to Farris, Heidi Mirza and Veena Meeto ([2018](#)) critique empowerment as a westernised notion that informs teachers' approaches to Muslim girls. They ask, 'How can we move beyond empowerment as the dominant language of female agency in neoliberal post-feminist multicultural contexts?' (238) They further argue that commonly teachers see young Muslim women as a distinct racialised category of students in need of 'saving' from their religion, culture and family and try to 'enlighten' and 'uplift' them out of their plight through the invocation of post-feminist values of 'gender equality, choice and freedom' (228). For Mirza and Meeto young Muslim women who are culturally essentialised as valourising motherhood and subject to the patriarchal heterosexual institutions of religion and family have different relationships with neoliberal post-feminist female 'empowerment' to that of western white women who are overlooked in terms of their unique 'other' forms of 'choice and agency' (2018, 229). Rashid (2016), also in problematising the approach to 'empowerment', argues that post-feminist discourses obscure the structural inequalities that Muslim women experience as a result of their socio-economic and citizenship status.

Such analyses have been very valuable in showing how Muslim girls' subjectivity is constructed through neoliberal post-feminist discourses in relation to empowerment. However, I take a new feminist materialist and post-humanist onto-ethico-epistemological approach to subjectivity as nomadic becoming to move beyond them. In my approach subjectivity-becoming is not limited to the discourse, meaning and language of neoliberal policies and regulations; rather it emerges as mutual co-constitutions between humans and more-than-humans. Thinking through nomadic subjectivity-becomings enables an attentiveness to the vital materiality of hijab, body, matter, space, time, feelings and their material and affective agential role in the subjectivity formations of Muslim girls in their everyday ordinary experiences and encounters. Even though the agency in my approach is not limited to the human discourse and language of the policy or the representation of Muslim women in the media, it does not ignore the inevitable agency of discourse or its material and affective ontopowers in the racialising assemblages.

I argue that 'racialising assemblages' (Weheliye 2014, 43) tangle with threats of terrorism, pre-emptive logic of counter-terrorism and Prevent policy, take up the familiar frames of 'postfeminist girlhood' (Ringrose 2012; Gill 2007; McRobbie 2009) and entangle the neoliberal, post-feminist ideals of individualism, competition, entrepreneurial identity and self-help with the newly-constructed risky Muslim schoolgirls. The notion of post-threat climate or post-threat time that I use throughout this study implies my understanding of the affective agency of threat in relation to Muslim schoolgirls experiences. The intensified focus on Muslims within the pre-emptive logics of Prevent and counter-terrorism policies, creates a new turn in the relationship between schools and Muslim schoolgirls, those new 'folk devils' at risk of radicalisation or becoming 'jihadi' brides, groomed through social media and drawn to the excitement, romance and promise of immortality as 'mothers' of the new Islamic caliphate (Shain 2010; Mirza 2015; Mirza and Meeto [2018](#)). In the next chapters, I map how this new racialising assemblage is materially lived and experienced by the Muslim schoolgirls of my study in their everyday ordinary encounters. Through walking to/from/around school, photo-diary

making and re-telling stories, they show what matters for them and if resisting western Imperialism or neoliberal post-feminist discourse play a role.

I build on Shain (2003) to argue that the new climate of pre-emptive logic adds an aspect of risky-ness that enables further intensification of relations. Simultaneously Muslim schoolgirls become over-surveyed victims of oppressive cultures and the dangerous and deviant subjects that threaten the normative assumptions of Muslim normal obedient passive women. They are being ignored and marginalised not only because of their diligence but because of their danger, mystery and threat. Shain (2003) argues that the representation of young Muslim women as the over-controlled victims of oppressive cultures means it is a common experience for Asian and Muslim girls to be ignored or marginalised in classroom interaction because it is assumed that they are industrious, hard-working and getting on quietly with their work.

Mirza and Meeto (2018) not only criticise the representation of Muslim women as risky and threatening but, like Haleh Afshar (2008) and Homa Hoodfar (2003) who warn against western Imperialism, they also warn against the danger of neoliberal postfeminist discourse around empowerment for Muslim women, arguing:

Far from being 'dangerous' [Muslim women] are actually 'in danger' of falling between the cracks of virulent racialised Islamophobic debates on the one hand, and racialised post-feminist discourses of female equality on the other, both of which play-out in the everyday microcosms of our multicultural British schools.

(Mirza and Meeto 2018, 228)

A limitation of these analyses would be the generalisations in discourses of resistance, empowerment and danger in all Muslim women's experiences, including those from different socio-economic backgrounds and age. The Muslim women who participate in Mirza and Meeto's research are predominantly mature, successful academics, postgraduate university students and entrepreneurs. I will show that teenage girls in schools and in public,

materially and affectively experience the post-threat climate differently. Even though Shain, Afshar and Hoodfar's valuable work carried out more than a decade ago But they helped me to find a genealogical understanding of the contextual and situated experiences of Muslim women. However, it does not cover the different complexities that have since evolved in relation to Muslims, such as US travel bans, tighter immigration policies, Prevent policy, counter-terrorism schemes, Brexit and more.

I draw on Puar (2012) to re-animate the conceptualisation of intersectionality and its focus on representational politics, through matter, mattering and the liminality of bodily matter which cannot be captured by intersectional subject positioning (55-56). This lets me consider Muslim schoolgirls' corporeal and transcorporeal subjectivity-becomings as more-than how they are being represented in some research as being fixed in one side of the binary of oppressed/empowered, passive/active, threatening and dangerous/obedient in the studies I reviewed. Drawing upon post-human scholars Donna Haraway (1985) and Elizabeth Grosz (1994), Puar (2012) sees bodies as unstable entities that cannot be seamlessly disaggregated into identity formations. For Grosz (1994) body is neither a locus for a consciousness nor an organically determined entity, but more about action, what it can do or perform, the links it establishes, the transformations and becomings it undergoes, and the machinic connections it forms with other bodies, what it can link to, how it can proliferate its capacities. Grosz calls intersectionality, 'a gridlock model that fails to account for the mutual constitution and indeterminacy of embodied configurations of gender, sexuality, race, class and nation'. However as Puar suggests, in some strands of feminist new materialism there is a concern that in de-centring linguistic signification and social constructionism, we might still divide matter and discourse (2012, 56). Puar's understanding of identity categories as assemblages also helps overcome this concern: 'categories such as race, gender, sexuality, instead of being entities and attributes of subjects are considered events, actions and encounters between bodies' (58). The concept of assemblage enables thinking through relations, and the patterns of relations more than the focus on content (Phillips 2006, 108).

Turning to the conceptualisation of postfeminist girlhood, I argue that the pre-emptive logic and depiction of Muslim schoolgirls at risk of radicalisation suggests that Muslim schoolgirls have already failed to conform to 'the ideal postfeminist script of subjectivity as engaged in self-surveillance' (Gill 2007). The need in constant pre-emptive interventions implies already constructed, sexualised, gendered and racialised individuals who have failed or have the potential to fail to control simultaneously their body, desire, sexuality and femininity through neoliberal postfeminist ideals and their modesty and piety with their religious ideals. Shenila Khoja-Moolji and Alyssa Niccolini (2016) argue that in the post-9/11 world a Muslim woman's relationship with surveillance has been made more complex through experiences of heightened public and even institutional scrutiny. Drawing upon Eve Sedgwick (2003) they suggest that the intense surveillance and generalised mistrust of Muslims as a form of paranoia, rests on a 'faith in exposure' (Sedgwick 2003, 139) that is 'characterized by placing, in practice, an extraordinary stress on the efficacy of knowledge *per se* – knowledge in the form of exposure. Maybe that's why paranoid knowing is so inescapably narrative' (138). I take Sedgwick's notion of 'paranoid knowing' (1990, 206) to argue that subjectivity-becomings of Muslim schoolgirls are entangled with forms of paranoid knowing generated through 'the epistemological crisis of counter-terrorism' (Jackson [2015a](#)) where the label 'terrorist' and being categorised as having a potential to radicalisation are distributed on the basis of a paranoid 'what if' approach to the identification of threat and locus of fear (33-34). Ontopowers of threat as the new affective power emerged through Prevent and counter-terrorism climate, like 'a conceptual glue' (Ringrose and Renold 2016, 225) made the bridge between paranoid knowing, 'what if' assumptions and radicalising assemblages in schools and beyond.

The event: becoming-with 'Jihadi brides'

The notion of 'becoming-with' in feminist new materialist and post-humanist approaches suggests not that the agency is not attributable to any one thing and only human, but rather it is bound to an assemblage and 'more-than' human. For Barad, agency is not held as it is not a property of persons or

things; as an enactment it is a matter of possibilities for reconfiguring entanglements (Barad 2012, 54). I draw on the agency of more-than-human things to combine with, so-called by the media, the 'Jihadi brides'¹⁶ (Figure 1). This affective event concerns three British-Bangladeshi Muslim girls who 'fled' to Syria to marry Jihadi fighters. I consider this event as an agential material 'actant' (Bennett 2010, xiii–xiv) in my participants' subjectivity-becoming. I argue that, having vital materiality, this event not only enables the affective entanglements of all Muslim schoolgirls with 'Jihadi brides' and the enforcement of Prevent policy and anti-radicalisation strategies in schools and beyond since 2015 but also provides a new 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009) surrounding Muslim veiled/non-veiled girls in and out of school.

The methodological approach and affordances of my study both in theory and practice enable my participants and me to follow this event in different contexts, time, space, bodies and relations in public rather than only analysing the discourse it operationalises. In my Methodology, I map how this event becomes more-than itself, more than 'Jihadi brides', traversing bodies, time, space, lives, moving and being carried around.

Building on the analysis of scholars (Mirza and Meeto [2018](#); Mirza 2013; Rashid 2016) who consider that this event represents a new symbolic image of Muslim women, I analyse how this event continues to affect Muslim schoolgirls' material lived experiences and how they know themselves and others partially through this event. I read diffractively Mirza and Meeto's ([2018](#)) intersectional analysis of the event of Jihadi bride, Prevent policy and Muslim women subjectivity-becomings through threat as another agential actant in the racialising assemblages. The potential of diffractive thinking-doing is to allow reading through each other (Barad 2007; Haraway [1988](#)). Diffractive reading of this event with affective and material turns, releases me from using the Jihadi

¹⁶ See: British Girls Join Islamic State and We Dismiss Them as Jihadi Brides, *The Telegraph*, 22 January 2015. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11360581/Islamic-State-British-girls-join.-We-dismiss-them-as-jihadi-brides.html>. Accessed 18 March 2020.
Isis Supporters 'Offering Cash to British Girls as Young as 14 to Become Jihadi Brides in Syria', *The Independent*, 19 December 2014, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/isis-supporters-offering-cash-to-british-girls-as-young-as-14-to-become-jihadi-brides-in-syria-9935047.html>, Accessed 18 March 2020.

bride event and Prevent policy as imposing linear narratives or fixed causalities of Muslim subjectivity formations, as Mirza and Meeto impressively did. Rather through affect (threat) I explore what this event does to my participants' ordinary relations to themselves and other humans and more-than-humans.

The Jihadi bride event de/re-territorialises the relationships between Muslim girls and their bodies, others' bodies, school, family, space and time. I use the concept of 'de/re-territorialisation' to follow the movements of power and changes that emerge between components of assemblages. Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 88) describe the processes of de/re-territorialisation as the creative potential of an assemblage that 'has both territorial sides, or territorialized sides, which stabilize it, and cutting edges of deterritorialization which carry it away'. I found this concept useful because it enables an understanding of becoming (subjectivity) as relational movements and material moments where a component of an assemblage is always detaching from one relation and attaching to a new one. Emma (EJ) Renold and Ringrose (2008) use this concept to map how tween and teenage girls reinscribe but also resist, rupture and rework the heterosexual matrix. They show that ruptures do not constitute total resistance to norms, instead they provide significant spaces of doing girl differently which sometimes exceeds heteronormative femininity and phallogocentric desire (335).

Moving beyond the concepts of 'construction' and 'production' that imply top-down power relations, representational binary thinking and things that are over and done with, the concept of de/re-territorialisation opens up the new thinking-doing-feeling capacity which may even momentarily as 'proto possibilities' (Renold and Ivinson [2019](#), 12) enable an escape from a normalised, hierarchised, homogenised, territorialising context, structure and relation into new relations. I use de/re-territorialisation as one intertwined concept, territorialities, de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, to consider it as three movements that are enabled through changing the affective capacities of the components of assemblages and happen in a territory; de-territorialisation as disrupting the territory and re-territorialisation as re-

establishing the territory in a different way. This concept enables moving beyond binary thinking whilst simultaneously not ignoring the structural and institutional normalised inequalities. Turning to the affective event of 'jihadi bride' as a component of agential Muslim-related racialising assemblages between humans and more-than-humans helps me to map the relational materialities that happen in the everyday ordinary lives and experiences of the Muslim schoolgirls in my study, without the limitations of the abstract discourse and discursive formations in the linguistic paradigm. The Jihadi bride event pulls Muslim schoolgirls into racialising assemblages through de/re-territorialising the relations and capacities of bodies to act.

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks¹⁷ the reification of Muslim cultural/religious differences, and particularly the preoccupation in contemporary western imaginations with Muslim women's dress, has constructed them as Islamophobic signifiers and symbolic 'barbaric Muslim others' (Mirza and Meeto [2018](#); Mirza 2013; Rashid 2016). Puar argues that sexuality and the surveillance of Muslim bodies inseparably linked in that counter-terrorism discourse, are intrinsically gendered, raced and sexualized and illuminate the production of imbricated normative patriot and terrorist corporeality that cohere against and through each other ([2007](#), xxiv). Post-9/11 the over-coded Muslim woman, perennially oppressed by a mass of Muslim men/Islam/culture (Khoja-Moolji [2015](#), 544), finds a new visual category: that of 'terrorist look-alike' (Puar [2007](#), 229). The affective event of Jihadi bride emerges as a new partner for the colonial rhetoric of white men saving brown women from brown men (Spivak 1988) and stereotypes of Muslim women as innocent and exploited (Shain 2003). This time Muslim women need different interventions not to save them but surveilling, controlling and preventing them from becoming radicalised. I make this onto-ethico-epistemological shift to consider the Jihadi bride event not only as how it changes the representation of Muslim schoolgirls constructing a new meaning for the category of Muslim woman (Mirza and Meeto [2018](#); Mirza 2013; Shain 2003) but more as an affective event that

¹⁷ On 11 September 2001, 19 al Qaeda terrorists hijacked four airplanes and carried out suicide attacks against targets in the United States, which killed almost 3,000 people.

enables or constrains material and immaterial inter-relationships crosscutting bodies, space and time.

Muslim women are disproportionately targeted in the rise in anti-Muslim attacks and hate crimes; six out of 10 victims were women and eight out of 10 perpetrators were men, with the majority aged between 13 and 18¹⁸, which suggests new trajectories into 'terrorist assemblages' (Puar [2007](#)), proliferated since 9/11 and the war on terror; the Muslim woman who is not only passive, obedient and oppressed but also a new racialised 'model minority' (Puar and Rai 2004, 75) and 'model Muslim female student' (Mirza and Meeto [2018](#), 238), is a risky, threatening, sexualised and eroticised figure. Figure 1 shows some of the media headlines from 2015-2016 that set, or as they call them 'Found', all the elements for discursive, material and affective formation of new figures: three missing London schoolgirls, British ISIS brides, and Bethnal Green. Around one year after this event, there were *'more than 400 children under 10 referred for 'deradicalisation'*. I use these images not only to show how Muslim schoolgirls were constituted as 'Jihadi brides' in the media headlines but how Muslim children became engaged in this event through deradicalisation strategies.



¹⁸ Tell MAMA Annual Report 2017: <https://tellmamauk.org/tell-mamas-annual-report-for-2017-shows-highest-number-of-anti-muslim-incidents/> Accessed September 2020.

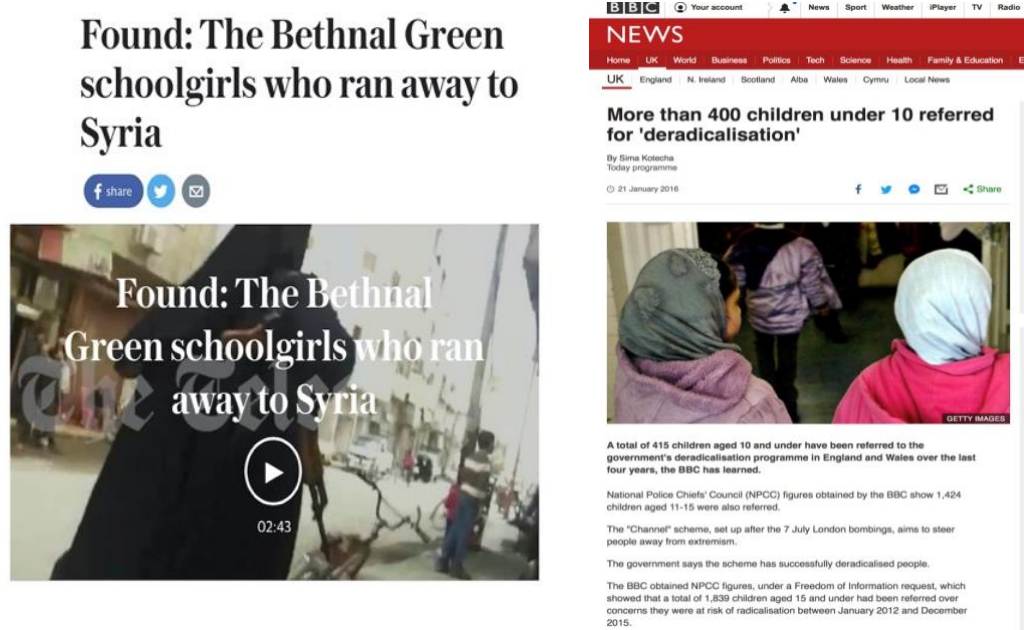


Figure 1: Muslim children, Jihadi bride’s event and deradicalization strategies

I take Puar’s (2014) notion of intersectional-assemblage to argue that thinking through the concept of ‘assemblage’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) can work through intersectionality to relocate critiques of the normative (Puar 2014, 198) as well as to shift the focus from epistemology to an ontology of multiplicity (209). Through feminist new materialist and post-humanist assemblage thinking and doing, the focus on the intersectional construction of Muslim new risky threatening other (Mirza and Meeto 2018; Mirza 2013; Bilge 2010; Shain 2003) can be extended to the affective capacities and relational materialities that this event enables in the everyday ordinary lived experiences of Muslim schoolgirls. This affective tangling that does things to the relations of Muslim schoolgirls to their bodies and other human and more-than-human bodies pulls them into the terrorism racialising assemblages.

Following Puar (2012) in thinking through assemblage, I consider the affective event of ‘Jihadi bride’ as a form of control through Deleuze’s understanding of ‘societies of control’ (Deleuze 1992). In the societies of control, power works through the affective modulations of bodily capacities and intensities rather than predominantly through signification or identity interpellation (Puar 2012, 63). In the data chapters, I explore these affective modulations through my

participants' stories, images, and moving bodies in the walking and making. Thinking through assemblage becomings and intersectional-assemblage whilst enabling comprehending political institutions and their attendant forms of social normativity and disciplinary administration through intersectional attentiveness, asks what is prior to and beyond what gets established. In this sense, I argue the analysis of 'jihadi bride' as affective event enables mapping how these affective entanglements de/re-territorialise Muslim schoolgirls' lived embodied and embedded material and affective experiences.

Threat as one of the 'more-than' (Manning 2013) human, category, feeling, data and affective actant, diminishes or enhances the capacity of the body to act, think and feel. Threat affects beyond the intersections of different aspects of identity, race, gender, sexuality, religion etc, traversing space, time and bodies. Counter-terrorism and Prevent policy pre-emptive logics work on the basis of acting upon potentiality to radicalisation and a threat that may or may not happen in the future in combining events such as that of Jihadi bride; threat is enabled as a processual and transversal agential more-than-human actant to flow and cut across usual categories of human bodies/non-human bodies, subjective/objective (Massumi 2015, x), past/present, personal/public and actual/virtual.

The racialising assemblages of Jihadi bride event and counter-terrorism Prevent policy de/re-territorialise Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becomings as being a potential threat and vulnerable to radicalisation. Muslim schoolgirls subjectivity-becomings animate through threat proliferated by a school's duty around Prevent, the affective capacity of the media in continuous, live coverage of Muslim-related news, which Massumi calls 'automatic image loops'¹⁹ (2015a) and hate crimes in public. Through the affective entanglement of Muslim schoolgirls with threat (of terrorism), their becomings are made possible and impossible through their relationship to counter-terrorism racialising assemblages and threat. Therefore, Muslim schoolgirls and women

¹⁹ As an example see stories and pictures of Boston Marathon Bombing <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/04/us/tsarnaev-trial-timeline/index.html> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ql3LiOtlrs>

are not only what they are discursively represented through judgment as Mirza and Meeto show and one particular spatial and temporal moment of experience but also have become through the connections and assemblages of multiple and different moments. I explore some of these emerging racialising assemblages in the data chapters.

For Colebrook (2010, 4), 'the event is a disruption, violence or dislocation of thinking' that as Berlant (2011) suggests can 'forces us into thought'. This affective event opened up shock, fear and anger that still unfolds and grows in the affective atmosphere of schools and beyond. Jihadi bride as an affective event was about an encounter of bodies enabling 'the event-ness of our identity constructions' (Niccolini [2016b](#), 901), that can shift the relationships of Muslim schoolgirls to their own bodies and other bodies. Jihadi bride as an 'event' (Manning 2013) 'functions not as a thing-in-itself but as a force of form that generates complex patterns in an ecology that touches on the everyday while moving beyond it into the time of the event' (110). This resonates with Luran Berlant's (2011) call for 'attending to the relation of the situation to the event by prioritizing "event" as that which *governs* the situation' (5-6). The understanding of event as those sets of processes that facilitate the situations and 'the becoming general of singular things' (12) opened up new capacities in my thinking about the Jihadi bride event and how it enabled links between general (terrorism and counter-terrorism discourses, media coverage, Prevent policy) and particular (my participants' experiences and feelings).

Racialised subjectivities of post-threat times

The emergence of the Jihadi bride enabled another relational materiality beyond the construction of new suspect subjectivity and 'folk-devils' (Shain 2010), that of the foregrounding forms of 'bare life' and 'state of exception' (Agamben 2003) which legitimise security intervention and an imperative to act upon and always be vigilant around Muslim others, to learn and think of security when facing them. I argue that post-9/11 and now in post-threat time what has happened is not just the construction of a new Muslim identity

category; it goes beyond that to an 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009) attuned to threat and a security emergency as the new normal (Neocleous 2016, 15). In this post-threat state of exception and emergency everyone is obliged to think security so the (veiled) bodies of Muslim students, as the materiality of this emergency and exceptions, become the affective locus to be acted upon by pre-emptive logic and must security thinking. Mbembe (2003) argues that declarations of crises and emergencies are often intertwined with 'the creation of fictionalised enemies, objects/subjects in danger, and agents ideally placed to undertake rescue', therefore need more caution. The Jihadi bride event and Prevent duties in schools not only combine with the aspect of gender in wider 'political and racial branding' (Clough and Willse 2010, 47) but also the use of gender, Muslim students in the promotion of counter-terrorism and Prevent policy. For Clough and Willse (2010, 51) the mediated modulation of affectivity constitutes the relationship of belongingness that characterises the individual elements and the public of a population. Through the racialising assemblage of the Jihadi bride event, counter-terrorism pre-emptive logic and must security thinking and acting, Muslim schoolgirls are de/re-territorialised into different and new relational materialities and moving, mattering and becoming with threat in every moment and space

Thinking through intersectional-assemblage, Puar ([2014](#), 200) applies religion to Clough and Willse's 'racial branding' (2010, 47) and argues that in this particular post-9/11 moment, religion operated to amplify or intensify various vectors of force as an affective tendency, not just as an identity formation. She claims that with the 'racialisation of religion' (200) a new race, 'the Muslim race', is created that leads to 'the invariable slippage amongst these multiple namings of region, religion and ethnicity – Middle Eastern, Arab, Muslim, South Asian, Sikh – animating a cross-pollination as well as a massification (rather than differentiation) of racial and religious referents (brown, turban, beard, hijab, headscarf)' (201). Puar takes Medovoi's (2012) theorisation of the new alliance of religion and racialisation as 'dogma-line racism' (45) that is the 'second axis of racism' fuelled through 'primary reference to mind rather than body, ideology rather than corporeality, according to the theologies, creeds, beliefs, faiths, and ideas rather than their colour, face, hair, blood, and origin'

(45). Thinking through assemblage, I argue that for Muslim veiled-women the affective entanglements of hijab with post-threat time and affective atmosphere still keep the corporeal axis of racism live and working.

For scholars who focus on race and education, counter-terrorism and Prevent policy are not about security but about racism (Patel [2017](#); Sian [2015](#); Mirza 2006; Mirza and Meeto [2018](#)). Sian considers this as post-racial conditions that do not imply the elimination of racism but rather 'its replacement from ethnically marked bodies to those that are considered to be only religiously marked' ([2015](#), 196). Following these arguments, the racialisation of Muslims, securitisation of education and pre-emptive logic of counter-terrorism emerge in the context of dismissing racism and silencing the critiques of institutional racism (183). What I apply to these invaluable analyses of the racialisation of education (Mirza 2006) that considers ethnicity and cultural difference as signifiers for 'race' (151) and 'securitisation of education' through Prevent policy (Patel [2017](#); Sian [2015](#); O'Donnell 2016), are ontopowers and affective modulations of threat that working through the body, become a component of the subjectivity-becoming of Muslim schoolgirls. Through the post-humanist understanding of race, Arun Saldanha argues race is neither a problem of epistemology represented in racial discourse, nor irreducible to a timeless essence; it is a 'machine assemblage' from a materialist ontology (2006, 9). Weheliye's concept of 'racializing assemblages', which I contemplated and practised in my research, materialises this understanding of race as relational, material and affective assemblages of more than one single category of human identity rather humans and more-than-humans. Brigitte Bargetz's analysis of the distribution of emotions also helped me to think how affect becomes a mode of mobilising conditions of racism and inequality, 'a politics that is not rooted in identity, but takes the (affective) interruption of these conditions as a starting point for (collective) politics' (2015, 582). Drawing on her, I consider threat which is proliferated through counter-terrorism and must security culture as a new mode of mobilising conditions of racial harassment, Islamophobia and racism.

The 'Jihadi bride' event enables another agential actant to entangle with Muslim schoolgirls' racialising assemblages: sexuality as another affective capacity. Marrying jihadi fighters not only materialises Muslim schoolgirls as the new 'risky other' but also as the new risky sexualised other. Paradoxically Muslim schoolgirls also afford to be simultaneously defeminised and desexualised because of their religiosity (Rashid 2016, 129). By allowing themselves to be radicalised by a terrorist ideology and to marry Jihadi men, Muslim schoolgirls are construed as both an agent and/or victim of their sexual desire. Their deviancy not only relates to their rejection of traditional Islamic teachings whereby the female body must be concealed and controlled to avoid overt sexuality (Hoel 2013, 80) but also to disrupt the normative image of Muslim girls as passive, obedient and dependent. Post-threat risky images of Muslim girls are not those that show victims of FGM or arranged marriages but those that are dangerous and threatening, albeit still vulnerable and needing intervention through security measures. Headlines like 'British Girls Join Islamic State and We Dismiss Them as "Jihadi Brides"'²⁰ (Daily Telegraph 2015) and 'It's Up to Us to Stop These Muslim Girls Making the Worst Mistake of Their Lives'²¹ (The Guardian 2015) highlight the state of exception, must security thinking and must security interventions.

Threat emerging from the Jihadi bride event, counter-terrorism and Prevent policy provides different power relations; ontopower. For Massumi 'ontopower' (2015a; 2015b) affectively modulates space, time, matter and body; it can change the capacity of human and more-than-human bodies to act. For Massumi, ontopower 'does not cause in any traditional sense. It conditions. It reconditions the field of emergence, in order to modulate what becoming unfolds from it' (2015b, 240). Instead of working at the level of discipline, discourse, language, voice, human ideological and rational justification, ontopower works more at the level of affective modulations, conscious/unconscious, pre-personal, moving and making. In the context of my study, ontopowers flowing through the affective Jihadi bride event, counter-terrorism,

²⁰ <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11360581/Islamic-State-British-girls-join.-We-dismiss-them-as-jihadi-brides.html>

²¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/28/sara-khan-stop-these-muslim-girls-making-worst-mistake-of-their-lives-isis>

Prevent policy and threat, 'conditions' entanglements of Muslim schoolgirls to racialising assemblages.

The Matter: the vital materiality of veil

Turning to the assemblages of a Muslim woman's body, one of the crucial materials that matters is the veil, the supposedly 'single item of clothing and body-covering practices that with obscuring the diversity in veiling, brings both the loose head-scarf and the all-encompassing burqa into a singular discursive frame' (Macdonald [2006](#), 6). Some studies around the hijab and veiling of women consider it in various ways; as part of their identity (Dwyer 1999), meaning-making (McGinty [2014](#)), a second skin (Mirza 2013), as resistance to western Imperialism (Afshar 1994 and 2008), as a definer of Muslim women's socio-cultural positioning (Macdonald [2006](#)), as a tool to 'confuse or contradict static constructions' (Puar 1994, 38), a symbol of contest (Bilge 2010), a means to an 'adaptive strategy' (Hoodfar 2003), and a political, ideological surface for a government's patriarchal control and power exercised over a woman's body (Shirazi [2019](#); Ghoreishi 2017).

I draw upon new feminist materialism and post-humanism onto-ethico-epistemological approaches to understand the vital materiality of veil and its relational, material and affective agency within different assemblages of humans and more-than-humans. The poststructuralist and postcolonial historical genealogy of veiling understands veil as a site for resistance, choice, agency or oppression, violence, passivity, predominantly located on either side of these oppositional binaries. I argue that veil as matter and materiality is not an inert background for human activity but can be conceptualised 'as agentic', with multiple more-than-human as well as human sources of agency with capacities to affect (Taylor and Ivinson 2013, 666). Using this approach, objects, desires, feelings, space and time also contribute to social production as well as discourse and representation to meanings (Braidotti 2000, 159; DeLanda 2006, 5). Moving away from understanding the veil on either side of binaries such as choice/oppression, empowerment/passivity, male/female, nature/culture, oriental/occidental, and placing it into relational affective

assemblages enables me to understand the diverse capacities and relations that open up in between various agencies, bodies, policy, discourses, space, feelings and desires. Taking this view, veil, subjectivity, bodies, discourses, experiences, feelings are mutually constituted in the intra-action within assemblages that are related to their particular space and time. In these mutual intra-actions and processes of becoming (Barad 2007; Deleuze and Guattari 1987), it is not just how veil as materiality becomes with Muslim schoolgirls but also how they become with veil 'in an open, contingent unfolding of mattering' (Taylor [2013](#), 699).

Even though the terms hijab and veil are often used interchangeably, usually the former refers to a more religious and Islamic significance and functions 'as partition' (Lane 1984, cited in Ruby 2006, 55), whereas the latter is mostly perceived as head-covering and does not reveal the intricacies of practising Islam (Siraj [2011](#); Ruby 2006). Secor (2002, 7) suggests veiling as a 'situated, embodied practice' tying the body to space both allowing and restricting movement. Most scholars who study hijab focus on the meanings, semiotics and representations of hijab, not the material and affective capacities that hijab enables, diminishing or enhancing the intensities of human and more-than-human bodies to act, think, decide and feel. The meaning of hijab has long been a site of contention between different strands of feminism (Bilge 2010) and the two dominant interpretations of veil and Muslim women; a symbol of women's subordination to men and an act of resistance towards Western hegemony (9). Some scholars taking the poststructuralist, post-colonial and (black) feminist intersectional approach proposed a different kind of agency of the veiled woman, void of *a priori* meaning whether (white, western, neoliberal) post-feminist or anti-imperialist (Bilge 2010; Mirza 2013; Shirazi [2019](#)), rather a more contextual spatial and temporal meaning (Siraj [2011](#); Secor 2002) residing in socio-economic opportunities that veiling opens within society (Mahmood 2005, 16). Bartkowski and Ghazal-Read (2003, 88) not only consider veiling as a 'traditional practice reinforcing gender difference' but also a tool for Muslim women 'to strategically promote equal opportunity in co-educational schooling and paid employment'. In their view, through veiling, Muslim women can 'liberate themselves from the oppressive beauty culture of

the West and the objectifying male gaze'. A post-human new materialism lens can help to problematise Bartkowski and Ghazal-Read's conditional and functional thinking of hijab as a tool to benefit from education and a career 'only' if used properly and in a socio-cultural normalising structure of religion and family. Put simply, only if you wear hijab can you be seen in public, have an education and career. It seems that Bartkowski and Ghazal-Read remove the rights of these women to their bodies and their bodies' relationships to others when considering using hijab to 'strategically promote equal opportunity in co-educational schooling and paid employment' (88).

The head of Ofsted's recent obligation for English school inspectors to question Muslim primary school girls' reasons for wearing a hijab or similar headscarf, implies the vital materiality of hijab and how it modulates the relationships of schoolgirls to their school, society, family and community. Ofsted's chief Inspector describes this move as tackling situations where wearing hijab 'could be interpreted as sexualisation' (Adams, 2017). In between these tensions amongst politicians, school, parents and media are schoolgirls who materially and affectively experience their ordinary, everyday schooling. In my data chapters, the schoolgirls in my study show how they de/re-territorialise their relationships to hijab, school, others.

In my view, there is a material and affective difference between 'using hijab' and 'wearing hijab'. Previous analyses ignore the different affective and material consequences that wearing hijab can bring to Muslim women particularly in this post-threat time. In the same vein, Hoodfar (2003) describes veiling as an 'adaptive strategy':

...mitigating parental control and community gossip, symbolically communicating to Muslim and non-Muslim men their unavailability for dating, resisting unwanted marriage arrangements without alienating their parents, actively asserting an Islamic identity in a context of exclusion and ostracism, making public their Islamic expectations regarding their prospective husband.

(18-35)

Hoodfar's analysis of hijab as functional, that it protects Muslim girls in their community, falls into the same trap of selling the material and affective experiences of Muslim girls as a functional commodity to buy normalising patriarchal rules labelled as protection. Bilge (2010) problematises Hoodfar's view of an instrumentalist interpretation that mixes up 'motivation and outcome and replace the religious reasons of her informants by what veiling may also help to accomplish in a given context' (20). Bilge's critique resonates with Mahmood's, that criticises those views that erase the questions of piety in veiling and reduce it to (some of) its functions (2005, 16). I argue that both Bilge and Mahmood's critiques on Hoodfar focusing on what hijab means undermine the vital materiality of hijab and what it does to the relations of bodies and how it affects the capacities of bodies that cannot be generalised as a meaning or function for all Muslim women and for the schoolgirls of my study.

To understand the relationship of age, sexuality and hijab I turn to McRobbie's accounts of the relationships between age and sexuality (2009, 54), as a 'new sexual contract' for young women. This happens when it becomes acceptable to uncover their bodies, engage in sexual activity outside the bounds of marriage, produce and/or consume porn, get drunk or experiment with drugs, and then discourse or write about it. However, for Muslim girls this invitation to become a 'phallic girl' (McRobbie 2009, 83) happens differently. The 'new sexual contract' for Muslim girls starts at puberty age with 'quests for veiling or de veiling, struggles within mosque communities, engagement with faith, or travels from the global South to the global North' (Khoja-Moolji and Niccolini 2016). Even though for Khoja-Moolji and Niccolini girls are then forced to uncover their thoughts, bodies, and intimate details of their private lives to engage in the culture of display and confession through performing empowerment, I think this does not diminish the vital materiality of veil and veiling for Muslim girls nor what it does to them and others in the threat-saturated context of counter-terrorism and must security culture.

Post-human veil and veiling

New feminist materialism, affective and material turns is important for my study as it enables not only attention to historical and colonial reading of the veil and veiling (Afshar 1994 and 2008), the poststructuralist deconstruction of the discourses and discursive formations (Ahmed 2010; Siraj [2011](#); Dwyer 1999) and the black feminist intersectional analysis (Mirza and Meetoo [2018](#); Mirza 2013) but also taking Deleuze's logic of the *and* (2005) instead of negating and rejecting previous studies.

Through the destabilisation of existing hierarchies of knowledge production and understandings of pedagogical practices with attending to the vitality of matter (Bennett 2010), the importance of the non-human and the role of affective practices, this post-human study departing from human-centred research argues that we are 'always already interconnected with our environments' (Ulmer 2017, 834). Thinking of the veil with post-humanism, 'opportunities for interconnections with the material settings in which we live: with policy, with schools, with each other, and with the environment and all that it contains' (Ulmer 2017, 835) can emerge. In line with 'situated knowledges' stemming from feminist standpoint theories (e.g. Harding 1993; Haraway 2016), post-humanist approaches to knowledge also produce situated, material, interconnected, processual and affirmative knowledge (Ulmer 2017, 836), veil and veiling have discursive, material and affective agency in becoming with humans and more-than-humans. With the post-humanist understanding of the agency in more-than-human things, objects, affects, space and times, experiences, feelings and knowledge of Muslim schoolgirls surrounding their bodies and other bodies and surroundings are intertwined with the vital materiality of their veil. The veil and the body of the Muslim woman affected by Prevent, counter-terrorism and 'must' security culture, emerge with new capacity each time and in each intra-action with others. Threat attached to the veil flows within assemblages linking matter and meaning, and 'micro' and 'macro' levels (Fox and Alldred 2015, 409). Materialist ontology locates the focus of analysis on the impersonal flows of affect through assemblages and the territorialisation of capacities these produce rather than on ideas, actions and feelings of individualised subjects

(Youdell and Armstrong [2011](#), 145). By slightly bending this materialist ontology, without loosening the feminist new materialist standpoint as always in relation to materiality and affect, drawing upon Taylor ([2013](#)) and other scholars in this field, I argue that veil as materiality becomes with Muslim women as Muslim women become with veil in 'an open, contingent unfolding of mattering' (699). With post-humanist analysis, the agency of veil is not produced solely by the historical and discursive discourse and representations by media and state policies and approaches or by human agency, rather 'the mangle' (Jackson [2013](#), 746) and 'the intra-actions' (Barad 2007) when both non-human and human, are simultaneously and continually transformed in real time of real practice. In a sense, Muslim girls experience their bodies, subjectivity and schooling via an intra-action between humans and more-than-human agencies. Their subjectivity-becoming emerges in the assemblage, decentering them as knowing subjects and transforming them into post-human subjectivities that are nomadic and relational. In their study of gender and school bullying, inspired by Barad's (2008) notion of post-human performativity, Ringrose and Rawling (2015) show us how we can understand different force relations if we consider the specific discursive-material intra-actions of slut, lesbian, gay and poof with skirts, hair, muscles and other material agents as part of a wider apparatus of relations (29).

Attending to the material force of 'thing-power' (Bennett 2010,2) in post-humanism and feminist new materialism which suggests seeing objects as having their own sense of agency suggests that 'objects make us, as part of the very same process by which we make them' (Miller 2010 cited in Taylor [2013](#), 690). For Carol Taylor (690) the agency of objects is neither 'like' human agency in degree or kind nor only a matter of individual human will, but rather it discloses an agency that is 'congregational' or 'confederate' (Bennett 2010, 20). Thinking through the material force of veil opens up new ways of seeing and thinking about how Muslim women's subjectivity is made, transformed and continually re-made through the concerted co-constitutive acts of objects–bodies–spaces and its affective entanglements with different assemblages.

The space: affective atmosphere of threat

In this section I take the affective and material turns to consider space not as an inert context or passive background nor as a total determinant of human relations, but as one affective partner of subjectivity-becoming assemblages. In my study, it is inevitable to aim to engage with what matters in the everyday ordinary experiences and becomings without considering these material moments and embodied agential entanglements as the co-constitutive emergence of 'spacetime mattering' (Barad 2007), 'time-space' (Ivinson and Renold 2013a) and 'body-space choreographies' (Taylor 2018a). For Doreen Massey, space matters because as an event it is contingent, in flux and the product of interrelations (Massey 2005, 9). Massey's mattering with space resonates with Barad's material feminist accounts of bodies that 'do not simply take their place in the world... rather "environments" and "bodies" are intra-actively constituted' (Barad 2007, 170).

Turning to the vital materiality of space, I extend Massey's notion of 'space matters' to an understanding of space not only as a more-than-human component of subjectivity-becomings and racialising assemblages but also as 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009; 2014) where relations are not just disciplined through normalising powers but also modulated through 'ontopowers' (Massumi 2015a; 2015b) and affective qualities of space. The turn towards affective and materiality of space in my study, allows me to argue that the relationship between Muslim schoolgirls' bodies and spaces is more than physical, and more than a relationship between two discrete things, but more a relationship between things already in process (McCormack 2013, 2). Thinking through affective atmosphere of space not only helps me to move beyond the understanding of the static representational categories of race, gender, sexuality as what we know about the body, space and time but to think of how the everyday affective atmospheres that we breath-with, walk-with, carry-with are agential actants in our subjectivity-becomings. As Saldanha suggests, 'Space is quite simply that which lends things their capacities to move and to differ. Space is difference, multiplicity, change, and movement, not some separate formal realm that would frame them' (2017, 3). I argue that the experiences of racism, sexism, racial and sexual harassment happen in

relation to space and its affective atmospheres. The concept of atmosphere enables me to emplace affect and affect theory with racialising assemblages. Affective atmosphere intertwined with racialising assemblages enables racism to move in and out of bodies, space, time.

The use of atmosphere in everyday encounters, as McCormack (2013, 78) suggests, traverses distinctions between peoples, things and spaces providing the best approximation of the concept of affect as transpersonal or prepersonal intensities that emerge when bodies affect one another (Massumi 2002). In the affective atmosphere, human and more-than-human bodies and spaces become 'lively compositions whose limits are defined less by physical boundaries than by capacities to affect and be affected by other bodies' (McCormack 2013, 2). The intertwining of atmosphere with affect provides a contagious and ambiguous entanglement. For Stewart, atmosphere as a forcefield in which people find themselves, is not an effect of other forces but a lived affective capacity to affect and be affected and to push a present into a composition, an expressivity and the sense of potentiality and event (2011, 452). Brennan invokes the transmission of affect in this question in the opening of her book, 'Is there anyone who has not, at least once, walked into a room and "felt the atmosphere"?' (2004, 1). This feeling of atmosphere is about something that is awkwardly 'there' in a space, but neither wholly within the environment, nor exactly within the person (Brown et al. 2019, 8). Ringrose and Renold (2016, 239) use the post-human lens to study spatio-affective nuances of feeling safe or threatened. For them, the affective atmosphere of school spaces can enable the affective solidarities of feminist becomings to emerge and/or be blocked (234).

I build on these understandings of space to argue that threat proliferated through the affective event of Jihadi brides, counter-terrorism and Prevent policy enabling an emergence of very specific space-time, a particular affective atmosphere in relation to Muslim schoolgirls that enfolds us in and through its emotional and affective capacities. I propose that the affective events of Jihadi bride, Prevent policy, counter-terrorism, pre-emptive logic and must security thinking have all affectively produced a particular affective atmosphere that

makes different modes of engagement with the spaces for Muslim women. This shift in dis/attachment is not only represented in media or policy discourse but in the affective relationships with the affective atmosphere of Muslims' everyday lived spaces and moments.

Threat of terrorism is proliferated by counter-terrorism pre-emptive logic, that is to be vigilant for any sign of potentiality to radicalisation, any views or ideas, any single changes in behaviours. If students suddenly become too silent or too critical, it provides an affective atmosphere that turns the educational environment into post-threat pedagogy. Using the prefix of 'post', as in post-humanism, and new materialist notions, does not suggest a chronological and linear temporality as after or the end of threat or terrorism, rather the affective entanglements and capacities that threat and terrorism open up in schools with and beyond humans and more-than-human relations. Post-threat affective atmospheres of schools turn schooling spaces into a space 'outside belongings' (Probyn 1996); a non-space for Muslim threatening students who need to be acted upon and a secure space for those who belong more than others. Affective atmosphere around Muslims charged with threat, mixes Muslim schoolgirls with racialising assemblages affecting the capacity of their bodies to act and de/re-territorialise their relationship between their body and others. Affective atmosphere loaded with threat works as a form of 'debilitation' (Puar 2017). I found the concept of debilitation useful for understanding forms of ontopower relations that affectively re-modulate the capacity of the body to act rather than oppressive top down forms of power relations. Puar argues that Israel's policies have supplemented 'the right to kill' with 'the right to maim', an attempt towards the mass debilitation of Palestinian bodies in order not to kill but to leave behind injured debilitated bodies facing social exclusion brought on by economic and political factors. I use this concept to argue that the affective atmosphere of threat does not ban Muslim bodies from classrooms, schools, public and social relations but affectively debilitates them, affects their relations and capacity of their bodies to act. Affective atmosphere of threat in debilitating the Muslim bodies keeps 'the body-in-relation' (Protevi 2009, 53) to threat and racialising assemblages. Therefore, I argue that what post-threat counter-terrorism Prevent policy does is not just misrepresentation of Muslim

subjectivities but also debilitates the capacity of their body to act, to think and feel.

In Ivinson and Renold's (2013b) study of valley girls' bodies and agency in a post-industrial former coal-mining locale in south Wales, they show how place influenced young teen girls' body-movement repertoires, and subjectivities emerged within these everyday, repeated, affective practices as dynamic assemblages (708). For them, space cannot only enable 'alternative modes of subjectivity' (Ivinson and Renold 2013a, 370) but can also open up 'proto possibilities' to become other and to do things differently (371). They argue that subjectivity-becomings 'dynamically emerge through assemblages comprising moving bodies, material, mechanical, organic, virtual, affective and less-than-conscious elements' (2013b, 704). Their understanding of girls' becoming and subjectivity formation as emergent within assemblages that carry legacies of the past enabled new capacities in my work and thinking, the vital materiality of historical legacies and many everyday practices from the past carried into new current body assemblages. This resonates with Walkerdine's (2016) notion of the 'affective history of communities' (702) and the ways in which layers of meaning shape their present which happen through their bond with place.

Taylor (2018a) also develops the concept of 'body-space choreographies' as embodied, relational, affective, sensory, material, spatial practices (159) in her study of sixth form college spaces. Working with Deleuze and Guattari's notion of 'What can bodies do?', she correlates how gendered bodies materialise in particular spaces. She deploys the concept of 'material moments' to grasp the body-space details of micro-level classroom occurrences and interactions. Drawing upon Bennett (2010), Taylor argues that humans are 'one of many agents within vibrant material choreographies which act in concert in a spatially distributed assemblage' (159). For Taylor bodies play a more crucial role in the formation of gender identities and operations of power in classrooms (156). I apply affect and, in the context of my study, threat to argue in the 'body-space choreographies', the affective modulations that threat enables also play a vital role with the affective intra-action of all human and

more-than-human agencies, each with their own affective capacities. The movement of affect in the affective atmosphere of classroom and any other spaces are an agential affective partner of 'body-space choreographies'.

The feelings: the space-time-matterings with affect

In this section, I explore how the affective and material turns can help me to consider feelings as a way of knowing (Ahmed 2014; Manning 2013) more-than an affective supplement to knowledge (Hemming 2012; Snaza 2019) and a 'sense-event' (Manning 2007). I argue that feelings are one of the agential partners of our subjectivity-becoming with humans and more-than-humans and that feelings matter as they can agentially enable racialising assemblages not only to sustain but also to change the capacities of body to act. Kanai (2019) suggests that 'normative youthful femininity' is what they experience as a set of feeling rules than simply as a set of life regulations (60). Affective analysis of feelings allows us to understand a body 'as much outside itself as inside itself' (Seigworth and Gregg 2010, 3). Diffractively I read Massumi's affect, Ahmed's sticky feelings and emotions and Cvetkovich's public feelings through one another. Considering affect theories, even though I do not consider affect, feelings and emotions the same neither do I put them in the oppositional context but rather think through it as fluid states of becomings in constant motions, in and out of different assemblages. Some affects happen to materialise as feelings and emotions and some stay floating around.

Affect as a form often of indirect and non-reflective thinking and knowing (Thrift [2004](#), 60) can be recognised as the 'sensed but not spoken in a social formation' (Berlant 2011, 65). Affect exceeds categories such as 'discourse' or 'emotion' and as a material intensity and a circulating power emerges via the 'in-between' spaces of embodied encounters not primarily as a mode of discursive regulation but rather as the potential to 'become otherwise' (Deleuze and Guattari 1994).

For Massumi, affects as 'pre-personal intensities' cannot be fully realised in language and are always prior to and/or outside of consciousness; this makes skin sometimes faster than the word (2002, 25). Affect helps us to see the movement of intensities between human and more-than-human bodies. Shaviri describes it as the somatic shadow of another entity on the body where the body is affected; it is scarred, shaped or marked (consciously or unconsciously). Bodies respond differentially to this marking as they intra-act and emotion is the expression of this marking (2009, 41). Even though Ahmed does not consider herself as an affect scholar, her analysis of feelings that stick, carry and slide has been vital for me in the understanding of affect. For her, affect 'does not reside in an object or sign but is an affect of the circulation between objects and signs...the more they circulate, the more affective they become, and the more they appear to "contain" affect' (2004, 120).

Unlike Ahmed's semiotic analysis of affect, Pedwell and Whitehead (2012, 115) suggest it is impossible to reduce affect to categories of either 'discourse' or 'emotion' because affect as a material intensity emerges via the 'in-between' spaces of embodied encounters that cannot be understood primarily as a mode of discursive regulation but rather as the potential to 'become otherwise' (Deleuze and Guattari 1994). Affect's capacity to move beyond the boundary of skin troubles our understanding of human subjects as self-contained and individualised (Blackman 2013; Brennan 2004; Thrift 2007) and therefore troubling our human-centred conceptions of pedagogy, knowing, policy, thinking and feeling. Affect can enable other forms of intelligences, becoming 'affective intelligences' (Berlant 2011; Thrift 2008). Feminist scholars use the capacities that affect can enable to challenge normalised boundaries, for instance, Ringrose invites us to pay attention to how 'bodies interact in new and different ways [and to] the nuance of their affective relations and their affective capacities to trouble [or not] the boundaries of the norm' (2013, 112).

In my work, I consider threat as one of the new actants for Muslim subjectivity-becomings racialising assemblages. The affective atmosphere loaded with the threat of terrorism moves the bodies to react by adding to their energies or intensities. I argue that Muslim subjectivity-becomings emerge in-between

affective events such as Jihadi bride, terrorist attacks, Prevent policy and more, and are affected by public political feelings of a threat in the future. Threat (of terrorism) as a 'political affect' (Protevi 2009) and 'public feeling' (Cvetkovich 2012) of fear, pull Muslim schoolgirls into new relations with themselves, their bodies and other human and more-than-human bodies. Protevi coins the notion of 'political affect' (2009, 35) to stress how affective cognitions are historically and socially embedded, 'living bodies do not negotiate their worlds solely - or even for the most part - by representing to themselves the features of the world, but by feeling what they can and cannot do in a particular situation' (2009, 48). These two concepts are important for my study as they enable thinking through relational materialities between wider political racialising assemblages, ontopowers, controls and particular bodies.

The Muslim veiled/non-veiled-body becomes an affective channel through which the public feel fear in the present. Probyn (2004b, 103) describes this as living through someone else's feeling of fear. Following Probyn, I argue that Muslim schoolgirls experience their subjectivity-becoming through others' feelings of threat in the future. Cvetkovich also describes how moods and feelings can become an idea (2012, 1). Through affect theories I suggest that feelings and emotions do not determine one's identity, as Ahmed suggests in her analysis of shame that one can claim one's identity through shame (2014, 101), but rather as 'recognised and qualified affect' (Massumi, 2002, 26) moves us to engage with others through 'affective choreographies' (Youdell and Armstrong [2011](#)).

One aspect of affect that is important to my study is its uncertainty, vagueness, moving in and out of bodies, space, time. Threat and fear proliferate on the logic of potentiality by counter-terrorism and Prevent policy racialising assemblages as a thing that has-not-happened-yet and people who would-become terrorists if they could; the Muslims who are 'terrorist look-alike' (Puar [2007](#), 229) provide a vague affective atmosphere with no certain sense of subject/object, past/present/future and here/there. These vague feelings about the relations and position to others and within social places resonate with anticipatory quality of fear as the more-than, an 'unknown-known anticipation'

(Renold and Ivinson [2019](#)), the feeling that something is about to happen, without knowing from whom, where, how and when. These affective relationships of bodies, space, time and others are more than Raymond Williams's (1977) 'structures of feeling' and Ahmed's feelings of structures that get under the skin (2010, 216); rather they change the capacities of the body to act, think and decide. Cvetkovich (2012, 143) analyses depression as a 'public feelings project' that links structural legacies of colonialism, slavery and racism. Drawing on her I argue that the threat materialised with a Muslim woman's body and the fear that one feels about Muslim terrorist look-alike-other as contemporary 'public feelings project' of counter-terrorism and Prevent policy racialising assemblages de/re-territorialise the relationship between bodies. Affective entanglements with threat and terrorism teach through 'the medium of the flesh' (Massumi 2002, 61). The Muslim woman's veiled-body does not just imply a 'visuality of suspectness' (Heath-Kelly [2012](#)) but also the affective vital materiality of terror and threat, which then becomes an affective relational and material locus intertwined with feelings of threat. Through Deleuzian-Spinozan readings of threat, feelings can not only arrange to mediate a body's capacities but also to arrange them according to racialised 'neoliberal feeling rules' (Kanai 2017). Within the new securitised context and for racialised bodies, these neoliberal feeling rules are not just about working on bodies to look good but act upon threatening Muslim schoolgirls' bodies to prevent them from radicalisation.

Conversely, some feminists consider limitations in the concept of affect. Hemming (2012) suggests that politics can be characterised as that which moves us, rather than 'that which confirms us in what we already know' (151), whilst critiquing those (Deleuze 1997; Massumi 2002; Sedgwick 2003) who suggest that affect is freely and creatively mobile. She argues that claims for the autonomy and free circulation of affect should not only be critiqued but feminist theory should also look beyond 'the contemporary fascination with affect as outside social meaning' (2005, 65) and take up this challenge to realign affect with the social. With Hemming, I hold that affect does not move freely and tends to travel along already defined lines of cultural investment in a way that 'certain [gendered, raced, sexed] subjects accordingly become the

objects of others' affective responses' (Pedwell and Whitehead [2012](#), 123). Even though Ahmed does not entirely draw on affect theories and does not consider boundaries between feeling, emotion and affect in her analysis compared to, say, Massumi (2002 and 2015a), her work opened up a vital capacity in my work to entangle with feelings and 'sociality of emotion' (Ahmed 2004, 9) and what in affect theories is called affect. Ahmed describes affect as neither 'in' nor 'outside of' the individual or the social; instead different objects or bodies take shape through the very circulation of emotion (Ahmed 2004, 10). Ahmed's focus on personal and cultural surfaces and boundaries as the effects of the movement of affect, resonates with Hemming's understanding of affect not as random or arbitrary, but as subject to particular 'sticking points' or sites of tension (Pedwell and Whitehead [2012](#), 124). These understandings of affect help me to stay attuned to the affective modulations whilst not dismissing their relational materialities with the Muslim human and more-than-human subjectivity-becomings.

Attending to these ontological arguments, in thinking through feminist new materialism and post-humanism, I integrated diffractively with different literature and think of them as assemblages to not retain the agency of one over the other, matter over the Muslim-human-schoolgirl-subject and human-subject over space and so on. For some material moments I use Puar's assemblage-intersectional analysis to work with relational ontology of Deleuze and Ahmed's notion of sticky-ness of some bodies more than others, to think of travelling affects whilst being attentive to the institutional and structural inequalities and bodies that are already normalised into categories.

Continuation

This chapter as a theoretical entry into thinking-feeling-doing of my study was a spacetime-mattering-affect with Muslim schoolgirls. I take the affective and material turns to map the relational materialities between bodies, space, time, matter and feelings. I diffractively re-read and re-view existing studies around Prevent policy, Muslim subjectivities and hijab through the concepts of

assemblage, affect and ontopower. Therefore, the units of my study instead of being a human, a body, a structure, a space, an object or a particular time are all those emerging intertwined actants in racialising assemblages and affective atmospheres of post-threat time. Attending to affect and materiality enabled me to understand other forms of power relations as ontopower working through affective modulations, capacity of body than disciplinary working through regulations, ideology and reasoning. I argue that affect and materiality are vital agencies in the lived everyday ordinary experiences and becomings of Muslim schoolgirls. They do not just feel, think, act, see and say in some abstract representational structure of the language and discourse but also in the concrete material surface of skin, a smell in the room, or a feeling in the gut.

I contemplated components of Muslim subjectivity-becomings in the existing literature on Muslim subjectivity and applied affect to make movements and relations into intersectional analysis; materiality into human-centred accounts and Muslim-becomings into feminist new materialist and post-humanist thinking and doing. My questions were what the body can do rather what it means, what it feels like to be a Muslim schoolgirl in the new counter-terrorism and Prevent policy racialising assemblages. The main argument in this chapter was that the subjectivity-becoming of Muslim schoolgirls emerges through affective and material entanglements with racialising assemblages of bodies, space, time, objects and feelings. In the next chapter, I map how I think through these theories in my practice.

Chapter 3: Walking intra-view and making photo-diary: phEmaterialism multi-sensory methodologies

Introduction

Rethinking humanist ontology is key in what comes after humanist qualitative methodology. If we cease to privilege knowing over being; if we refuse positivist and phenomenological assumptions about the nature of lived experience and the world; if we give up representational and binary logics; if we see language, the human, and the material not as separate entities mixed together but as completely imbricated “on the surface” – if we do all that and the “more” it will open up – will qualitative inquiry as we know it be possible? Perhaps not.

(Lather and St. Pierre [2013](#), 630)

This research emerged from a series of everyday material moments and movements between human and more-than-human assemblages. Inspired by immanent and emergent empiricism in making assemblages and mobilised by PhEmaterialism I used multi-sensory mixed methodologies of walking intra-view (Springgay and Truman 2018; Vannini and Vannini 2017; Gallagher and Prior 2017), photo-diary (Allen 2009; Malone 2015; Coleman 2009; Hultman and Lenz Taguchi 2010a; Otterstad and Waterhouse 2016; Renold and Ringrose 2016; Ivinson and Renold 2016) and face-to-face intra-views (Kuntz and Presnall 2012) to think and practice ways of caring, knowing, thinking and doing without separation. Drawing on feminist new materialism and post-humanism scholars, I used the assemblage term phEmaterialism (Ringrose et al. 2018) in referring to my methodology. This term enables highlighting of the combination of these theoretical approaches, post-humanism (ph) and new materialisms (materialism), the feminist (phem) agenda, the “feminal” (rather than seminal) foremothers and philosophers (Rosi Braidotti, Donna Haraway, Jane Bennett, Karen Barad) and new forms of educational research and equity (E) (Ringrose and Niccolini 2020).

In this chapter, I map how these methods offer me ways to explore relational materialities between my participants’ bodies, experiences, objects, space and time. PhEmaterialism as an ‘onto-ethico-epistemology’ (Barad 2007; Lenz

Taguchi [2010a](#)) can enable me to think and practice with multiplicity, heterogeneity, relationality and affect (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Braidotti [2018](#); Manning and Massumi 2014). To make these embodied human and more-than-human assemblages become and move, we (participants, researcher and more) walked, talked, made, disrupted, relayed and returned between September 2017 and June 2018. Even though my methods are not conventionally art-based, by utilising art materials and working in a tactile and hands-on way, they are creative in unlocking and processing experiences, sensations, feelings and embodiment (Coleman, Page and Palmer 2019). The chapter is divided into three main sections; the phEmaterialism theoretical and empirical shifts in understanding different components of research, data, research enquiry and writing; walking methodology and photo-diary. Drawing on examples, I discuss some methodological findings and implications of these methods.

Walking intra-views, photo-diary making and face-to-face interviews ontologically and epistemologically enabled the post-human thinking and doing to happen through entangling with relational materialities of my participants' subjectivity-becomings. Two of the main aspects of my theoretical approach, movement and emergence, helped me to craft, think and work through the method-assemblages of walking intra-views, photo-diary making and face-to-face interviews. In the walking intra-views, I applied Skype video call using mobile technology to existing walking methodologies to de-centre the positionalities between researcher/participants, space/feelings into new relations. Both my actual physical absence and actual virtual presence, enabled through Skype video calling and mobile digital technology, comprise what I term 'walking intra-view'. The act of walking, moving and becoming, with humans and more-than-human participants, felt on both sides, whether the room where I sat or outside walking with my participants. In those material moments and movements not only my position as the researcher who leads the walking and filming in different spaces and my participants' positions as researched-students de/re-territorialised but also our normalised relationships with structured questions, answers and space in interviewing.

Whilst photo-diary making, I used a phEmaterialism theoretical framework to consider photo-diary as a post-human assemblage of human and more-than-human things that matter for my participants, bodies, spaces, objects, and time. I considered my participants' photos as agential actants that not only enabled me to matter with things that they mattered with, the components of their affective and material subjectivity-becoming assemblages, but also provided the capacities for my participants to feel, think and become through re-materialising the affective moments and relationalities in their photos. In the opening of her book *Influx & Efflux, Writing up with Walt Whitman*, Jane Bennett argues how her doodles drawn on the margins of paper while sitting in seminars and conferences become part of her thinking and becoming, shaping 'the in-and-out, the comings and goings, as exteriorities cross (always permeable) borders to become interiorities that soon exude' (2020a, x). With her, I consider the stories, colours, lines drawn into and out of photos, order of the images, pauses and passings when working with photos, as the more-than of my participants' bodies and part of them that materialise not through the voice but through lines, colours and words on paper.

Walking intra-views, photo-diary making and face-to-face interviews helped the phEmaterialist enquiry of my research to emerge and move. With phEmaterialism, the subjectivity-body of Muslim schoolgirls became an entry point, extending beyond school, education, body, time, feelings towards a complex affective and material web of interconnections. The phEmaterialist methodology enables the ontological understanding of educational contexts and practices as complex rhizomatic processes. It also enables me to flow with my participants' everyday ordinary movings, makings and becomings in and out of places, bodies, feelings and times. In some encounters, the positionality of researcher/participants was swapped forcefully and emergently, however in any one position we were not alone; 'since each of us was several, there was already quite a crowd' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 1). We experienced affective and material moments and movements when in walking, legs became voice and eyes walked and in photo-diary making, hands talked and colours enabled connections.

The 'conceptual play of the zigzag' (Deleuze 1989, xi) as 'the crosscutting path from one conceptual flow to another' helped me to visualise diffractive thinking with theory across practice and in reading the data by disrupting the theory/practice binary and de-centring each (Jackson and Mazzei 2012, 264). The play of the zigzag or 'plugging in' (261) made my research-inquiry-thinking-practice emerge in/as/of the movement and in/as/of the relations as processes of affective, material and 'relay and return in times and spaces' (Haraway 2016) rather than a concept. This zigzag thinking and doing in my research created new micro foldings and 'dynamic and shifting entanglement of relations' (Barad 2007, 224). The phEmaterialist diffractive thinking and doing as the material and affective resistance to linearity and quick, concluding, causal thoughts emerged as we walked, moved, made and talked.

Working with various types of human and more-than-human data that merged in-between experiences of walking intra-views, photo-diary making and face-to-face interviews not only made me face unstable and uneasy assemblages of subject, concepts and situations on-the-move but also interventions in processes to diffract rather than foreclose thinking/doing and knowing. These emerging moments and movements are not entirely a matter of epistemology to be quickly named as innovative but rather an emergent onto-ethico-epistemological becoming which is to stay attuned to an intertwined sensibility demanding a heightened ethical responsibility and care in the research (Coleman 2019).

Research assemblage and ethics

After the approval of my research by UCL, IOE's ethics committee (Appendix C), following institutional protocols around informed consent, I provided all participants and settings involved with an information sheet and consent form (Appendix D and Appendix E), requiring 'freely given informed consent' (British Sociological Association 2002, 3) for all participants. Consent could bring challenges for researchers working with children and young people, as ability to opt out could have consequences on one's relationship with peers or adult guardians (Renold et al. 2008; Skelton 2008).

In respect of my research that comprised various stages and continued often for more than a school term I sent initial e-mails to senior members of staff in three schools, providing an overview of the research project and requesting permission for access (Appendix F). I secured access to two of them both in south-east London. To seek voluntary and informed consent, I designed two introductory sessions in both schools to clearly explain and set out to students the aims and procedures of my research. In East Dulwich (School 1) I conducted a workshop for potential volunteers who were informed by school or word of mouth through friends (Appendix I). In Bethnal Green (School 2) I gave an introductory session to sixth form assembly (Appendix J). In School 1, staff and the head of art helped by inviting Muslim students (who form the second highest population at the school) to take part in this introductory session. During these introductory activities, I allowed potential participants to ask questions.

After these participatory sessions, students had the chance to volunteer freely by adding their name and contact details to my list. I provided two sets of consent forms and information sheets for parents and participants to sign and return at the first session of school interviews. In addition to the consent forms and information sheets, I created an activity plan sheet (Appendix G) with my contact details for them to take home and have the chance to refer to should they require any clarification around the research processes. In this session I explained our activity plan and the different stages of our research encounters and they had time to ask questions either in the session or afterwards. In response to fieldwork developments and school suggestions I made some adjustments to my project. I had initially proposed to work with schoolgirls from Year 9 (aged 13-14) or Year 10 (aged 14-15), then I realised that more Year 12 students volunteered due to their flexible timetables and freer, more independent school commutes, thereby giving them more possibility to participate in this yearlong project (Appendix H). Ultimately 15 girls, eight from School 1 and seven from School 2, with a majority from Year 12, volunteered to participate in my research. They each had a varying amount and type of engagement in the research (Appendix A and Appendix B).

Drawing on Coleman (2016) I posed a range of foundational questions on ethics, noticing, documenting and disseminating: What kind of ethical issues regarding inclusion, anonymity and 'impact' do visual, creative and walking methodologies raise? How are these problems considered and made explicit in the dissemination of research? What is the significant emerging human and more-than-human relationalities in the process of doing research? Are the conventional text-based modes of disseminating the data appropriate for such innovative research processes? And finally, what happens when bodies, materials, objects, technology, space and atmospheres of social research central to our practices are brought into focus (Coleman and Osgood 2019, 61)?

Following Renold et al. (2008, 443) to consider ethics 'as ongoing dialogue in the micro-complexities inherent in everyday fieldwork relations', throughout the fieldwork I regularly reminded my participants of the purpose of the study, their right to withdraw, and provided details of the methods of recording data. To follow such situated ongoing ethical dialogues, I would, for instance, ask my participants if I could turn on recording equipment thereby intermittently reminding them that they were being recorded (Renold et al. 2008) throughout our fieldwork encounters. As my participants walked around entering different spaces, I kept reminding them by asking if they could proceed. This allowed my participants to 'tune out or withdraw from an activity or moment, without necessarily having to articulate this desire explicitly' (Renold and Ringrose 2019, 5). The understanding of ethics, politics, care and response-ability as necessarily ongoing and processual does not mean abandoning our attempts to be response-able or downplaying the agentic power relations between humans and non-humans, but to consider these as pedagogic (Coleman and Osgood 2019, 84).

Even though schoolgirls had initially self-identified as Muslim to participate in this project and I introduce them as 'Muslim schoolgirls' throughout the thesis, most of them showed diverse relationships to Muslimness, hijab and religion. During the recruitment process, Muslimness was a distinct identity category

used by both school authorities and me. Even though using the label Muslim for schoolgirls as a challenging task, may risk the onto-ethico-epistemological understanding of subjectivity as nomadic, as I argue throughout my study, I had to follow school guidelines in recruiting procedures. This tension as an activating force to 'stay with trouble' (Haraway 2016), not only opens up capacities for my study to move beyond the representations and towards the materiality of experiences but also, as Niccolini, Zarabadi and Ringrose (2018, 325) took it, to be 'worked, rather than worked through or resolved'.

The data of this participatory study was collected throughout a whole school year, in the two chosen schools (Appendix B). For the processes of dissemination of the data, to protect my participants' anonymity, I changed their names and saved the recordings and data in my computer files with their new names. Moreover, instead of asking for biographical details in a formalised way to include these in the methodology chapter, answering questions about who they are, I 'get' to know them informally partially during my research encounters through their stories and experiences. However, for purposes of clarity, I collated some of those emergent details into a List of Participants (Appendix A). Drawing on the post-human approaches, I avoided claiming that as a knower human researcher I fully know my participants and can determine the nature and meaning of research (Nordstrom 2015). As I considered the residential areas of my participants, as a vital materiality of their subjectivity becomings and experiences, this brought a vital onto-ethico-epistemological shift into my thinking and the ethical dilemma of how I can use the actual borough name and the various sections of that borough throughout my research encounters without revealing the school's identity. Even though I took some steps to attend to my ethical responsibilities in this particular issue, with Maria Puig de la Bellacasa (2017), I try not to fall into the trap of the ethnicization of the political that reduces it to the private domain and a particular prevalence of ethicality that might lead to further depoliticization of social life in neoliberalism (133). When everyday ordinary maintenance of life has become a vital part of the political, drawing on her to work with the feminist affirmations that 'the personal is political', I 'take seriously the significance and

potential of the implosion of politics with the ethics of everyday practices dedicated to the everyday continuation of life' (135).

Having this in mind, even though my aim is to discuss the political and material significance of where they live and commute to school as part of their ordinary, everyday practice, I took some steps to make sure schools are unidentifiable in the geographical information provided in the research, videos and pictures (Mitchell 2011, 22); I checked the associated council website and found out that in both areas there are at least four other secondary schools close by each other which would make it difficult to identify the relevant schools. However, I also carefully cropped the photographs and video clips to anonymise the road names or street and shop signs. Below and in data chapters, using videos of walking intra-views I took screenshots from the videos. The moving nature of walking intra-views allowed me to take screenshots which are blurred or glitched to effectively distort some image details rather than using certain software or apps. In the information sheet I outlined some of the ethical considerations regarding Skype calls and photographing of my participants, such as avoiding capturing people's faces in photos or videos without their informed consent.

As the research encounters were not one-off interviews in school, but comprised different stages prolonged over a year whereby participants had to consider other individual commitments (Appendix G and Appendix H), I kept the option open for them to choose the extent and types of engagement according to their preferences. They could commit to the research procedures as much or as little as they wanted. Employing multiple participatory creative, visual and arts-based methods not only promoted an open-ended emerging approach but also enabled participants to exercise 'choice' over what they wanted to share, and where to walk without revealing too much of themselves. Below and in data chapters, I discuss further how I approach the notion of 'choice' as affective, material and relational becoming with other agential spaces, objects and bodies.

All participants had a smart phone to use for walking intra-views, but I kept open the possibility of any ethical considerations or modifications. For instance, for three of the participants who preferred not to use their mobile phone to take pictures, I provided each with a disposable camera and paid to develop the pictures myself. I also offered and paid for the mobile data of those who used their phones and needed to top up their data usage. Moreover, for three of my participants I modified Skype walking intra-viewing to walking interviews where I filmed our walking interview on my mobile phone. As this participatory study required my participants' extensive engagement in different stages, I made sure that I had their consent to continue to the next stage and next walking encounters. However, in this study having *emergence* and being open to uncertainty as its core ontological and epistemological turn, I unceasingly came across ethical questions and my own response-ability at various moments during the research procedures. As Renold et al. (2008) suggest, it is impossible to view ethics as a series of resolvable 'dilemmas' or judge ethical practice in advance. In a sense, less control and more uncertainty and being open, is not just to be open to uncertainty but to be open to ethically re-modifying and change.

PhEmaterialism: A relational ethical thinking-doing ontology

PhEmaterialism methodology enabled me to move beyond human exceptionalist views that human language and voice are the privileged medium for research inquiry. I argue that voice and narrative alone cannot map different aspects of my participants' daily, ordinary practices and experiences that relate their bodies to other human and more-than-human bodies; poverty, inequality and marginalisation. This methodology allowed rethinking, inequality and poverty in education beyond human relations (Mayes et al. [2019](#)) and the ways in which they were materially and affectively generated. As Nathan Snaza et al. (2016, xix) wrote, '[S]ince racism, heterosexism, and ableism are not immaterial ideologies... but economic, institutional, 'biological', and medical *matters*, our politics have to intervene directly in the material processes and assemblages that allow them and support their endurance', this onto-ethico-

epistemology proffers attention towards human and more-than-human political struggles around race, gender, sexuality, class and Muslimness.

Through phEmaterialist thinking and doing, I de-centred the privilege of voice and language, to think affirmatively about vital materiality of things that matter for some people who *cannot* speak or have the *right* to speak or *know* the language to speak but have other ways of doing/becoming/knowing. Both matter and materiality have the potentiality to make things matter; the beings and becomings of those who do not matter, their voice-body-relations. Matter can become the language (the medium) for the affected bodies by racism and sexism, for those who cannot or should not speak. Things, experiences and feelings that cannot be said or seen can be walked and made. The phEmaterialist methodology opens possibilities for ‘subalterns who can’t talk’ (Spivak 1988) to materialise things that matter for them through more-than-voice-words-speaking mediums rather with nature, walking, images, technology and more.

The phEmaterialist assemblage of walking intra-view, photo-diary and face-to-face interview enabled me to apply an affective and material turns to existing multi-modal methods or mixing media modes that use coordination of the spoken, written or visual and digital video audio recordings and photographs (Coffey et al. 2006; Snee et al. 2016). In this sense, it is not just a shift in how to apply the research attending to more-than-human agencies but also an ontological turn in thinking about research as a relational becoming.

The fluid and connected nature of new materialism and post-humanism stretching across philosophy, sociology, biology, dendrology, ocean studies, computer sciences, literature etc has left no prescriptive guidance on how such research ought to be carried out (Ruck and Mannion [2019](#), 3). This creates many modes and pathways to think and work alongside phEmaterialism, ‘a thousand tiny methodologies’ (Lather 2013, 635), for each scholar uniquely and singularly to enter it with a different angle of arrival. This ontological shift that challenges the prescription of method disrupts ‘a false sense of security that knowledge is stable, or even knowable’ (Ulmer 2017, 838) towards the

situated and unique potentialities that emerge in research assemblages (MacLure 2013; Koro-Ljungberg 2016; Koro-Ljungberg and MacLure 2013).

Even though feminist new materialist and post-humanist approaches offer different twists, turns and ways of thinking about methodology (Ulmer 2017, 832) they share common underpinnings: the focus on matter as agential, the de-centring of the human as the prime and only agency and the co-constitution of matter and meaning. This material shift in research, offering the co-constitution of humans and materials, allows different entanglement with research's creation and practice, one that is no longer an 'individualised act of knowledge production' but rather 'an enactment of knowing-in-being that emerges in the event of doing research itself' (Taylor 2016, 18). This suggests that material knowledge moves across in/non/more-than human bodies. Koro-Ljungberg (2012a) reminds us that defining appropriate research practices reifies and fixes knowing/doing research as a series of 'true' and 'right' ways of performing methodology. The material and post-human turns have radically shifted the possibility of imagining and animating more-than-representational research methodologies to renewed attention towards the notions of who and what has the capacity and agency to know and act (Alaimo 2016; Haraway 2016).

The aim of phEmaterialism to de-centre humans, is not to remove humans from the research but to de-emphasise the focus on humans and attend to the more-than-human elements that as agential factors affect the relations, capacities, ideas and perceptions (Ulmer 2017; Ringrose and Zarabadi 2018; Strom et al. [2019](#)). However, de-centring the human and attending to more-than-human is challenging as it offers significant ontological, epistemological and ethical shifts in various aspects; of thinking, doing, reading, analysing, writing and caring. Whilst new materialist and post-humanist theories suggest de-centring the human, scholars in the field of education call for finding possibilities for humanising post-humanist methodologies (Dernikos et al. 2019) to attend more on social inequalities (Hackett, MacLure and Pahl [2018](#)), to think through the uneven distribution of agencies across humans and nonhumans (Nichols and Campano 2017) and the colonial violence that is

potentially furthered by more-than-human relationalities (Bayley 2018; Zembylas 2018) at a time when white supremacy, in line with terrorism, immigration and border controls, is more visible in the wake of Donald Trump's presidency, and right-wing nationalism in Europe²² is on the rise. These approaches offer a new concept of ethicality in practices that trouble and challenge normative perspective, moral orders and human individual intentionality. Rather as Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) suggests, 'They enrich our perception of complex articulations of agency that involve associations between humans, nonhumans, and objects working in the realization of new relational formations' (141). Instead of being a set of already established and added concerns for humans to reflect, these ethical thinking and doings are embedded in the processes.

In response to Dernikos et al's (2019) call for finding possibilities for humanising post-humanism, Deleuze's logic of the *and* (2005), Rosi Braidotti's 'nomadic subjectivities' (2011) and Ahmed's critiques of new materialism (2008) helped me to think and work through the open-endedness, fluidity and affordances of phEmaterialism as well as staying attentive to the vital materiality of human-body-agency as one of agential actants when thinking and working about racism, heterosexism and ableism as not immaterial ideologies. This also helped me not to fall into one aspect of binary thinking to consider that materials have agency over humans, as suggested in Actor Network Theory (Latour 2005), and to stay attentive to the relationalities of humans and more-than-humans.

In my research, phEmaterialism approach enabled me to consider my participants' subjectivity-becomings and experiences not purely as human affairs, but as affective and material assemblages emerging in-between fear, threat, bodies, hijab, community, family, bus, house, park and many more. Thinking through these affective assemblages enabled me to map 'the emergence, heterogeneity, the de-centred and the ephemeral in a nonetheless

²² Europe and right-wing nationalism, a country-by-country guide: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-36130006> Accessed 13 November 2019.

ordered social life' (Koro-Ljungberg and Barko 2012, 258). For instance, most of my participants' experiences emerged through material and affective relationships between episodes concerning their veiled/unveiled bodies, racial harassment, over-crowded familial homes, fear of acid attacks and knife crimes around their home and school environments.

Braidotti ([2018](#)) describes post-humanism not only as lodged within the physical (people, places and things) but also largely as a conceptual tool to 'provide a frame to understanding the ongoing processes of becoming-subjects in our fast-changing times' (5). As such, post-humanism does not define or close off the possibilities of subjects, but rather opens ways to consider the various and complex configurations, alliances and assemblages, where human and more-than-human subjects are formed and potentially reformed.

These relational being/becoming/knowing/doing are inherently about ethics as 'relational doings' (Zapata et al. 2018, 484) and mutual response-able relationships with other bodies. Davies (2014) writes, 'ethics, as Barad defines it, "is a matter of questioning what is being made to matter and how that mattering affects what it is possible to do and think"' (10-11). The inseparable ethical response-ability in this methodology forces the researcher and educator, as a component of this research-assemblage, to re-think the research processes, data, questions, answers, doings and writings as experiences that have affective and material productive and restrictive consequences for other human and more-than-human bodies; learners and materials for instance.

To think and do ethics in phEmaterialism methodology, I carry Barad's notion of 'onto-ethico-epistemology' (2007) as 'inseparability of ethics from being and understanding' throughout various stages of my research. The onto-ethico-epistemological approach of phEmaterialism shifts the understanding of ethics only as an epistemological practice; i.e. 'ethics-in-practice' as ongoing situated and political dialogue in everyday fieldwork relations (Renold et al. 2008, 427-430) or a series of resolvable 'dilemmas' and a critical reflexivity that

scrutinises the production of knowledge towards an ontological and relational doing and becoming of humans and more-than-humans. Hillevi Lenz Taguchi (2011) who draws heavily on Barad's 'onto-epistemology', that is 'the study of practices of knowing in being' (Barad 2007, 185), describes this as an 'ethics of immanence and potentiality' that is concerned with 'the inter-connections and intra-actions *in-between* human and non-human organisms, matter and things, in processes of *constant* movement and transformation' (Lenz Taguchi 2011, 47). Taking a phEmaterialism approach, the questions I pose throughout my research are: who and what matters; who and what is excluded from mattering; how and what relations are materialised; what particular boundaries and meanings are enacted; what political and ethical consequences emerge.

The diffractive entanglements with everyday-ness

In this section, I focus on two questions: 'Why I chose phEmaterialism to address my research inquiry?' and 'What does this methodology do to my research?' As laid out in Chapter 2, I was inspired by the notions of difference and repetition (Deleuze 1994 [1968]) and scholars who used this to challenge the same-ness, everyday-ness and ordinariness (Hohti [2016](#); Coleman and Ringrose 2013; Pedwell 2017b; Iverson and Renold 2013a; Malone 2015; Hickey-Moody et al. 2016; Taylor 2018) showing how repetitions, over time, hold the potential for difference rather than just holding sameness in place. Following Bergson (1998), Deleuze (2004) argues that repetitions enliven and give vitality to the always-present potential of difference. I draw these notions of difference and repetition into my theoretical and empirical thinking and doing to suggest every repetitive enactment of schooling, walking to and from school, re-entangling with places, objects and people in pictures used for photo-diary and re-telling the stories, are a different affective and material assemblage of becoming. PhEmaterialist methodology not only helps me to link to other agential actants through my participants' sense of self and their relation to their bodies, other bodies and world around them, but also to follow them in their everyday becoming. Every-day-moment-place-thing-body is not simply another similar thing, but a new and different affective and material becoming. Everyday is where most supposedly ordinary and obvious micro encounters,

racial harassment, racist and political affects, feelings, perceptions and decisions as well as 'proto possibilities' (Renold and Ivinson [2019](#)) emerge. Reflecting on everyday as an ethical and political agenda for my feminist insight that 'the personal is political', I conclude alongside Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) that 'how else could we pay attention to situations when people change their ways of doing at the level of personal everyday life but would not think of this as an individual or private action or even consider doing it if outside a collective?' (139).

In my study, during the walkings or makings, the 'actual' event of racial harassment, for instance, became de-territorialised by the 'virtual' different entanglement with those moments; my participants re-materialised a different mix of their self-body relations to those experiences that were never over and done with as they affectively continued to carry those moments and work on them. In these new walking and making encounters, they said and did what they thought they were supposed to have said and done in the past. For instance, during the interview, Fayrooz (S2, Y12), who witnessed her mother being called 'fucking terrorist' on the tube two years ago, re-materialises what she was '*close to say*' to the male aggressor: '*What the fuck did you say?*' She de/re-territorialised that affective experience, her body and its relations into new different intensity and assemblage; she de/re-territorialised what she didn't say on that day.

PhEmaterialist more-than-representational methodology, as the diffractive practice of reading, thinking, doing and making, enables us to de/re-territorialise some of the obvious normative and hierarchical oppositional binaries at different layers. For instance, during the photo-diaries, there were emergent moments when language and voice, as the only normalised, sensory medium for entangling with memories and experiences, were replaced by the choice of Sharpie colours or by the speeding up or slowing down sounds of writing with Sharpies, or by pauses and silences.

The in-and-out movement, 'plugging in/out' (Jackson and Mazzei 2012) and 'zooming in/out' (Hohti [2016](#); Huuki and Renold [2015](#)) of theory-practice-

space-body can also be addressed through the notion of 'diffraction' (Barad 2007) and the potentiality it releases to impose a linear narrative or to fix causalities. This diffractive non-linearity in thinking and doing enables the reading of texts and photographs through one another, thinking and doing theory and practice through one another, collecting data through different methods and analysing its data through one another, in order to disrupt the fixity and temporality and to open up the potential and open-ended-ness. This also enabled my participants in the walkings and photo-diary making to traverse the space, time and bodies, diffractively moving beyond roads, bodies, schools, house, past, present, future and more.

Feminist scholars inspired by Haraway's (1997) and Barad's (2007) accounts think and work through diffraction rather than reflexivity. For Haraway (cited in Barad 2007) 'reflexivity has been recommended as a critical practice, but my suspicion is that reflexivity, like reflection, only displaces the same elsewhere, setting up worries about... the search for the authentic and really real' (71). As Hultman and Lenz Taguchi (2010) explain, diffraction brings radical implications into our thinking and doing, that is 'we can never reflect upon something on our own' as this implies a separation between the viewer and viewed (538). For them, reflection is confined within the mind of a distinct and determinate researcher whereas diffraction occurs via intra-actions between heterogeneous bodies and agents. Diffraction as a dynamic, non-linear method of reading and writing challenges stable epistemological categories, disrupts temporalities and complexifies disciplines. Van der Tuin (2014) innovates interference patterning or diffraction as a methodology for capturing what she calls 'posthuman interpellation' (233). For her, diffraction as a methodology can account for understanding the temporality and subjectivity at work in practices of knowing in being' (233). A diffractive practice, then, resists the hierarchisation of one type of meaning over another (Hicky-Moody et al. 2016). Diffractive thinking and doing enables feminist scholars (Lenz Taguchi and Palmer 2013; Hicky-Moody et al. 2016; Zapata et al. 2018; Ivinson and Renold 2016) to shift the mode of perception and creation where women's bodies and subjectivities are no longer produced by or for men (my emphasis

van der Tuin 2014) or by only voice (Mazzei and Jackson 2016; 2009a; 2009b) or by only white subjects but by affective (racialising) assemblages.

Wandering-wondering with data

In this section, I look at some of the methodological challenges I encountered, to explore 'what count as data' when in post-humanism you think of it as 'a question of ontology rather than epistemology' (Rousell 2018). Provocative questions helped me to think 'data' through vibrant political assemblages:

What could be data beyond presence—for example, data as an error, or an absence? What could be data that exceed researchers' capacity to know them? What can count as data, and how do we recognize it when we see (or sense) it? To put it differently, how does data appeal to us? Is there agency in data? Can data set things in motion, or is it condemned to its sub-ordinate and passive status? If we choose not simply to "interpret," what else can we do with data; and what does it do to us?

(Koro-Ljungberg and Maclure 2013, 220)

Methodological processes using post-humanism and new materialisms move beyond 'positivist conception of data' (St. Pierre [2013](#); Allen 2016); the data that is given, observable as a pre-existing reality and representable through some form of constructionist (or post-structuralist) account. In my study, this onto-ethico-epistemological shift in thinking and doing data brings many entangled agencies and relations to the surface ranging from an experience and memories to wall, sea, sewing machine, shark, a graffiti and many more.

The data of my study are a 'research-assemblage' (Fox and Alldred 2017) comprising 15 hours of audio recorded in face-to-face interviews inside Schools 1 and 2, approximately 11 hours of video recorded in Skype walking intra-views in my participants' neighbourhood, around their school and/or in their room, 6 photo-diaries and 6 hours of interviews during photo-diary sessions (Appendix B).

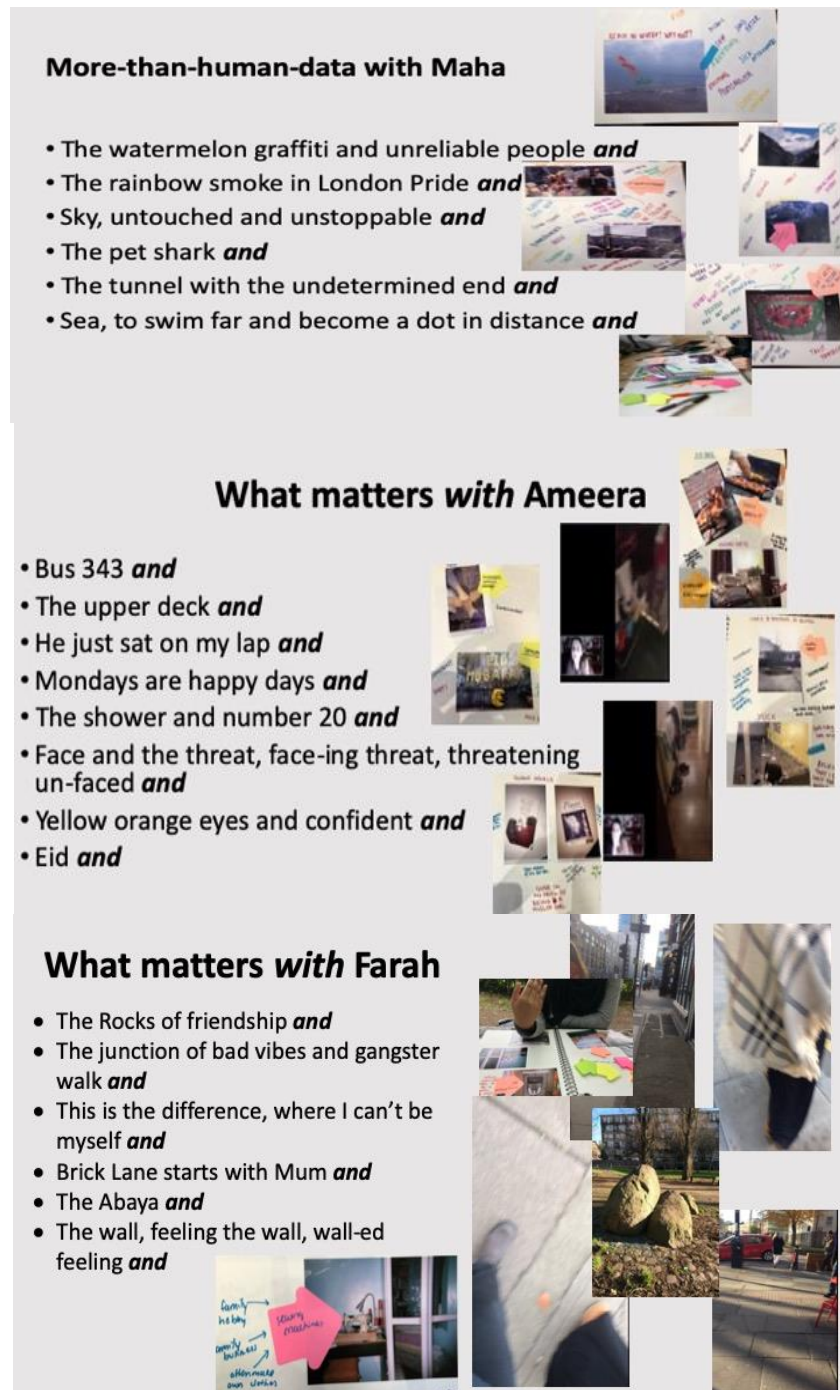


Figure 2: Mattering with data with Farah, Maha and Ameera

The data that emerged amongst the zigzag encounters of walking and making could not be considered as fixed, codified and categorised. The data moved between the zigzag encounters; I plugged into one participant's assemblage virtual walk in Peckham whilst Skype intra-viewing, a few hours later I sat in an assigned 'dark room' class in a Tower Hamlets school in a face-to-face

interview whilst receiving an email of a video captured by another participant. The data rhizomatically extended and grew to other assemblages of spaces, bodies, time. I carried some of Farah's assemblage with me to Maha's assemblage. The completion of one task was not the end of my relationship with the former entering into the latter, but rather an extension of different assemblages intermingling with each other. The emerging data was produced by both human and more-than-human actors, and comprised pictures, voice, text, transcriptions, videos and photo-diaries, all rich with non-linear and nomadic 'transgressive data' (St. Pierre 2011), encompassing data that is not fixed and textualized into representation: the wall, shark, sea, sewing machine, drying racks etc. Figure 2 are slides presented at the Gender and Education Conference (2019) assembling some of my data. Here my intention is not to interpret these images and its content, but to show how these transgressive data from walking intra-views and photo-diaries, as the inclusion of 'not the usual' (Coleman et al 2019), emerged through practices and data that may create 'more promising interference patterns' (Haraway, cited in van der Tuin 2015, 33) enabling connections across and between seemingly diverse disciplines, bodies, matters, objects and spaces. Figure 2 shows the transgressive zigzag movements and moments of bodies, objects and spaces in various stages of my study; during the fieldwork and in the dissemination processes; jumping from a memory in an image in the photo-diary to a corner of the park where we walked. I argue that data in phEmaterialist thinking and doing emerges not only as an epistemological production but also through ontological shifts in our thinking and ethical considerations as immanent and emerging. Drawing on Kathleen Stewart (2007) and Lisa Blackman and Couze Venn (2010) in the context of a concern with affect, Coleman (2016) calls this a different kind of 'noticing' and 'a noticing of the becoming of the world... of what is happening in the room, and what happens afterwards with what is produced' (Coleman and Ringrose 2013). In her valuable work on collaging methodology, Coleman explains this different 'noticing' as a shift in attending to methodological processes of collaging more than attention to analysis and interpretation of the collages themselves.

PhEmaterialism methodology is more than an ethnographic participatory method as I do not consider myself or my human participants as the prime agency that observes, takes notes, collects and produces the data then interprets that *captured* data. Rather I explore how the agential participations of humans and more-than-humans enable the emergence of this research-assemblage. It is not only through my observations or participations of my study's human participants that this research is sustained but through 'vibrant matters' (Bennett 2010), the more-than-human things that matter for my participants and for this research that emerged through their relational materialities between different factors such as hijab, hair, bus, racial harassment, family home and its location.

Moving away from 'typological thinking' (DeLanda 2002) that takes us back to what is known of the researcher and participants' experience and the sameness and fixes the data into categories (Mazzei and Jackson 2016, 12), I worked with wonder (MacLure 2013), the intensity emanating from the data, a glow (MacLure 2010), an affective potentiality that grasps us, a comment in an interview, a passerby or the loud deafening noise of a truck passing by in a video, an object, a fragment of a fieldnote or a strange facial expression. However, the prominent questions of 'What can count as data and how do we recognize it when we see (or sense) it' (Koro-Ljungberg and MacLure 2013, 220), 'the appearance of the data' (St. Pierre [2013](#)) and experimenting with the thickness of 'what is on offer' (Ledger et al. 2011, 165), were not mere epistemological challenges for the researcher. Rather are the onto-ethico-epistemological shift in understanding of those moments of my wonder as my participants' everyday wonder and gut feelings of their lived affective experiences. In a sense, wondering and wandering with data is a re-materialisation of moments that my participants affectively experience in their material life, and what I feel in my gut about the data are their relational materialities and lived experiences that affect me.

The data was not obediently complied with the codification rules, making it impossible to be categorised in groups or themes; rather they 'exhibit a vibrancy that *does something* to the researcher', a 'wonder' and an intensity

emanated from data, a 'glow' (MacLure 2013a; 2013b). Working with wonder to engage with data are those affective moments when 'we may feel the wonder of data in the gut', 'the quickening heartbeat', and 'the cerebral disappointment of failing to find the right code or category in which to park a particular piece of (what now presents itself as) data' (MacLure 2013a, 229). PhEmaterialist methodology enabled new potentialities in my research for different kinds of data to emerge. PhEmaterialism, in challenging anthropocentric ontology and epistemology in thinking with theory and doing research, helped me to rethink the nature of what counts as data, its appearance (Holmes and Jones 2013; MacLure 2013) and the question of 'in when, where, why, how, and by whom data is called into being to do some work' (St. Pierre [2013](#), 223). In this methodology, data as an agential force has a vibrancy that affects the researcher, not something that passively fulfils researchers' codification (Allen 2016).

The wonder of data grasped me, when, for instance in Farah's interview she talked about how she feels a wall against her; then in her photo-diary session she brought a picture taken from her school rooftop showing Bethnal Green's layers of social housing with the City and Shoreditch's skyscrapers in the background. The wall diffractively wondered us, 'reaching out from the inert corpus (corpse) of the data, to grasp us' (MacLure 2013a, 228), and Farah materialised her material and affective wall feelings and experiences within these photos and methodology (Figure 3).

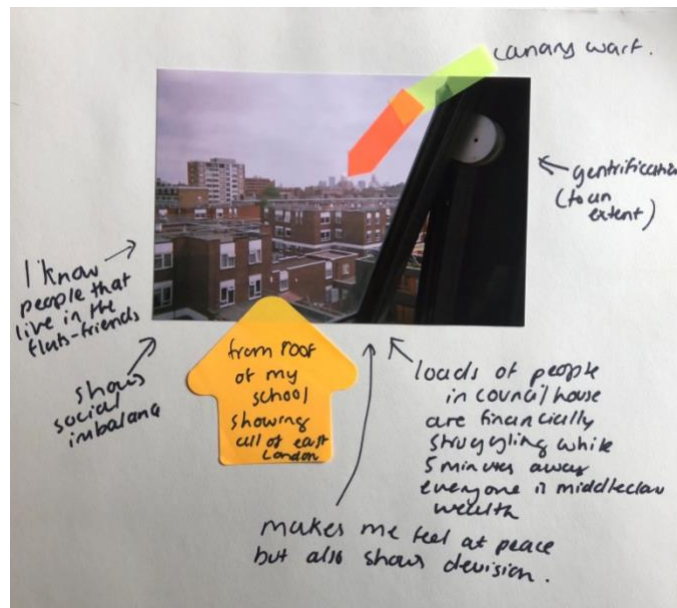


Figure 3: The Wall

The emergence of different types of data in different methodological encounters suggests the potentialities that moving, walking and making (art-based methodologies) can bring into research practices. The data that emerged in face-to-face interviews in school was different to that of walking intra-views and photo-diaries. The data in photo-diaries predominantly related to happy memories and experiences, whereas the experiences of racial harassment emerged in face-to-face interviews. The joy and happiness surrounding Pride in London, birthday presents, an Eid family gathering, a new watch, Henna drawings or a new dress re-materialised through the colours of Sharpies and colourful written words, some capitalised emerging from a photo; in contradiction, the walking intra-views, interviews, escaping to the forest-y bit and places of empowerment, unleashed anger and resistance emerged. If I materialise my feelings about each of these methods, I recognise that face-to-face interviews had moments of limitation, walking intra/inter-views were moments of hope and escape, and photo-diary sessions became moments of happiness and joy. However, the re-materialisation of all these moments contribute to my participant's everyday ordinary experiences and subjectivity-becoming assemblages. In the following chapters analysing the data I discuss specifically their relational materiality with the method.

Walking the 'intra' in view and in action

In this section, I explain how walking enabled the human and more-than-human agential actants to emerge; stories, places, objects, thoughts, feelings. Walking enabled the onto-ethico-epistemological aims of my study, the relational materialities, to be made through movement. Walking methodologies can de-centre the focus on one space, school, house, bus, body, human and enable mapping of the relationalities that matter. Walking intra-views de/re-territorialised some material moments of my participants' everyday school commute and happened through assemblages of human and more-than-human; mobile phone camera, researcher/participant positions and bodies.

Inspired by scholars who use walking methodologies to map the human and more-than-human world (Springgay and Truman 2018; Vannini and Vannini 2017; Gallagher and Prior 2017), walking and movement as non-representational methodology (Vannini 2015b; Ingold 2011b) I call our walking encounters; walking intra-view. The use of Intra-view instead of interview (Kuntz and Presnall 2012) are to think through Barad's notion of 'intra-action' (2008). The prefix of intra in my research, drawing on Barad's 'intra-action' (2007 and 2008), not only suggests the mutual co-constitution of entangled agencies of, say, walking, becoming, seeing, thinking, data, participant and researcher but also the use of technology to walk and traverse the boundaries of bodies, human, space and time. For Renold and Ringrose (2019), thinking and working through the 'intra-ness' of entangled im/material forces take research-activism on unplanned routes and the potentialities that may emerge. Onto-ethico-epistemological affordances of my study allowed me to consider both research encounters; walking intra-views when I walk with my participants via Skype and walking inter-views when I am present physically in the walking process. The walking intra-view is the focus in both, on human and more-than-human relationships.

Walking intra-views not only enabled different encounters to emerge from my participants' experiences in their daily school commute but also made the

diffractive becoming, seeing and knowing possible. Technology, like Skype, in our walking intra-views also diffractively de/re-territorialised the conventional positionalities and power relations between my participants and me as I followed and interviewed my participants through the Skype App on our mobiles. By using Skype video calling and walking, I re-thought lived feelings and experiences of Muslim schoolgirls in relation to human and more-than-humans in their ordinary everyday school commute. Skype video calling as a 'mode of digital connectivity' (Van Dijck cited in Renold and Ringrose 2016) not only links one's online persona to another human or more-than-humans, but also mediates and extends the affectivity of the body (Clough 2010). Through a range of devices and platforms, digital networking and connections plug individuals into a powerful techno-social-cultural 'relational affective assemblage' (Coleman and Ringrose 2013, 133). Renold and Ringrose (2016, 10) in their study of Facebook phallic tagging suggest that the digital platform affordances of technology as a set of nonhuman machinic force relations creates new forms of 'digital (post-human) subjectivity' and relationalities to emerge via the platform affordances that would otherwise not be possible (Renold and Ringrose 2016, 10).

Throughout our research encounters the assemblages of space and bodies changed; sometimes I sat in my room whilst they walked to/from school and other times I was in school whilst they were on the bus. In walking intra-view encounters, we were 'actually' in two or more different spaces but technology traversed space and time, making us feel we were virtually in one place. Skype and my computer, as the more-than-humans (Renold and Ringrose 2016; Boden 2016; Roock et al. 2016; Gaiser and Schreiner 2009; Clough 2010; Van Doorn 2011), agentially and diffractively extended or constrained the affective and material capacities of our doing/being and knowing. The digital affordances that these human and more-than-human devices provided in disrupting the virtual/real, digital/material and online/offline binaries (Clough 2010; Van Doorn 2011), helped me to re-think my positionalities and experiences with philosophical notions of assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), intra-action (Barad 2007) and virtual/actual (Deleuze 1994 [1968]). I argue technology not only enables the joining of other human and more-than-

human assemblages in our walking intra-views, passing bodies, sounds, wind, rain, speed, feelings, breathing and other factors, but also provides methodological capacities to think and do diffractively, that is to know and become through each other. For my study, the diffractive potentialities that technology enabled/constrained in walking intra-views released me from using walking, interviews or videos, so as to impose linear narratives or to fix causalities rather than to think them through one another and disrupt their spatiality and in so doing open up potential becomings.

Digital technology affordances not only provide potentialities to overturn the dominant hetero-patriarchal order (Braidotti 2013, 105) as seen in the work of many feminist scholars who study the interconnection of gender, sexuality and digital technology (Renold and Ringrose 2016; Ringrose and Renold 2016; Ringrose and Harvey 2015; Jackson and Vares 2015; Ringrose et al. 2013) but also the norms of knowing and doing research, ethics and caring. During walking intra-views, we experience how the interview, bodies and more-than-human bodies and relations are re-situated 'as a process-based, intra-active event, rather than a concept' (Braidotti 2002) so as an open-ended fluid entanglement they are not something that are or have fixed methodological structures but rather they become, always happening in between emergent intra-actions with other agencies in the agentic assemblage. Walking intra-views disrupt the representation of the interview as linear with data manageable by coding techniques, including the seated structure, an allocated room and particular time. Contrary to sitting in a traditional interview setting, which encourages us to pay more attention to speech (Kuntz and Presnall 2012, 734), intra-viewing whilst walking instead allows us to be attentive to the affective relationality of the embodied events.

My participants had various levels of engagement in this research (Appendix B). School 1 (East Dulwich) students showed more interest in engaging with and completing different stages of study. There were various individual and contextual reasons for their level of commitment and most School 1 participants persisted with this year-long research-assemblage. Even though almost all my participants came from families with low socio-economic

backgrounds, living in council houses and over-crowded conditions, School 2 (Bethnal Green) students were in more vulnerable situations (Appendix A). Some of them did not have enough mobile data, or didn't want to use it up on Skype intra-views, even though I offered to cover its cost. Some lived a few minutes from schools located in their Muslim Bengali communities where most people know each other; some had limited time due to part-time jobs on top of school commitments; some had more difficult family situations. So apart from two participants (S2) who chose to do Skype intra-views in their bedrooms, the others either did not participate in the rest of the project or suggested doing walking inter-views instead of walking intra-views using mobile phone Skype video call. Through the digital affordances of Skype, my participants walked and re-materialised their bodies and relationships to other bodies and spaces in their everyday school and neighbourhood commute. Depending on the technological limitations of Wi-Fi networks, phone batteries, data and material conditions, as well as the duration of their journey, the crowdedness of the bus, strong winds, heavy rain, I walked with my participants in numerous, short, virtual encounters.

Most of my participants found walking and interviewing more enabling than face-to-face interviews at school. Farah described her experience:

I think walking helps you to remember certain things, I feel like it triggers certain memories, I prefer the walking interview but to be honest I feel like they both have good bits and bad bits. When I am sitting, I can think lot more but the negative would be that it's not enough noise, when I am walking, there are lot of other stuff too like sounds, I don't know... When I am in school in one room, I only see one thing and the room we had our interview, I have never allowed in there anyway so in school I have to think about certain things more but when I am walking with you I am seeing everything.

Farah makes a clear distinction between a face-to-face interview in school and walking intra-view outside school. For her, interviewing in school happens in 'one room' and is about seeing 'certain things' but in walking it is about seeing 'everything'. Even though she says she can think a lot more when interviewed in school she stresses that this thinking is about specific things and not everything. With her emphasis on 'certain things' and 'not enough noise' in

school and 'everything' and 'lot of sounds' in walking, she maps the relationships between her body, space and more-than-human things and how these assemblages do things to her thinking and feelings. I found that most of my participants, particularly those from School 2, were more energetic when we walked; they seemed more interested and happier to talk while walking than in face-to-face interviews at school or Skype intra-views at home. In data chapters I discuss these findings through their affective and material relationships with other agential actants in my participants' subjectivity-becoming. Similar to Farah, Noora said:

When someone face-to-face interviewing you, it's kind of intimidating, I got overwhelmed and vulnerable like what do I say and how do I answer it, but walking is when you do two things at a time like walking and talking.

Reema raised another aspect in walking interviews:

I prefer walking interview because you are here, and you know more about what I am talking about and when we are outside I can tell you way more things but online and when I am at home sometimes there are problems with connections and there are only few things I can tell you. I think this way is more connectable in a way and I really like this one.

As Farah, Noora and Reema (all S2, Y12) materialised above, walking intra-views de/re-territorialise diffractively the conventional ways of conducting interviews towards 'the intra-ness' (Renold and Ringrose 2019) and 'more-than' (Manning 2013) of the relations of their body to others and spaces, moving not sitting in a room, not only thinking about certain things whilst sitting but seeing everything whilst walking, to disclose more things, to become connected. We re-assembled different body-space-experiences in each moment when walking or making photo-diaries and saw material relations emerge.

Walking: a rhizomatic embodied growing

Walking intra-views open up capacities for us to become nomadic, moving and making new boundaries. During walking intra-views it wasn't just walking with the body-in-entangled-move that created potential for different relations with humans and more-than-human others to emerge but also the technological capacity; Skype intra-viewing dealt with the 'more-thans' (Renold and Ivinson [2019](#)). Most School 1 participants live in Peckham or Elephant & Castle, attending school in East Dulwich, with the bus their cheapest available public transport for their school commute. There are no direct or indirect tube connections there, even if they could afford the daily underground fares; this has increased bus use and led to overcrowding. Most of my walking intra-view encounters with these participants happened on buses with everything on-the-move: the bus, bodies, desires, feelings, memories, researcher ([Appendix A](#)). Places where we walked, the park, their neighbourhood or home, were all part of the emergent spaces that my participants wanted to show me in response to the question: 'Take me, show me places that are important to you'. The answers and responses to these questions opened up a whole range of material and immaterial forces between human and more-than-human bodies, spaces, affects, objects, sounds, discourses, digital and earthy landscapes. Koro-Ljungberg and Barko (2012) consider answers as a more-than an epistemological and taken-for-granted endpoint for research, a text, interpretation or dialogue assumed to provide evidence-based knowledge (256) rather as 'assemblages, a jar, an opening among other things' (257) and 'a processes becoming' (259). They draw on Rilke (1993) to challenge the qualitative inquiry 'to live the question' rather than search for answers (257).

Skype intra-viewing disrupted the positionalities of the agential actants, the ongoing de/re-territorialising of my presence, body and agency as ghostly; absence and presence in every material moment and movement. However, it created possibilities for new relations between our bodies and spaces where I sat and where my participants moved, between my room and the bus, road or school. In those moments and movements, it wasn't just the assemblage I encountered; not just other passengers, bodies, sounds, buildings, wind, leaves and objects but perhaps the combination of researcher-assemblages as

they saw my side of the picture and background; my room, books, the pictures stuck on my bookshelves, my body-in-the-house. In those moments of walking intra-views my researcher's position as the only one who can see, know about and analyse the participants' specific features de-territorialised by technology, my participants and the more-than-human objects surrounding me in my room. The vital materiality of a mobile phone camera and its 'anonymous eye' (Deleuze 1985/1989 in Ivinson and Renold 2016) as a 'post-human participant' and not 'a passive tool for human manipulation' (Allen 2016, 5); its materiality and as a post-human capacity and participant not only helped me to reclaim space, agency and positionality but also made me move between 'rigidity' (sitting in face-to-face interviews) and 'fluidity' (walking intra-views) (Ivinson and Renold 2016, 169). Phone camera, Skype video call and walking provide capacities to mix together the 'more-than of data' (Springgay and Zaliwska [2015](#), 137) and the relations that cannot be materialised in other research encounters, such as face-to-face interviews. However, Allen (2016) suggests moving away from an anthropocentric version of visual research that prioritises human intentionality as the only agency that controls what to capture as data (Roock et al. 2016; Mitchell 2011; Coffey et al. 2006) or pay attention to the materiality of non-living objects such as cameras and photos (Geser2004). Rather, to think of agency as a consequence of the unique intra-actions of participants and researcher's bodies and other more-than-human bodies (Allen 2016, 3-10); the phone camera, the story, walking, the video, the space, the bus and the ways they come into being and becoming at the same time as intra-actions.

Drawing on Allen (2016, 10), to avoid returning to representational logics of ontological separation I do not consider the phone camera has an intrinsic agency of its own but rather the agency of camera or human having a relational 'thing-power' (Bennett 2010, 2) occurs within this relational and intra-actional becoming: 'Within this conceptualisation agency is not the preserve of the photo-diarist, the researcher or even the camera but occurs within each-and-between them as intra-acting phenomena' (Allen 2016, 10). The relational understanding of this techno-digital-somatic assemblage evokes a further form of human and more-than-human affective connectivities that enable a coming

together of phone digital technology, phone camera, bodies, objects and environment. Even though taking new materialism and post-humanism in my study I pay particular attention to the vital materiality of mobile phones and digital technologies in how our relations and experiences flow, focusing on relationality, affect and assemblage I create a distance with some strand of actor-network theory (ANT) or object-oriented-ontology (OOO) that thinks about the priority of objects over humans. Concepts of assemblage, affect and entanglement applied to new materialism and post-humanism thinking and practicing, avoid differentiation and delineation of one entity within a phenomenon from another as well as hierarchical understandings of cause and effect. In this view, objects are not considered as *a priori* but rather as foundationally intertwined entities that emerge from their entanglements and through processes of naming and differentiating (Barad 2007).

The absence/presence of the researcher in walking intra-views provides both enabling and limiting affective and material relations. Inspired by Haraway's (1991) figuration for human and more-than-human technology entanglement, I see myself as a ghostly cyborgian researcher in our walking intra-views. Occasionally it helped to create different capacities for the interview, for instance, it enabled my ghostly cyborgian presence in several participants' homes and bedrooms, where I encountered their room/house and their body in different positionalities and material relationalities, somewhere I would not easily acquire access to, so in this sense it overcame any access issues. However, this post-human assemblage not only materialises the de-centring of the subject and criss-crossed multiple external forces of the non-human, inorganic and technological kind (Renold and Ringrose 2016) but also how these intra-acting cyborg-subjectivities plugged into dynamic and shifting assemblages where the phone, digital applications and human bodies are all actants (Haraway 1991; Latour 2005).

Walking Skype intra-views not only disrupted the normalised forms of spatiality in the interviews but the temporality too and largely both at the same time: 'the wavelike motion in time and space' (Boden 2016, 254). The standardised start and finish timings of the interviews de/re-territorialised to a type of timing that

does not conform to normative school timetables (Boden 2016): lunch breaks or free periods for sixth formers are normally 30 to 60 minutes, started and ended in-between and in-relation to other agential forces, phone chargers, wi-fi connection, darkness, gusty winds, rain or arrival at school. Most of the time we started *from* school, on to the bus and continuing unintentionally into the house. The nature of this methodology, avoiding a fixed anthropocentric practice that opens up space for any unpredictable and emergent relations or dis/connections to happen, made me anxious about the outcome and whether my data would meet the criteria of 'the unproblematic data' as in 'conventional humanist qualitative inquiry' (St. Pierre [2013](#), 223). Working with data that is not simply something that 'we collect and analyse in order to arrive at research conclusions' (Koro-Ljungberg and MacLure 2013, 219) is challenging.

I tangled with the materiality of their homes and their everyday material and affective experiences of their daily walking to school and back through the ghostly cyborgian presence that this methodology provided. Walking intra-views provided me a new emotional sensation acting with my participants' bodies and their relations to other humans and more-than-human bodies when walking around, with what they are 'walking-with' (Springgay and Truman 2018). Walking as a form of human and more-than-human animacy not only becomes an extension of body, time and space with movement but also movement of thoughts, 'engaging with erased or disavowed histories' (Clough and Calderaro 2018), a history to come and a not-yet-history-event that walking with fear and threat actualises for my participants.

Skype intra-viewing enables body flow and movements, creating moments where faces and bodies become anonymised, where a hand covers half a face, a passenger passes a road sign, or a head movement blurs an image. It visualises the moments of entanglement and counter-visualises these moments, as you zoom in and out of the field of intra-action. Movement can anonymise, as it moves the fixity and blurs the boundaries, representations, faces and bodies (Figure 4).

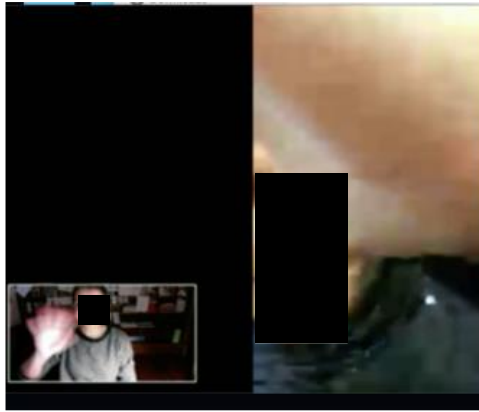


Figure 4: Movement, anonymisation, beyond fixity

Becoming-researcher: the post-human ghostly cyborg

I applied Skype and mobile technology to existing walking methodologies to de-centre the positionalities between researcher/participants, space/feelings into new relations. In those material moments and movements, both participants and my researcher's position de/re-territorialised, in leading the walkings to different spaces and filming and in interviewing the different questions and answers, from things that matter for my research and I conventionally pressed to find an answer to things that matter for them. In those moments of *post-human walk*, we all became post-humans and more than ourselves.

I diffractively read walking 'as always walking-with' (Springgay and Truman 2018) through Stengers's notion of 'politics of slowness' (2004), to propose that *walking intra-view* as a *slow methodology* can create the affective, material, temporal and spatial capacities for diffractive thinking and becoming to emerge. Drawing upon Stengers, I see walking intra-views as 'an opportunity to "slow down" reasoning, creating an opportunity to arouse a slightly different awareness of the problems and situations mobilizing us' (2004, 1). For her, slowness is about 'opening the possibility the idiot's murmuring being answered not by the definition of "what is most important" but by the slowing down without which there can be no creation' (15). For my study, slowness enabled through mobile phone technology, Skype video App and walking, materialises the more-than, slowing down to become with *more*

(than) data, human, bodies, space, time. Slow here is more about multiplicities, more(s), and 'with's that cannot emerge in linear speedy representations' than speed and temporalities.

Thinking through the slowness of a walking intra-view as an onto-ethico-epistemological thinking and doing brings 'more-than' diffractive agencies to the research, not an easy task, assemblage, analysis and conclusion and not a linear causal quick answer and analysis but a focus on matters of concern, on the quality of engagement and on ethical relationality (Taylor 2018, 377). Slowness during walking intra-views enables non-linear and diffractive relations to become actualised, which is not about walking slower but about walking with more and walking the 'intra'. Neither is slow about clock-time or a number but rather about 'attentiveness, deliberation, thoughtfulness, open-ended inquiry, a receptive attitude, care-fullness, creativity, intensity, discernment, cultivating pleasure and creating dialogues between the natural and social sciences' (Leibowitz and Bozalek [2018](#), 983). As these post-human education scholars suggest, there is potential in teaching, learning, thinking and doing slow, and I highlighted it in my research through walking, intra-views, technology and movement.

Walking intra-views with traversing bodies and spaces as a slow methodology flattens the hierarchical binary of school/students, researcher/participants and participants/environment and its molar regulations, the assigned room for the interview (Figure 5), the assigned embodied way of using the space, instructions from the researcher, questions etc. Intra-viewing while walking slows down the research processes, the researcher and participants making them attentive to the intra-actions of humans and more-than-human agencies.

In School 1, face-to-face intra-views and photo-diary sessions happened in the Dark room, located at the end of the art classroom. To reach it we walked through the art classroom full of artefacts, colours, pictures and music, most of the time at a slow pace allowing us to look at things, read names, touch materials. Most of my participants didn't take art at GCSE or A Level, so going through the art classroom to the interview room allowed them not only to enjoy

seeing artefacts and colours but eased our collective feelings and thoughts before entering the Dark room pre-interview. Even though we were not partaking in art classes like the students and teachers within the room, we took a tangible sense of art with us crossing the art classroom into the interview room.

In comparison, School 2's interview room was The English Break-Out Room, located in the main corridor, with a huge window to the corridor connecting inside and outside. As School 2 only has a small roof garden and no proper schoolyard, the corridor functions as a schoolyard where students hang out in during breaks. The window not only made us watch those passing by and passers-by watch us but also consolidated my participants, my research and me into a new affective frame. Other than the 8 times/hours that I spent in that room for face-to-face interviews during stage one of my project, in following stages we never returned to that room. Although School 2 offered the option of using this room for photo-diary, participants chose their bedrooms or the park instead. These two different interview rooms not only had affective, material and discursive implications on our research experiences and its flow but as the multi-sensory methods of my study enabled and my participants described in this chapter, it shows the vital materiality of space and its discursive and ontopowers to constitute our relations.

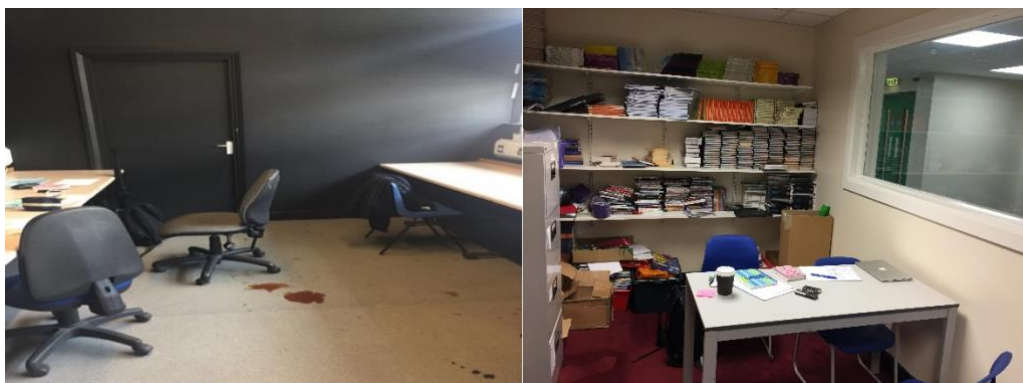


Figure 5: Interview rooms: LHS The Dark Room (S1) and RHS The English Break-Out Room (S2)

A walking intra-view has a rhizome figuration as the body grows and folds into new capacities and assemblages; perhaps turning into a new road, a familiar

place triggering a memory, a feeling emerging or the sound of passing cars that disrupts. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe rhizome generally as an acentric nonhierarchical network of knotted loops, folding and growing through multiple sites of exit and entry. I argue that a walking intra-view as a *rhizome walk* enables folding, growing and extending towards unpredictable bodies-times-spaces. For instance, Farah and I walked from Bethnal Green, where she lives, towards Brick Lane. She seemed excited on our walk, smiling as she recounted stories about our surroundings, childhood memories and the past 12 years that she has commuted. Both materially and affectively we feel the difference in entangling with our memories, bodies, other bodies and the physical materiality of the area. Walking allows us to see our extended self, a rhizomatic self and 'body that does not end at the skin' (Haraway 1990). I have analysed these material moments and movements with Farah in Chapter 7 where I argue how space matters and how walking intra-views help me to intertwine with Farah's subjectivity-becoming with space.

In this research-assemblage, the researcher becomes the affective and diffractive partner of these research experiences and practices. The emergent and immanent connections and disconnections at various levels, from walking intra-views with participants when they suddenly realise that their mobile phone is out of data, when a gust of wind or the rain picks up or when dinner is ready, and other occasions which force us to end an interview, de-centre the human researcher's intentions in mastering the research flow 'as determining the nature and meaning of research' (Nordstrom [2015](#)) and 'acknowledgement of matter as agential' (Allen 2016). Barad's (2007, 185) notion of onto-epistemology is 'the study of practices of knowing in being' where knowledge is not procured '...by standing outside the world: we know because we are of the world' and onto-ethico-epistemology (Barad 2007; Lenz Taguchi 2010a) is knowing/be(com)ing/doing that cannot be separated. All suggest the inseparability of theory and practice but also the entanglement of the researcher to these processes and the way we come to know and practice through our becomings with other humans and more-than-human bodies in the world.

To re-think the material and immaterial engagement of the researcher in the onto-ethico-epistemological research processes, the notion of 'transcorporeality' (Alaimo 2010, 2) enabled me to conceptualise 'the material intra-actions of human corporeality with the more-than-human world' and the ways in which affective material knowledge moves across humans and more-than-human bodies which can include 'human bodies, nonhuman creatures, ecological systems, chemical agents and other actors' (2). In a sense, within this relational onto-epistemology 'we can never reflect upon something on our own' (Hultman and Lenz Taguchi [2010](#), 538) as separate viewer and viewed, rather reflections occur diffractively through intra-actions between heterogeneous agential human and more-than-human bodies instead of 'as an occurrence that is confined within the mind of a distinct and determinate researcher' (Allen 2016, 6).

To focus on what these onto-ethico-epistemological approaches bring to my research I draw upon Dernikos et al's (2019) question 'What do concepts like assemblages, materiality, and networks afford for a new ethics of qualitative research?' When I extend this thinking to consider subjectivity formation research, it has radical implications. Such ethical doings that engage with ordinary personal living as part of the assemblage of humans and more-than-humans even though de-centre the human agency, but it does not deny its specificity (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, 145). The ethical considerations that emerge in this approach do not start from nor aim at moral norms rather 'are born out of material constraints and situated relationalities in the making with other people, living beings, and earth's "resources."' (145).

Even though I intend to pay attention in my research to the range of actants in my encounters or when reading the data, the issue of 'cut' in the relationships, in a sense of what to keep and what to exclude, forces one ultimately to privilege some potentialities and possibilities over others. If humans are not the only agential subjects or objects of research study then 'a wealth of different possibilities emerge' (Ulmer 2017, 832); different types of data, material moments and affective entanglements that have the potential to be included in the research. For this ethical choice, Barad's notion of 'agential realism' (2007)

as the dynamism of matter in the re-constitution of the world and ‘a constant and mutual state of responsibility for what happens in the multiple intra-actions emerging’ (Lenz Taguchi 2011, 199) can help draw attention to what is excluded from certain relationships (Ringrose et al. 2018; Warfield 2016; Ringrose and Rawlings [2015](#)). Within the framework of ‘agential realism’ Barad calls this agentic intervention the ‘researcher’s cut’ or ‘agential cut’, that which moulds the research into thesis, book, article. However, as Barad’s notion of agential realism enables the thinking of agency not just as a human capacity but a quality manifesting in all aspects of reality (Rosiek et al. 2020, 332), the agential cut can also be enacted by more-than-humans too; for instance, a flesh/flash of memory, the heaviness of a coat, a noisy hungry stomach that cuts through flows and co-constitution of walking, making, doing or talking. Therefore, I am attentive to the ethical responsibilities that as researcher I must be attentive to, including the exclusions made in who and what we research.

A walking intra-view scenario invites researchers to take up Haraway’s ‘staying with the trouble’ (2016) and Massumi’s ‘the privilege of the headache’ (Massumi 2002, 19), to move away from what MacLure (2013, 228) describes as the ‘epistemic certainty or the comforts of a well-wrought coding scheme’ which make things stand still and separate out in order to create meaning, structure and order. This framework not only enables the sense of de/re-territorialisation of the researcher’s positionality and researcher’s embodied diffraction in research creation but also the co-implication of the researcher in the becoming of the data and research along with other humans and more-than-humans (Allen 2016, 2). Therefore, this study is partly about my own co-implication with my participants’ affective and material relations and experiences; as much as the researcher works upon the data, the data works upon the researcher (Mazzei and McCoy [2010](#), 506). For instance, one of my diffractive positionalities emerged in encounters with those participants wearing hijab regardless of whether it was their own choice or, as they said, their parents’. As a non-veiled Muslim, I became de/re-territorialised as white and a kind of outsider and occasionally my participants wondered how I knew about Islamic rules and teachings.

Walking with post-human I/eye

What my research adds to the valuable existing studies on walking methodologies (Springgay and Truman 2018; Vannini and Vannini 2017; Gallagher and Prior 2017; Ingold and Vergunst 2016; Bates and Rhys-Taylor 2017) is the application of digital technology, namely using a Skype video call, plus the presence/absence of the researcher each opening up potentialities for different and new relations to emerge.

Using digital technology, the Skype video mobile phone app enables a different post-human-*walk*, that of the walking-with a virtual researcher who is physically absent but is virtually one of the agential actants in this walking-assemblage. The absence of the researcher's physicality opens up more possibilities to walk around places that participants prefer not to be seen in physically with the researcher, or are seen as handpicked for the interview, for instance, the neighbourhood or bus.

The physical absence of the researcher materialises a walk around school as a normal everyday activity without grabbing anyone's attention, particularly for my participants who have experienced racial harassment, being picked on and targeted in public. This possibility gives the researcher the *post-human-I*, a *post-human-eye*, the 'I' that its physical being has been de/re-territorialised in those walking-assemblages and the eye that has found a new haptic function. However, walking intra-view might limit some data that is not captured on camera. The post-human-eye that walks, becomes a more-than eye/I; the I and the eyes that are not there but can still see and feel. This haptic eye/I follows the walking legs. It does not cross the road, get into the house, take a deep breath, but it does. It becomes movements in the background, post-human moments of becoming.

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, 492) notion of haptic also helped me to theorise and experience the post-human I/eye when conducting walking intra-views. They use the notion of 'haptic' instead of 'tactile' to move beyond the oppositional relations between organs and instead suggest a haptic engagement and sensory interrelation(ship) between the eye, ear and limbs,

where the eye gains a sense of touch beyond its optical function. Drawing upon Deleuze's (2002) notion of painting as a diffractive sensory relation with our own body organs, an engagement that 'gives us eyes everywhere: in the ear, in the stomach, in the lungs (the painting breathes ...)', I propose that a walking intra-view as a haptical engagement and methodology forces my participants and me to think-feel (Massumi 2008) and complete our research in multiple, affective and complex haptic ways. Deleuze and Guattari also use haptic in relation to two other concepts concerning space: striated and smooth space. Ingold (2011a) explains striated space as a 'homogeneous and volumetric: in it, diverse things are laid out, each in its assigned location' where looking around implies shooting visual arrows at their targets whereas smooth space as an atmospheric space of movement and flux has no layout, represents a patchwork of continuous variation, extending without limit in all directions, stirred up by wind and weather, and suffused with light, sound and feeling (133). The post-human-eye/I that walks, rather than looking at things and aiming for a fixed target (e.g. data or encounter), roams among them and finds a way through. It is an eye/I that is tuned to 'the registration of subtle variations of light and shade, and the surface textures they reveal' (Ingold 2011a, 131) rather than 'the discrimination and identification of individual objects'. Walking intra-view, as a post-human methodology, offers a form of emotional sensation that embodies and simultaneously embraces vision, hearing and touch, where our bodily experience can incorporate a space's textural qualities, including weight, mass, density, pressure, humidity, temperature, presences and resonances (Karanika 2009). The walking intra-view that attends to legs, movement, environment rather than just eyes, mind, thinking, voice, human, still-ness, sitting and room, moves beyond the 'optic relation between mind and the world that is founded on distance and detachment' (Kind 2013, 435); instead it sews us to the textures of the world along the pathways of sensory involvement (Pink [2011](#)).

For instance, in a walking intra-view with Ameera (S1, Y12), the post-human I/eye enabled relationships with the vital materiality of living in an overcrowded house, with 20 other people; her family, her aunt and uncle's family and grandparents (Figure 6). The post-human I/eye in those material moments and

movements was not just looking and aiming on a fixed target but roaming with Ameera's body, breathing, moving upstairs, coming across objects, noises behind doors, people talking, children playing and screaming. Although I explained different stages of our research encounters in detail in both consent forms for parents and participants, Ameera's sudden act to enter the house while still on her Skype video call with me, not only affected me as an emerging ethical issue, hooking my body to the monitor (Figure 6) but also made me ask for her consent again to continue the interview. In this particular research encounter, Ameera's mother was travelling with her (us) and was present during the whole bus journey which then proceeded to their house and Ameera's room. Even though in my analysis of these moments in Chapter 7, I argued that the presence of Ameera's mother affected the flow of the interview, her presence while Ameera and I entered the house, reassured me that I was being allowed to see inside their house (partially) through our Skype video call.



Figure 6: Post-human I/eye, shoes, drying racks

Thinking legs and walking eyes

Walking disrupts the hierarchy of seeing, thinking, and knowing only through eyes, brain and perceptions towards material ordinary moments where legs, as a horizontal maker, re-work the power relations where these are not only hands, voice, eyes, mind that power your moving but also legs that materially and affectively move across different assemblages.

Various concepts such as Haraway's 'tentacular thinking' (2016, 34), an ecology of collective practices of knowing and doing, Deleuze's notion of haptic optic (2002, 54), when eyes gain a new haptic non-optical function in the ear, stomach or lungs, and Braidotti's (2017) neologism of 'embrained bodies and embodied brains', which disrupt the binary of body and mind, all inspired me to suggest walking gives the legs, eyes and brain the capacity to leg-ing our senses, memories, desires and where all bodily functions become de/re-territorialised as thinking legs, walking eyes, embrained legs and legged brain. Walking Skype intra-views add another layer of post-human haptic entanglement that is 'more tentacular and less binary' (Haraway 2016), to walking that is the researcher's *facing outside with legs*. The virtual and digital embodied the spatial diffraction of the researcher-assemblage and participant-assemblage; my body in seated posture with eyes glued to the camera, my participant's body walking and making. The participant's body-walking-legs become my eyes and the researcher's virtual presence becomes the more-than-human with her. My face has a virtual view to the outside while not seeing her, whereas she sees virtual me, my room and the actual outside. Our tentacular thinking legs and walking eyes materialise the sensory material and affective meeting points or events and the transfer of intensities between thinking, walking, knowing, feeling and becomings.

The walking intra-views always happen in the middle of our vague positionalities; the Skype status shown as active, away, do not disturb, invisible in green, yellow, red and no colour and the swarms of questions:

Should I wait for her to call me or should I call her? Has she overslept? Did I make her late for school? Has she left the house yet?

The spatial actual/virtual differences between my participants and me bring different kinds of emotional encounters, for instance instead of the usual greetings in face-to-face interactions, we begin with: '*Can you see me?*' '*Can you hear me?*' '*I don't have your picture!*' '*I can't hear you!*'

The vital materiality of walking and intra-viewing using technology, in opening up to 'more-than' and 'the intra' of the relations, also enable uncertainty, messiness, discomfort, confusion, self-doubt or trepidation (Mazzei and McCoy 2010; Holmes et al. 2020; Coleman and Ringrose 2013; Vannini 2015a) at different stages of research practices, which they consider as the potentialities and possibilities for new and different relations to emerge. For them, the what, who, how and why of inquiry, data, method, analysis and writing not only embrace uncertainty of knowledge and the forces that accumulate to produce events but such uncertain messiness of knowledge production is considered as an ongoing opportunity in the politics of becoming different: hope, change, creativity, and imagination. This makes phEmaterialist more-than-representational methodologies immediately 'creative, practical, ethical, and wild' (Ulmer 2017, 839). In describing more-than-representational research, Vannini (2015a) writes that it emphasises 'the fleeting, viscous, lively, embodied, material, more-than-human, precognitive, non-discursive dimensions of spatially and temporally complex lifeworlds' (318).

Walking intra-views and emerging affective spaces and capacities

In this section I argue how a walking intra-view not only enables some of the spatial agencies in my participants' becoming-assemblages and the spaces that matter for my participants to emerge but also different kinds of data in relation to space. For instance, Farah (S2, Y12) materialised her feelings about her future career and university opportunities during the face-to-face interview in school as a wall against her:

I felt really restricted like there was a wall against me there is nothing I can do to stop that it made me feel like being myself was a bad thing and I didn't know what to do, because there is nothing I can do to change myself, being Asian is nothing I can change, nothing I can do to change being a Muslim, so I felt they are like restricting me and I was being limited into this box.

However, in our walking intra-view²³ the wall de/re-territorialised with stories and experiences of resistance, empowerment, hope and a sewing machine. She showed me a shop in Brick Lane where her mother learned to sew and her sense of not belonging shifted to a sense of belonging (Figure 7):

She built up a lot to get to where she is now, she can't speak English she thinks that she is not good at certain skills but she learnt to sew here [in this shop] and with sewing she kind of proved them all wrong, that she can do things, she can make a business and she can work here, nowadays she really tries to belong in the community and do it as a work.

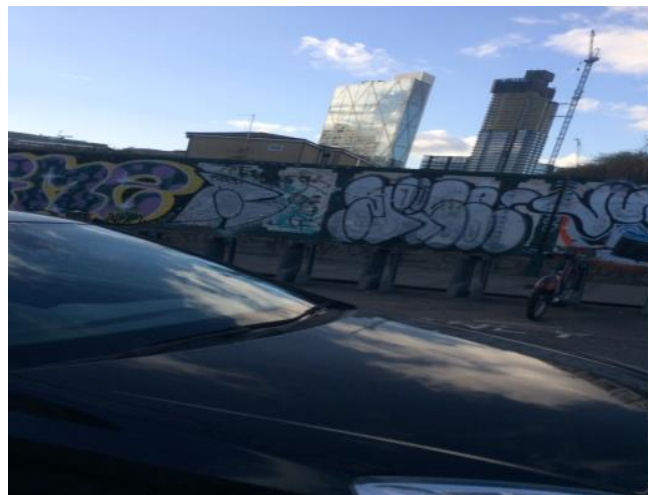


Figure 7: Sewing machine (LHS) and Brick Lane (RHS)

²³ In School 2 none of the participants were able or interested in doing walking intra-views outside via Skype. Instead, we Skyped in their rooms or with Farah, I personally walked with them interviewing and using my phone video and voice recorder.

Maha (S1, Y12) also gained this affective material transition during the photo-diary session, when the spatial capacity of photo-diary as an affective surface enabled the radiant energy to emerge; 'where most of the action is' (Gibson 1973 in Ingold 2007, 5) and 'where vibrations are passed to the medium, where vaporization or diffusion into medium occur, and what our bodies come up against in touch'. This not only allows her body-skin to entangle with paper-surface and the photograph but also to re-materialise as a different Maha, the unseen, unsaid and virtual her that can be 'unapologetically herself' and 'do whatever she likes'; 'swimming very far in the sea to a point where she becomes a dot', re-materialising her body with the empty picture of a wintry grey sea, or 'feeling fun and happy' with the colourful and crowded picture of Pride in London (discussed in Chapter 6).

The bus where most of the walking intra-views happened with School 1's participants was another affective space that de/re-territorialised new relations with others and the research. Even though, for anonymisation, I always asked the participants not to face the camera, most of the time they intra-viewed facing the camera (in their bedroom), whereas in the walking intra-views other than at start and end, their camera faced outward. Intra-viewing on the bus seemed more of a travelling encounter than a walking one, with both fixed and moving positionality. Different kinds of body gestures and movements occur when sitting on a bus; you sit but you move whereas your whole body moves when walking. My travelling eyes intra-viewed on the bus, Ameera's body leaning to the left, banging on the window, moving back and forth, her head turning to watch each new passenger arriving on the bus. The spatial specificity of the bus and the bus stop as a public place surrounded by other passengers meant Ameera and Inas Skyped facing the camera. Even though the methodological affordances of a walking intra-view enabled the materialisation of my participants' fears, concerns and stress about being Muslim girls wearing hijab in public or on public transport simultaneously a kind of nervousness emerged, particularly for them to face their camera outward as if it is okay to make a video call when facing yourself (inward camera) but not appropriate, particularly for these Muslim girls, to come out of the normative and surveilled zone of unthreatening. As with a threatening community any

uncontrolled connection with the public can be threatening and full of tension, for instance, Inas seemed anxious to show me around during the walking intra-view, repeatedly taking the camera down or in front of her face: *'It's a bit embarrassing cos everyone is watching'*. She kept fixing and tightening her headscarf, seeming nervous, trying to de/re-territorialise her body in space by not looking at her phone and just giving short answers (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Inas at the bus stop

In those moments, I became an outsider, a cyborg researcher and 'affect alien' (Ahmed 2006; 2017) and Inas ruptured the norms of an ordinary day where a Muslim girl waits at the corner of a building trying not to be too visible. She went on the upper deck, more nervous on the bus than at the station, putting the phone down on her lap, rarely looking at it, biting her nails, continually asking *'Ha?', 'What?'* She paid no attention to me, as if her surroundings on the bus needed her full attention, body, feeling to be in and of. There was a sense of affective complexity, fear, anxiety and shame, the shame and fear of a body that affectively knows that fitting in is a challenge although it desperately wants to. Her answers were full of *'No's'* and *'Don'ts'*. I ask if she was nervous and if she prefers to end the call. She replied: *'I am alright, I don't know what to say, my data is gonna end now so'*. And it ended. Inas's affective-im/material-discursive-corporeal entanglement with her external surroundings materialised a different Inas to the one I encountered in her home. A girl who bites her nails and avoids looking at her phone on the bus de/re-territorialised her body at home in a new way, covering the whole frame of the picture with her smile, body and stories (Figure 9).

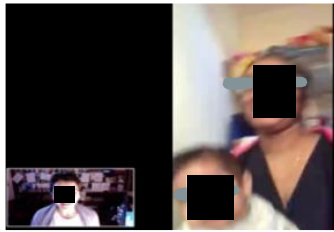


Figure 9: Inas at home with her sister

Here walking intra-view and technology enable de-territorialisation of the research encounter between the affective space of the bus and the affective space of the house. The walking intra-view detached Inas's body and its relational materialities from one space bus-fear-hijab-research and re-located it to another space; home-comfort-hair-research (Figure 9).

Photo-diary: the vibrant assemblage of space-time-bodies

In another methodological stage, my participants made a photo-diary of pictures they took from things that mattered to them; places, objects or people. Most participants used their phones to take pictures, although I provided them as many disposable cameras as they needed at the cost of elucidating a picture. Some School 2 participants who didn't want to or didn't have android phones, used disposable cameras, returning them to me to print their photos. I printed two sets of photos so each could keep a copy too. As a post-human assemblage of body-moments-space-affect photo-diary enabled my participants to materialise the relational materialities in their subjectivity-becoming experiences. Participants had a variety of commitments in this part of my project, some of them actively participated (mostly from School 1) throughout the research processes, sending me at least one or two pictures a week and, other than one student who completed the photo-diary session, most School 2 participants did not engage in this part (Appendix B). We used the same interview room (called the Dark Room) in School 1 for photo-diary sessions and the 'forest-y bit' in the near park for the only student from School 2 who participated in this session. The 'forest-y bit' was the space which emerged as the escaping space for some School 2 participants. During the photo-diary session, I asked the participants to look at the images that I had

printed and stick those they wanted to use in their photo-diary, offering them colourful Sharpies to write their feelings or anything in relation to the pictures and neon colourful arrows to stick on the main thing/s in the picture and, finally, to give the picture a title. I paid attention not only to the choices of colour, writing styles, meaning and materiality of the words and lines they drew in and out of an image but also to the order of images, the speed in pausing or passing a picture and their body posture when engaging in this activity.

The order, lines, words and images do not simply represent the linearity and fixity rather 'a material and conceptual thickness' (MacLure [2016](#), 799) that diffractively and affectively as an assemblage meld with other assemblages and networks and relations of humans and more-than-human bodies. These images, order, lines and words don't each show just one simple *thing*, they show many knotted and weaved affective moments and materialities that are going to re-emerge with different intensities and capacities from the past. Being the first image to materialise in the photo-diary suggests a body-image-time-space assemblage that weighs intensities more heavily and affects rather than being just number one, when in a sense it's not number one, quantity-wise but a more intense event. In those moments entangling with photos, the voice and the interview keep becoming disrupted with the diffractive memories and more-than-human agencies that photos enable on one level and the re-materialisation of those relations with new colours, realisations and feelings on another.

I also affectively connect with these photos; my image of my participants' photos has emerged through my participants' affective engagements with those images. The intensities of my participants' stories and bodies in re-materialising those moments transfer into my body, wonder me, cut into our sessions and my research; the common room, Pride in London, a sewing machine, walls. I know these places and objects not through their semiotic meanings rather through what they do and the capacities they enable in my participants' bodies, my body, other bodies and my research.

The moments that caught my attention whilst listening to the audio recording of our conversations over making a photo-diary were the sounds of writing which were different when my participants tangled with different stories. The sounds of writing as a more-than-human data materialised different intensities and affective sensations with photos. It was not just the Sharpies' colour and the meaning of the words that they used to materialise their feelings, relations and bodies, but the sound of their writing, its pitch, pauses, duration, dynamics, timbre. The affective entanglements can also use sounds to come into being. Instead of thinking about the meaning and appearance of happiness, joy, wall, shark, sea, in thinking through the materiality of sound as a more-than-human agency, I listened to the sound of these affective moments. The sounds of happiness and joy in Pride in London were loud as Maha wrote intensely without a break, the noise of her Sharpie constantly scratching on the page. I considered what it sounds like to materialise and write emotions, happiness, racial harassment, annoyance for instance; instead of asking what they *look* like I proposed instead to ask what they *sound* like? What would be the sound of rhizomatic affective assemblage, the sound of these relationships with different tonalities, pitch and duration of sound, sound of cut, of extension, of rupture, of territorialisation, of flight and so on?

I considered photo-diary making as a slow methodology too, as with the re-materialisation of the affective entanglements, creating capacities for my participants to become/do/think and feel in different and new ways about their bodies and their affective and material relations to others. During the photo-diary session, when telling the story of her Pride in London pictures, Maha de/re-territorialised her dialogue, feelings and becomings by switching from talking in the first person 'I' to 'you'. Maha introduced her mother as strictly religious and anti-gay:

I really don't discuss it with her anymore because it causes huge debate and I can't be bother and she is not gonna change her mind and I am not gonna change my mind because we are both very stubborn. Even if she would know I don't care, she wouldn't be happy but still I don't care because it is my life not yours you had your chances at life this is my one.

The switching from 'I' to 'you' also happened when she re-materialised her racial harassment experience, when an unknown Muslim shopkeeper approached and warned her about not wearing hijab. This shift slows down the doing and thinking and makes it possible to say and think what hasn't been said or thought. It presents Maha's mother and the shopkeeper in this new assemblage where Maha resists and de/re-territorialises those moments and affective contexts into new re-territorialised possibilities. Slowing down Maha's encounter with her mother and the shopkeeper enables the call that focuses upon 'resisting an affective movement of becoming' (Alldred and Fox [2017](#), 1172).

More-than-photos: a materialist approach to visual methodologies

Feminist new materialism and post-humanism offer some new trajectories to visual methodologies, particularly photo-diary and photo-elicitation. Photo-diary methods are traditionally used to document individual experiences and views and are widely used in critical youth studies (Pattman and Kehily 2004; Hirst 2003). For these scholars, photo-diary as 'an active approach' (Del Busso 2011, 47) not only provides the participant greater autonomy over the data collection process by choosing what and how subjects are photographed (Hammond 2004, 136), but also shows the researcher as a pragmatic tool what the experience of the participant 'is like' (Del Busso 2011; Mitchell 2011; Rose 2007; Majumdar 2011; Sauzet 2015). Some scholars use this technique to elicit student "voice" through the analysis of young people's images (Piper and Frankham 2007; Liebenberg 2018). Rose argues that the rise of the Internet has not only led to a growth in visual culture but in the use of images as 'tools with which communicative work is done' (Rose 2013, 27) through image-sharing via social media. In these visual methodologies, the visual content of photos constitutes the data. Rooted in realism (Pink 2007) 'good' photographic data is understood to be an accurate representation of the objects and/or people found in the original research scene (Rose 2007). While some of these views influence my understanding of my participants' photos, in this section I show how feminist new materialism and post-humanism enable

an onto-ethico-epistemological shift in my thinking, researching and reading of the photos.

As a participatory method, photo-diary can help to explore ‘the child’s world as constituted through encounters with their material surroundings’ (Malone 2015, 49). Feminist new materialism and post-humanist scholars who use photo-elicitation and photo-diary methods problematise anthropocentrism and ‘anthropocentric gaze’ in ontological and epistemological understanding of photographic images (Hultman and Lenz Taguchi 2010; Coleman 2009; Springgay and Zaliwska 2015; Otterstad and Waterhouse 2016; Renold and Ringrose 2016; Ivinson and Renold 2016; Allen 2016 and 2009; Huuki 2019). For these researchers, through considering humans at the centre, anthropocentrism reduces our world to a *social* world and neglects ‘all other non-human forces that are at play’ (Hultman and Lenz Taguchi 2010, 539-540). In an anthropocentric approach to visual research, not only do humans have dominant agency to control the camera and decide what it will capture, but also cameras and photos as inanimate, passive tools for human manipulation have no agency or volition of their own (Allen 2016, 9).

Similarly, photographic images as the mirror of photographed objects provide an accurate image or real representation of that which is being mirrored (Hultman and Lenz Taguchi 2010, 534-535). Noora Pyyry (2015) whose research explores teenage girls ‘hanging out’ in Finland, warns of the danger of stiffening and aestheticizing reality in using photography as data. She suggests that as a picture often shows only a narrow and essentialist account of the ‘reality’ of young people’s lives, it is fundamental to remember that visual perception is only one of the ways in which we sense with the world, when photography is taken as a research method (150). Pyyry does not position her photos as constituting ‘data’ of the world, but rather as data that are capable of inspiring action, of giving a ‘push’ to thinking and to create ‘newness’ (150). Stephanie Springgay and Zofia Zaliwska (2015, 136) explain this newness as a way of ‘activating thought that is experienced rather than known, that is material and affective, and where experience accounts for ‘more than human’ encounters’. For them this newness is not about filling in the gaps to make

better meaning from the photos but to create a space where something new can emerge (137). In my study, this 'something new' comprises new relations and affective relationships between humans and more-than-humans which I explore further in data chapters.

Springgay and Zaliwska (2015) draw on Massumi's concept of 'pure edging' to describe a way of engaging with photographs not through their content, but through paying attention to 'what is not being said, to disjunctions, paradoxes, and contradictions' (139). Massumi (2011) describes pure edging as a '[v]irtual line...[a]n insubstantial boundary, itself imperceptible...which does not effectively enclose' (89). For Springgay and Zaliwska, pure edging is about affective perception; data that are not yet formed but appear as a sensation of an enveloping edge that folds the body into it (2015, 139). Pure edging and opening up data in its edginess in my study, enabled me to understand what matters is not the form in my participants' photographed images but the capacities of these images to alter, undo and move us toward the edging, and thus shift figure and ground (140). I used the notion of *moving toward* the edging instead of reaching the edge or being on the edge to suggest the experiences of moments and movements that are not about finding an over and done position with data in photo. Rather with Pyyry the moments of posthuman becoming with photos that give push to thinking instead of revealing the truth about the photo. Many feminist new materialism and post-humanism scholars extend this to re-think the vital materialisations of images and bodies tangled and the affective intra-acting force relations; to see new formations of more-than-human sexual objectification (Renold and Ringrose 2016), to make art/istic portrayals of moments/movements with child/ren/hood (Otterstad and Waterhouse 2016), to map post-human possibilities in research on gender, corporeality and place (Iverson and Renold 2016). The pure edging, affective perception and push to thinking is when data become intelligible by bodies of post-human researcher, participants, words, doodles, lines drawn around photos, material and immaterial things that are present and absence in the photo, colours, pace of sticking, silence, fast breathing, a momentary gaze into the distance during the photo-diary making. I explore these modes of affective perception in the data chapters.

These views on photographic images not only helped to extend my understanding of photos and photo-diary, not as the representation of final truth about my participants' lives, but to think through a relational and affective co-constitution of my participants, the photos and the things that matter in the images. As with Pedwell (2017) and Coleman (2009), I consider the taking of photos as moments and experiences that affect works to undo the determined relations and feelings. A pause to take a photo as a 'binding technique' (Pedwell 2017, 147) that materialises affective relations animates bodies, technologies, discourses and images in the new and different affective assemblages. Therefore, in thinking and working with photos, I hold Coleman's question of 'What these images make possible and impossible for the becoming of bodies' (2009, 112) and to follow the two phEmaterialism foundational aspects of my work the movement and emergence. Like walking intra-view, photo-diary making²⁴ also potentialise traversing the space, time and bodies and moving between actual-virtual, past-present, here-there, the latter through walking and the former through photos. Similar to the material relations and moments emerging during walking with every twist and turn down a new road, in the photo-diaries we extended those relations and moments or made new ones through colours, sticking, stories, naming and lines in and out of photos.

The data of no-thing: the materialisation of some-thing in the photo-diary

The phEmaterialist notions of relational materialities and 'more-than' (Renold and Ivinson [2019](#)) enabled me to examine micro-encounters, bits and pieces of ordinary events which are usually considered as analytical nuisances or seen as 'nothing'. During our research encounters, for instance in our photo-diary session, there were moments and photos that could be regarded conventionally as no-thing, whereas with my participants re-materialising these photos they turned into some-thing. I followed Braidotti (2002, 173) that suggests we need to be: 'moving on, passing through, creating connections

²⁴ I use the verb 'make' in connection with photo-diary to stress considering photo-diary as a relational process and an action rather than a final product.

where things were previously disconnected or seemed unrelated, where there seemed to be “nothing to see”.

The no-thing-ness in the pictures of wintry grey sea and the sewing machine in the corner of a room (Figure 10) were reworked by Maha (S1, Y12) and Farah (S2, Y12). They de/re-materialised no-thing-ness to some-thing through the more-than-humans; sea, shark and object. Attending to the material becoming assemblages, pHEmaterialism attempts to make space for these ‘nothing’s to be seen as some-thing’, ‘something that forces us to think’ (Deleuze 1968/2001, 139), the affective entanglements and the material and discursive unsaid and unseen experiences and feelings.

The more-than-human referred to as ‘no-thing-ness’ by some (Allen 2016; Rautio and Jokinen [2015](#)) can de/re-territorialise our anthropocentric²⁵ thinking and practising of knowledge production, where meaning is not produced purely with things we objectively see and observe, but with things that matter and actualise; ‘no-thing’ appearing empty or showing an ordinary object. The wintry sea and sewing machine having thing-power enabled Maha's and Farah's different experiences with their bodies and relations to other humans and more-than-human bodies, something voices cannot do alone.

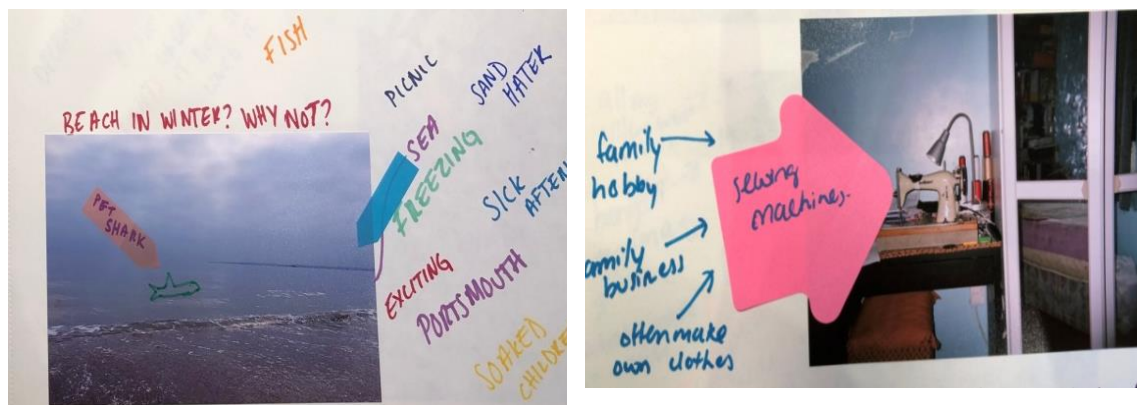


Figure 10: Photos of no-thing: Wintry Grey Sea (Maha)

²⁵ Inspired by post-humanist thinking I use the notion of anthropocentrism instead of humanism to stress the damaging implications of human activities on the planet. ‘Anthropocentrism’ in line with ‘eurocentrism’ and ‘masculinism’ reminds us how problematic the humanist subject has been (Braidotti 2013).

and the Sewing Machine (Farah)

Maha materialises her body and relations of her body to others in her photos of sea, mountains, graffiti. During the photo-diary sessions Maha brought these nature pictures to talk about things she could not say directly, and I could not see. These wondered me that when she talks about sea, shark, mountain tunnel and graffiti she talks about her self-body. She materialises a sea that has unknown secrets, a shark that is not scary and only wants to live her life, and a tunnel beneath the mountains that has no end. I wondered with how Maha materialised her sexuality through wander-ing with these nature photos (Figure 2). With Ameera, the fact that she lives in a house with 19 other people wondered me (Figure 6): number 20 and the status of her home wondered me.

Wonder-ing and wander-ing with data were those moments in our photo-diary session for instance, when colours spoke but words became short, when Maha describes her love of colours, glitter and rainbow (her Pride in London photos) but she doesn't like wearing make-up, when nature enables her to imagine being free and how she likes to be. These moments and material relationships not only 'confound the industrious, mechanical search for meanings, patterns, codes or themes; but at the same time, they exert a kind of fascination, and have a capacity to animate further thought' (MacLure 2013a, 228).

Wall, shark, sea, number 20 and sewing machine problematising my understanding of the data as known and familiar, set me in motion to think what would emerge when data does not mediate just through voice, human and researcher but through sea, tunnel, sewing machine and shark. As 'affective translators' (Christiansen [2018](#)) this data becomes the ordinary objects, materials, nature and more-than human entities that can open up new capacities to become with my participants.

The data is not only produced in an empirical part of the research and the theory in ontological, more so ontology, epistemology, human and more-than-human data and researcher intra-actively become intelligible in the encounters. Amongst many other actants the participants and researcher are affective

partners of emergence of 'data as sense-event' (MacLure 2013). This methodology is more-than-participatory, it disrupts the researcher's gaze (Renold et al. 2008) and the collaborative knowledge production that re-negotiates the purpose, aims, method and representation (434) rather than an ontological and epistemological shift that gives prominence to relations, capacities, intra-actions, affect and the mutual co-constitution of theory-practice-data-participant and researcher. Such 'nomadic movement' (Hohti [2016](#), 1154) back and forth in 'relay and return' (Haraway 2016) was not only the capacity that walking intra-views and photo-diary enabled in our physical walking and making fieldwork, but also in re-reading and re-entangling with data. Thinking with data through the concept of assemblage, in making relations and attachments enables an action in our thoughts, movements and fluidity in the data analysis processes which is different to categorising and patterning the sameness in coding practices (Mazzei and Jackson 2016, 4).

Writing the diffraction

In this section, I consider the material and affective processes of writing the thesis. The phEmaterialist notion of 'thinking with theory' (Jackson and Mazzei 2012) and concepts during research processes and practices, extends to the writing stage which opens new more-than-capacities into the 'materiality of field' (Childers [2013](#), 602) of writing. These include human bodies, feelings and materialisation of particular moments and affective entanglements through using poetic styles, text boxes, different fonts, writing styles and images (Zarabadi et al. [2019](#); Waterhouse et al. 2016; Niccolini et al. [2018](#)) among many others.

This *diffractive writing* materialises events of thinking with theory, practice, data, researcher as an assemblage and in a zigzag movement whilst being open to any emergent affective relationship and wandering with writing. In writing as in walking intra-views and photo-diary making, text boxes, different data from different moments in spaces, photos and different writing styles and tones enabled me to diffractively move back and forth into different spaces and times; from a racist comment in the classroom to racial harassment on the bus,

from racial harassment in the street to a joyful experience at Pride in London, from a paranoid feeling about the body and self to a sewing machine in the corner of a parent's bedroom.

Text boxes, screenshots and images in the data chapters make a cut through the text and materialise the moments when an emergent data is made intelligible between us; human and more-than-human actants. Text boxes as affective mediums plug human (reader, writer, participants) and more-than-human others in/out/with a moment, a thing, an intra-action, space or the more-thans and things that remain unanalysed but can affect through different sensory knowing. As refrains for positionalities, text boxes take the writer, reader, memories and thoughts out of the main body of the text and re-position them into new relations. They enable a 'relay and return' (Haraway 2016) flowing between here and there and emerging in-between material moments. Whilst writing my thesis and thinking with phEmaterialism, text boxes enable the methodological affordances to come out of the text even momentarily as 'a line of flight' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), the grammar of the language, the structure of the body of the text, the punctuations and forms, they rupture the flow, the tone, the rhythm of the text. The screenshot images also materialise the moments that glow in the video, the relations that grasped me while watching and re-reading the intra-actions. These material moments emerge through screenshots, disrupting the hierarchy of a single voice in the words/texts.

Continuation

In this chapter I mapped how the mixed methodologies of walking intra-view, photo-diary making and face-to-face interview not only enabled my phEmaterialist thinking to be practiced but also addressed the research questions of my study, to combine with the subjectivity becomings of my participants as affective and material assemblages. I argued how these methodologies enabled both capacities for me to engage in my participants' material, embodied, embedded and affective everyday relay and return in/out/with objects, bodies, affect, sounds, spaces and time and for them to

de/re-territorialise some of those material moments differently. The conceptual framework of assemblage, diffraction, thinking with theory and intra-action offered opportunities for me to think about, plan and apply my research in new and generative ways. This helped to consider more what matters for my participants than what matters merely for my research.

The methodological assemblage of walking intra-view, photo-diary making and face-to-face interview enabled traversing the boundaries of bodies, matters, spaces and time and moving away from linear narratives as well as opening up to allow the capacities to the more-than-human agencies to emerge, each method through its unique material and affective capacities. For walking intra-views, I used Skype video call technology to explore the diffractive thinking-doing-becoming where we walked around the neighbourhood instead of seated interviews in the classroom, using legs to walk where the researcher is virtually-actually present. These diffractive connections enabled in photo-diary making through photos, colours, stories, lines, words, memories, time, hands, sticking and writing.

The use of multiple sensory methodologies helped me to map the relational materialities in my participants' subjectivity-becoming. I also discussed how these have both limitations and affordances. For instance, while walking intra-views enabled the researcher's virtual-actual presence in some spaces and moments, more flexibility in arranging time and place for the interviews and the potential to have longer and more research encounters, the emergent technological issues such as weak wi-fi network, not having enough data, low phone batteries and material conditions such as the duration of their journey, the crowdedness of the bus, strong winds or heavy rain, limited some of our research encounters.

I showed also how my researcher's positionality as one of the agential actants of this study, keeps de/re-territorialising in each material moment and movement, from the development of the methodological undertaking, to an immersion in the data generation, to the selection of the glowing data and to the diffractive writing of these post-human research encounters.

Chapter 4: Re-mattering racialising assemblages

Introduction

It matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with; it matters what knots knot knots, what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions, what ties tie ties. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories.

(Haraway 2016, 12)

In this chapter, building on what Muslim schoolgirls matter and think other matters with, what stories they tell to tell other stories with, what matters with them when mattering with others, and how they matter when they matter their Muslim-becoming, I consider stories, experiences and relations that emerge between bodies, spaces, objects and feelings. Taking a relational materialist approach, I map various affective, material and discursive moments and movements as assemblage in school and out. Experiences of racial harassment relating to hijab, emerging through what I call different '*affective channels*' of jokes, comments, questions, looking and staring, are one of the recurring materialities of my data. Through post-humanising racial harassment, I explore how racial harassment as an agential factor intertwines with my participants' senses and experiences of self, body and other human and more-than-human bodies. Inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's concept of assemblage, as 'a way of mapping the ways things are coming together, the directions, speeds, and spaces of connections, and what the assembled relations enable to become or also block from becoming' (De Landa 2006) this chapter comprises various related 'states of things, bodies, various combinations of bodies, hodgepodes; but also utterances, modes of expression, and whole regimes of signs' (Deleuze 2007, 177).

I explore how my participants' subjectivity emerges in-between an affective array of bodies, vital materialities, agential forces and intensities. I propose that what they know, feel, think and experience cannot be understood without mattering with the relational materialities of their intra-actions within their

domestic and housing situations and where they live. In one layer I consider each racial harassment experience as an 'event' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), opening up new connections; in another layer I use the concept of affect to analyse these affective entanglements as agential actants in enhancing or diminishing the body's capacity. Attending to the relational materiality and affectivity of these racial harassment experiences, I ask what these 'affective channels' do to my participants' senses of self, their relationship with their body and to other bodies and spaces. I use concepts of 'racist affect' (Mbembe 2018) and 'political affect' (Protevi 2009) to map in this chapter, where social, somatic and racist encounters meet.

As a methodological finding (See Chapter 3:) the data herewith was gathered mostly from face-to-face interviews in schools, where experiences of racial harassment emerged, as we sat still on chairs in defined teacher-student poses, in an already defined schoolroom, bodily distance defined by tables and chairs, defined bodily posture, defined time and demarcated bodily communication: voice and speech. This suggests that schools as affective 'territories' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 375) can become 'the first thing to constitute an [racialising] assemblage', can enable the subject of racism to emerge after racial harassment encounters, and can become a related affective space for racism to emerge. Voice, mouth, speech, narrative, words and more have the agency to make the relational materialities compare to moving bodies, images, objects, space and surroundings in walking intra-view and photo-diary research encounters in the next chapters.

I often write of these intensive events in the present tense, as becomings and experiences of the past that are never truly past, rather re-emerge and re-materialise in both present and future (Barad [2010](#), 264) therefore never 'over', 'finished' or 'done'. Throughout these data chapters variations of 'not just...rather' or 'not like...but' phrases are used to emphasise the complexity, multiplicity and relationality of humans and more-than-humans, also not to assert the researcher's approach and analysis in a binary oppositional thinking as *against* others but onto-ethico-epistemological becoming moments and experiences *with* many actual and virtual actants.

Throughout the data chapters, I have carefully thought, felt and worked with veil following my participants' singular, complex affective and material entanglement with their veil, as they call it hijab, it or headscarf.

Mattering with hijab, racial harassment and racialising assemblages

In this section, I intend to explore what hijab *does* rather than what it *is*; to do this I move away from the representational linear understanding of hijab and its meaning as a tool of oppression (Afshar 2008), a sign of empowerment, resistance and a 'second skin' (Mirza 2013) towards its agential materiality which opens up certain capacities and relations in the lived experiences of my participants. I entangle with hijab as a matter that has 'thing-power' (Bennett 2010, xvi) and can divide, enable or restrain capacities in different relational and material contexts. For some of my participants their hijab has nothing to do with resistance to oppression or empowerment, rather they wear it just because '*they were told to do so*', or they don't wear it because they are '*scared to become target of the racial harassment*', because they '*feel hot in it*', because they are '*not ready for it*'. To veil or not veil matters, not only as sheer ideological religious/non-religious intentions but sometimes as an enactment intertwining the material and affective conditions of their lives.

In my research, hijab also connects me with my participants. When I was the same age as these schoolgirls, living in Iran, many of my friends were imprisoned and whipped for not wearing 'proper' hijab, the strict normative type of hijab that the Islamic regime of Iran promotes. Anyone wearing hijab out of the regime's norms would be labelled as 'without hijab' and 'anti-regime' and therefore acting criminally against Islamic regime law. Hijab then developed into a tool to divide people into two binary groups: pro-revolution and anti-revolution²⁶. In the post-revolution Islamic settlement of Iran since 1979, education, particularly in schools, has been used as a convenient patriarchal and ideological platform to exercise totalitarian power. My affective connection

²⁶ 1979 Iran's revolution led to overthrowing the monarchy and its thousand-year legacy to an Islamic totalitarian regime.

with hijab and the ways in which it agentially enabled certain experiences and senses of my body, self, femininity, belonging, feelings and knowings, is what pulled me into my participants' stories, feelings and experiences of hijab, their bodies and others. However, after I migrated to the UK in the midst of 9/11²⁷ and the global war on terror²⁸, I encountered different experiences of hijab amongst Muslims, the fear that they carry with their non/veiled-brown-Muslim-body as a minority in the majority white-non-Muslim and the fear that I carried with my must-veiled-body as a minority in the dominant totalitarian-Islamic-regime.

According to my findings, my participants or a direct family member, mostly mothers and aunts who wore veil, had all experienced racial harassment. Regardless of whether they wear hijab or not, most of them associate hijab with racial harassment. Farah, Fazilah, Fayrooz, Maha, Inas and Muna, all of whom wear hijab, connect their racial harassment encounters in or out of school directly with wearing hijab. Reema, Rana, Fareeda and Fateena who have either worn hijab in the past, wear it 'on and off' now or do not wear hijab at all, believe that it increases the 'risk' and 'danger' of becoming a target of racial harassment. Reema and Fateena consider this as a reason or fear not to wear hijab.

The presence of racial harassment and fear of encountering it, as a racialised and gendered phenomenon, has vitally and materially braided into their everyday, ordinary, mundane moments of social life. Throughout this chapter I will argue that this presence as a particular affective and material agential force is mediated via different channels representational and semiotic but also through affective modulations where different forms of power relations and social interactions enhance or diminish the capacity of body to act. Using my empirical data, I argue that what I call racial harassment is not just an offensive

²⁷ On September 11, 2001, 19 militants associated with the Islamic extremist group al Qaeda hijacked four airplanes and carried out suicide attacks against targets in the United States, which killed almost 3,000 people. This attack triggered major U.S. initiatives to combat terrorism and defined the presidency of George W. Bush.

²⁸ On January 4, 2006, President George W. Bush made remarks on the global war on terror to an audience at the Pentagon. The bill gave President George W. Bush sweeping authority to use "all necessary and appropriate force" against those "responsible" for the attacks on 9/11.

act on one's race or gender, but rather a complex affective and material entanglement, a 'racist affect' (Mbembe 2018) that rhizomatically extends the body and its relations to wider 'racializing assemblages' (Weheliye 2014). As 'relational affective assemblages' (Ringrose and Coleman 2013, 133), I consider these racialising assemblages as comprising various fluid and porous knots and components such as body, gender, space, state, policy, time, affect. Thinking through racialising assemblages brings a heavier, thicker and more complex relation to the fore than a victim/attacker binary, in a way that one assaults externally and the other internalises; it moves across time, space and bodies, as I will demonstrate in the affective entanglements that I explore in my research data. As an affective rupture and 'political affect' (Protevi 2009), racial harassment does things to my participants' experiences of self, body, others, space and social life. Intensifying relational materialities it can open up other capacities, ways of knowing, feeling and thinking. In this sense it is not just race and gender as a representational identity category of one racialised gendered body pulling my participants into racial harassment events but racialising assemblages that move and make new arrangements of bodies, spaces and capacities. It does and undoes things affectively in both molar 'striated spaces' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) through state and sovereign power, and molecular micro-relational materialities entangling self-body with other bodies.

Choosing the right term for these intense encounters and experiences was an ongoing challenge. My participants call these encounters neither harassment, incident, accident nor anything else. When I referred to them as racial harassment during interviews, they corrected me saying they weren't, or said they were just racist. When I asked what they would call these experiences, most of them could not find any suitable, alternative terminology instantly. With Minh-Ha (1991, 14) this is 'the pain and the frustration of having to live a difference that has no name and too many names already'. I noticed that they often used the term 'get' or 'get into' when describing their experiences, these sometimes unknowable, affective relationships that pull and hook them into relations. The limit of the immediately knowable and communicable can be understood with attending to affect in order to analyse what is sensed rather

than knowable on the direct hit of events on bodies (Wetherell 2013, 349). Even though such limits of know-ability through affect theory can be understood as the moment when skin meets the encounter faster than the word (Massumi 2002, 25), or when things escape or remain in excess of the experiences of the 'speaking subject' (Blackman and Venn 2010, 9), it is impossible to ignore the political, historical, colonial, discursive construction of those things that have to remain unknowable and unsaid (Wetherell 2013; Ahmed 2004 and 2017).

The refrain of the *obvious* 'paki'

Farah (S2, Y12) has many experiences of racial harassment. Farah is a Bangladeshi Muslim who wears hijab fully, never going what my participants call 'on and off'.²⁹ She is the oldest sister of three siblings, and the family of five live in a one-bedroom flat with no balcony in Bethnal Green. Their parents occupy the only bedroom, where Farah studies on the floor. Similar to most other participants, Farah comes from a low socio-economic background; apart from the size of their home, her family cannot afford shop-bought clothes; her mum makes all their clothing and their grocery shopping comes from a cheap local supermarket. During our photo-diary session when comparing Bethnal Green with next-door Shoreditch, Farah shows me a picture from the rooftop of her school referring to the layers of social housing in Bethnal Green. She stresses: 'There are families who are struggling for their life in this area'. I consider Farah's subjectivity or assemblage-becoming emerging in between 'intra-actions' (Barad 2007) of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, space and time. Her feelings and thoughts about her body, hijab and others, are not separated from her environment and home, the streets she walks, the classrooms she attends and the friends she hangs out with.

Farah says she feels she is being judged because of her hijab and abaya and is conscious of what we eventually called racial harassment and complains

²⁹ My participants use the term 'on and off' to refer to Muslim girls who occasionally wear hijab depending on places they visit.

about it. When asked if she has experienced racial harassment or abusive behaviour Farah replies:

Yeah obviously, I think the first time was when I was 6 years old, I was wearing hijab because it was cold, I was playing in goal and they said "Oh you can't wear your hijab like that, you can't play with us because you have hijab." I was really confused at the time but after a while when I was exposed to the media news a lot, I sort of understood that it is because the fact that I am Muslim.

Farah and I were both affected by 'this obviousness', the fact that she had her first gendered and racialised exclusion from playing football in the schoolyard by her schoolmates. By saying she '*was wearing hijab because it was cold*', she uses the obviousness differently, her wearing hijab at that young age was not religiously driven as the hijab is not compulsory before puberty for girls, but because of cold weather. Even though Ofsted's head recently called for questioning of primary school girls' reasons for 'wearing hijab for tackling sexualisation' (Adams 2017), with Farah stressing her reason for wearing hijab being cold weather at 6, it seems that it was not that obvious to her school or friends why she was wearing hijab at school at that age. This 'obvious' encounter over ten years ago stays with Farah and endures as 'a bodily force' (Puar [2014](#)) into our research encounter. The obviousness of experiencing racial harassment that crosscuts the boundaries of age, time and space suggests the obvious relationship to the existing molar territorialised 'racialising assemblages' (Weheliye 2014, 43) whose lines colonise bodies into racial hierarchies and naturalise our way of seeing Muslim girls. The obviousness of encountering racial harassment for Farah suggests the presence of molarised and normative racialising assemblages of the veiled-Muslim-body (Khoja-Moolji [2015](#); Shain 2003) in public imaginaries that legitimise these encounters as obvious, not only in Farah's perception of her body in relation to other bodies and spaces but also in her friends' imaginaries too. The affective connections to racialising assemblages as bodily forces can animate Farah's further habitual capacity (Pedwell 2017b), how she acts, knows and feels her body and other bodies. Reading this 'obviousness' in the context of my study, I argue how terrorism/counter-terrorism strategies and Prevent policy as new racialising assemblages re-modulate Muslim women

from low risk, docile and oppressed by the mass of Muslim men/Islam/culture (Khoja-Moolji [2015](#), 544) to a new 'model minority' (Puar and Rai 2004, 75), one who is 'terrorist look-alike' (Puar [2007](#), 229) and 'suspect' (Hussein 2016).

This 'obviousness' matters. It matters when Farah feels and knows that something is coming. What does living with and carrying the obviousness of recurring racial harassment do to Farah's experiences of self, body and femininity, when she senses she is destined for racial harassment? As Pedwell (2017a) suggests 'when affect acts as a 'binding technique' compelling us to inhabit our sensorial responses to images, we may become better attuned to everyday patterns of seeing, feeling, thinking and interacting...the possibility of change at the level of habit' (147). Drawing on her, I argue that interacting, feeling and carrying the fear of obvious racial harassment everyday, living with this racist affect, attune Farah to a different knowing of herself, the realisation of the barriers to her body, decisions, actions and interests because she is Muslim.

Farah's exclusion from the game gave her a new and different experience of her body, a body that cannot-be in some places. The unique affective 'spacetime mattering' (Barad 2014) between Farah's body, hijab, schoolmates, football, this affective and material assemblage changing Farah's bodily capacity enables new knowing and feeling in Farah and others, in relation to her body and relations of her body to others' bodies. Her entanglement with her body-hijab-others-space was not through Islamic teachings but through this affective and material racial harassment experience in the playground and later through the media. From that day, she *got* the 'vital materiality' (Bennett 2010, 12) of her body-hijab-racial-harassment-exclusion as an agential affective assemblage that does things. Through that experience, felt as confusion and then as a materialised knowledge, she affectively knew that as a Muslim she cannot-do some activities. Renold and Ringrose (2011) drawing on the work of Deleuze and Guatarri and Braidotti, call these moments the becoming of 'schizoid subjectivities' when multiple pushes and pulls of knowing and not knowing emerge, for example, sexual innocence versus sexual knowingness (392). Here the vital materiality of veil/veiling levels the

aspect of age highlighting gendered racialisation; where racial harassment 'obviously' happens, what matters is not how old the Muslim woman is but is about the veil she wears.

Farah's experiences of her body, hijab and space in this encounter suggest a relational, material, affective and processual account of corporeality and subjectivity (Blackman 2012, xxiii). The comment '*You can't play with us because you have hijab*' as an affective sticky intensity stays with her till now and turns later into feeling insecure in being herself. The affective assemblage of Farah-veiled-body-six-football-exclusion as travelling affect (Pedwell and Whitehead [2012](#); Hemmings 2005; Kofoed and Ringrose 2012) and 'felt disposition' (Gilroy 1993) brings its materiality to the present. Stickiness of this comment, of what a body can/cannot do, sustains or preserves the connections between ideas, values, and objects (Ahmed 2010, 29). Through the affective forces of encounter, Farah's veiled-body as an assemblage becomes webbed in these gendered and racialised relational processes in a way that it is as much outside itself as in itself (Seigworth and Gregg 2010, 3).

Hijab as a material affective channel opens up Farah-body-assemblage to other political and 'racist affects' (Mbembe 2018) that charge, intensify, move and hook knowing, feeling, learning and subjectivity formations, which extend across time and space, in and out of school. Farah describes another racial harassment experience:

Three weeks ago, the last holiday we had, in Birmingham, it was on the street, I was with my family. Me and my sister were further behind, they didn't hear it. A white woman who was behind me and carrying a baby in a pram, called me Paki, I guess, because she couldn't see my face, she didn't know I wasn't Pakistani. She was behind me, when she said it, I turned back and then she walked off ahead of me. So, I was really confused and me and my sister just staring at each other, like this is so random, like what has my race got anything to do with it?

There is a colonial and racial history behind being called 'paki'. 'Paki' is a shortened, racist version of Pakistani. Brah (1996, 9) describes her diasporic experience on arrival in London, thinking about how she had to 'place' herself

there and when, having been called a 'paki', she felt already 'situated' in Britain's imperial history. She analyses how through this incident she no longer felt a 'foreign' student but a racialised insider/outsider and a marked post-colonial subject constituted within the discourses of 'paki' echoing colonial encounters. The word 'paki' felt real to Brah and became part of her reality as the power of the discourse was performed and exercised through her (11). According to recent studies, 'paki' is still being used in UK schools as racist name-calling both to constitute an outsider identity (Saeed 2017, 223) and to connote, for example, a gendered meaning to Asian boys as non-proper men (Mac an Ghail and Haywood 2017, 208). Building on Brah's analysis of being called 'paki', I argue that Farah is not only 'situated' in Britain's imperial history, as Brah suggests, but also paki affectively does things to Farah's capacity to act, think, know and feel. Paki affectively entangles Farah to racialising assemblages, re-modulating her relation to humans and more-than-humans.

Passing: an elbow room for a racialised body-timed-spaced

I asked Farah what her parents' reaction was, and whether they had heard that racist remark? *'They said they heard but I know that when they were younger they had their worst in their time, so they didn't make a big deal out of it'*. Here Farah relates her experience of racial harassment to her parents' experiences. Her parents *'heard'*. She *'knows'*. A *racialising refrain* emerges holding the racialised body of (Muslim) other in the historical and colonial repeating loops of racism. Refrain (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 376) in music or poetry implies repeated lines and can be the state of 'holding together of heterogeneous elements' (376). Racialising refrains that combine Farah and her parents as a non-linear rhythmic, unstable and improvisational repetition with, and differences can dis/order and un/do the relational materialities differently. Here I reconfigure the concept of 'refrain' to *racialising refrain* to move beyond Walkerdine's understanding of affective history of communities (2016, 702) as layers of meaning that shape their present. Racialising refrains enact the flows, differences and repetitions of the positionalities in racialising assemblages with different intensities and tonalities every time racial harassment happens.

I argue that Farah and her parents' experiences of racial harassment extend into layers of relational materialities that do things to their material life. Farah and her parents in those 'spacetime-mattering' (Barad 2014, 170) of hearing and passing and '*not making a big deal out of it*', affectively take and carry part of the materiality of history of the past-present-future and not just the meaning that shape their present. Using affect theorisation, Farah's parents hearing, passing and not making a big deal out of it, are more than only an 'intentional quest for civil inattention in a racist or sexist environment' (Garland-Thomson 2009, 42). Passing is an affective relationship that enables body-timed-space capacity to become with 'lines of flight' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) escaping into the next moment. Farah's parents, passing the racial harassment spacetime, dis-order the racialising refrain to new possible positionalities. Here passing enables a temporal and spatial capacity to move from that moment-body-space-feeling assemblage to a possible new one.

I encounter Farah's parents, hearing, passing and not making a big deal out of it, through the concept of semblance as 'elbow room' (Massumi citing Whitehead 2011, 12), that is giving way and making room for a new entanglement to happen. Passing and not making a big deal out of it as 'creative outs', 'escapes' and 'sink-holes' (49) provides Farah's parents this elbow room. For Massumi (2011, 49) 'A semblance is a placeholder in present perception of a potential 'more' to life'. The framing of it determines the intensity or range or seriousness of that potential'. Following Renold (2017, 5) who draws upon Massumi's semblance as a methodological possibility, room for potential 'more-than' to emerge, I argue that passing and not making a big deal out of something is not a passive enactment rather an affective making of the 'more than or aesthetic 'potentiality' of a thing, or a lived relation, or experience, appear' (Renold 2017, 4). Farah's parents hearing, passing and not making a big deal out of it, therefore can be considered as a singular and affective 'more than' of that intra-action of time-space-bodies of Farah, Farah's parents and offender, the potential elbow room that passing can provide.

Moving beyond understanding of being called 'paki' as just the work of discourse or the constitution of body within the 'paki' discourses and the

question of what it means to be called 'paki', as Brah suggests, I asked Farah 'What does it do to be called 'paki'? and she explained:

I was in shock, you can't really do anything when stuff like that happens, you can't stop the lady and tell her that was wrong, you just have to deal with it, I felt really restricted like there was a wall against me. There is nothing I can do to stop that, it made me feel like being myself was a bad thing and I didn't know what to do, because there is nothing I can do to change myself, being Asian and Muslim is nothing I can change, so I felt they are like restricting me and I was being limited into this box where I was only this person and I couldn't as much as I wanted to be exploring, be a bigger person, I couldn't do that because I was being limited by that comments about my race.

'Paki' as a racist affect and intensity affected Farah. It stuck to her body as a new affective investment, it connected her body to new affective networks of relations re-modulating her capacities and dispositions. What she takes and carries with her from that encounter over the years, is an affective embodied memory that positions her body in new affective arrangements, the new feelings and knowings of her relations to self, her body, other bodies and more-than-human bodies. This understanding of 'paki' not only discursively connects her to the wider colonial discourses, as Brah analysed, but also materially affects her everyday micro-embodied and embedded experiences of her living-assemblage. The affective refrain of 'paki' in Farah and her parents 'having had worst' experiences of racial harassment significantly support accounts that racism not only still exists but also in entanglement with terrorism and counter-terrorism pre-emptive logic finds new affective capacity to agentially flow in racialising assemblages.

The shower, the materiality of a racialised 'weird question'

Another *affective channel* that can reanimate the material and discursive relationships between body, self, feelings and space is asking those racialised questions that 'must be asked' as part of the affective atmosphere that terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy logics and their racialising assemblages enabled.

In the same vein as Farah being called 'paki', Maha (S1, Y12) encounters what she calls 'weird questions' regarding her hijab:

I have never had any comments about it, other than like these weird questions, like do you have to shower with that on, someone [a classmate] genuinely asked me that, do you shower with that thing on [loud voice], no I don't [smooth voice] [laughing] then I was just like wow that's a weird question, logically you should know that I don't, but you can't blame her if she doesn't know, she wasn't trying to be rude or do anything negative, she was just curious. They are just like so confused, but other than that no one treats you differently, it is just weird questions.

I asked Maha if that person was making fun of her?

No, [not a firm no] she was just like, do you shower with that on? I was just with a smile and tiny voice wow, I said no I don't shower with that thing on.

In response to that 'weird question' Maha says she just laughed:

I laughed, I couldn't stop laughing, I almost fell off my chair...I was laughing so hard. She was like confused, she didn't understand why it was funny, because she asked a serious question. Sometimes I tell this story to my friends and they just start laughing, and they can't stop laughing even those who aren't Muslim start laughing, because of such baffling question, of course I don't shower with this on, it defeats the purpose of the shower! [laughing]

Thinking through the relational materialities of our intra-actions, I relate this incident to complex assemblages of Maha's becomings. I consider what has been recognised here in the language to some deeper layers of her becoming. I pay attention to the relational materialities and ask what these weird questions do to Maha's corporeal and incorporeal capacity to know, feel and act. Maha is a tall, white, Algerian-British girl who wears 'it' (hijab) differently to my other participants; she doesn't wrap 'it' around her head in a fashionable way like some other Muslim girls³⁰ rather just ties 'it' under her chin using a pin. She lives in a crowded family with four younger siblings on her mother's side and six siblings on her father's side. The eldest in her mother's home and

³⁰ [Wrapping Hijab without pins.](https://www.brandedgirls.com/Hijab-without-cap-tutorial-wear-Hijab-without-undercap/)
<https://www.brandedgirls.com/Hijab-without-cap-tutorial-wear-Hijab-without-undercap/>

third child in her father's home she has only one fully related brother with the rest half-siblings: *'It's just a lot of us'*. Nomadically, she moves between two houses and two different Mahas, wearing *'it'* (hijab) in one house but not in the other. She says she wears *'it'* (hijab) only because she has been told to, it is not her choice. According to Maha, she is in an ongoing battle with her mother not to wear *'it'* (hijab). It is in-between this material and discursive assemblage of her becoming that she laughs when encountering 'weird questions' about her hijab. She reacts to these 'weird questions' with 'a smile and tiny voice'. She resists her classmate's supposedly 'serious question' with a 'hard laugh'. What is in that smile, tiny voice, hard laugh, falling off her chair that Maha enacts when encountering her classmate's 'serious question'? What sort of capacity is opened up by the shower, the laugh and hijab?

Encountering the same 'weird question' about hijab and shower emerged with Hadil (Zarabadi and Ringrose 2018a) in my pilot study too. What sort of relations and intensities move between shower, Muslim body and hijab? Whilst Maha interprets this first as confusion in her classmate, later she calls it 'a baffling question' which suggests she may be aware of the polite, underlying racism. I argue that 'Do you shower with that on?' is not a question that necessarily requires an answer, being more as what Ahmed calls 'polite racism' (2017, 118), a kind of racist comments that wrapped in curious questions and are being taken as questions. As Ahmed explains polite racism 'as a new genre reflects attention from race as if race as such is an embarrassment, something that could not or should not be brought up in *polite society*'. When polite racism is working and animating lived experiences and feelings, as Ahmed suggests it does not matter whether or not Hadil and Maha asked questions but to feel questionable (2017,116). Polite racism in the context of counter-terrorism not only facilitates racialised 'must be asked' questions weaponised by 'must security' culture (as discussed in Chapter 2) but also affectively attunes populations to normalised 'thinking security' (De Lint and Virta [2004](#)). These questions, however weird or baffling, stick and remain with Maha and Hadil, even if the desire is to disconnect them (Coleman 2009, 192).

For Ahmed (2017, 118) such comments and questions as speech acts that do things could be translated as 'Your colour is not a stain on your being, we will give you the benefit of the doubt by assuming you are white underneath' or, with affective turn, can be transformed to the intensities of bodies into new relations and capacities to become and do differently. These weird and baffling questions, relating to hijab and showers, can also be brought up to underscore the lack of agency of veiled Muslim women or the oppression of their religion or culture in controlling their own body or blocking the sexuality to be able to remove hijab even in the shower. The vital materiality of clothing normatively and affectively controlling the body of woman, for Maha and Hadil who wear hijab, finds another affective entanglement with a shower; the specific private space that intertwines with nudity. The racialising assemblage of body, hijab, shower emerged in the spacetime of this weird and baffling question, not only territorialises the sexualised and racialised body of Muslim women as lacking agency and control but also with otherising Maha and Hadil, re-locating the white girl who questioned Maha and Hadil to a hierarchy of power over them.

The relational materiality of the shower and the veiled body matters, mattering with shower, as another competence of racialising assemblages turns the shower into an affective space that Maha's and Hadil's veiled bodies intertwine with in school. The shower and its vital materiality de/re-territorialise Maha and Hadil's material and affective 'body-space choreographies' (Taylor 2018a) with school and others differently; an impossible place and a non-place for veiled-body to be in. The re-territorialisation of the veiled-body during school encounters and in relation to shower, where nudity is understood as the pre-condition to cleanliness and pureness, not only suggests the impossibility of veiled Muslim bodies to become unveiled, transparent, neutral and unthreatening as a pre-emptive logic of Prevent and counter-terrorism required therefore stays threatening, but also the impossibility that certain bodies can become clean as they cannot unveil even in the shower. This latter point resonates with the discursive colonial and historical discourses around cleanliness of the superior normative-white-body and the inferior othered-non-white-bodies that needed to be taught the virtues of cleanliness in order to become clean and pure (see also Hall 1997, 214 and McClintock 1995, 32).

The shower and its vital materiality have the 'ontopower' (Massumi 2015a and b) to re-modulate the human and more-than-human actants' relations in Maha and Hadil's school practices. Through the affective channel of that baffling question, Maha and Hadil's bodies find relational materialities between school, home and bodies. Here bodies, shower and school become mutually co-constituted as 'vibrant material choreographies' (Taylor 2018a, 159); space-body-matter. Shower also becomes de/re-territorialised; as a territory for polite racism to emerge, a 'doing' space that is more than an inert container or background, as it also de/re-territorialised the racialised veiled-bodies of Maha and Hadil. Shower, in this sense, becomes an event of difference which as Manning (2013) notes does not have many connotations with space or form other than with affective field.

Turning to the spacetimemattering of Maha's shower-question, I argue that affectively modulated by the baffling question, Maha de/re-territorialises the moment, space and bodies with her smile, tiny voice, laughing that can't be stopped and almost falling off her chair. She meets affective modulation with affective modulation (Massumi 2015a, 34). She de-territorialises the affective racialised relations of space-body-matter, of polite racism, and re-territorialises it into another complex affective relation through laughter. I borrow Stengel's (2014) accounts of 'after laughter' to argue what laughter does to Maha's body and experiences of her body in relation to 'weird questions'. For Stengel, 'some do laugh at what is funny; some do not; and many laugh at what is not at all funny' (200) rather at what's difficult. Laughter both reveals and conceals. Laughter for Stengel (2014, 210) as a moment of breaking open can be either pleasurable, painful to articulate or confusing to explain. I argue that Maha's laughter here enables her body to pass when affected by 'weird questions'; she becomes an affective question mark that at moments escapes all restraints of the affective relationship of her body to these *racialising refrains*. During our encounters Maha explains how she uses laughter to respond to other uncomfortable encounters. She becomes disoriented, uprooted and in a non-place. Maha's affective corporeal enactment of laughter enables her to detach even temporarily from the classroom, her classmates, moments and her own body.

Alongside Ahmed, Stengel considers laughter as a primary function to push emotion into circulation, a 'sticking' affect to bodies, objects and space. I argue that laughter is not just the effect of intentional or unintentional humour as a breakdown in experience (2014, 201) but an affective entanglement with difficult circumstances, a potential moment and opening space to new and different things that the body can do. Maha's hard laughing to the point where she almost fell off her chair, transfers the affective intensity of the 'weird question' towards re-assembling new relations. In a sense, laughter as 'elbow room' (Massumi 2011) for an affected body enables passing moments, a corporeal and trans-corporeal transmission from 'weird questions', Maha's body and other bodies into new relations. The vital materiality of shower in Maha and Hadil's experiences not only shows how racial harassment can be facilitated by the agency of space but also how these racialised affective combinations weave into our ordinary everyday becomings.

Becoming-questionable: the affective uncomfortable familiarity

Rana, Inas and Muna have all encountered the familiar state of what Ahmed calls 'to be questionable' (2017, 116) about their hijab. They have to answer 'polite' questions like: 'How come you wear hijab?' or 'Why are you wearing hijab?' and 'weird questions' like: 'Do you shower with that on?' Ahmed suggests, 'We can be wrapped up by them. How many times have you been asked this question: where are you from?' (116). Whilst Ahmed sees these as familiar questions, I argue that an uncomfortable familiarity is the racialising refrain entangling Maha, Hadil, other human and more-than-humans to racialising assemblages. This uncomfortable familiarity makes Maha find these weird questions neither rude or negative but part of her classmates' confusion.

On another level, 'weird questions' can channel different intensities and capacities to move the counter-terrorism and Prevent policy machine. According to this new government strategy, any changes (radical or minor) can be considered as signs of radicalisation so for the Muslim girls in my study infrequently wearing hijab to school, then 'suddenly' wearing hijab, the most

obvious sign of Muslimness and religiosity, puts those girls in a vulnerable position. According to Sharia law, Muslim girls must start practising Islam and wearing hijab from puberty. However, some of my participants started wearing hijab to school from year 7 or 8 as their parents advised or their personal interest, wore it for a few years and then wore it 'on and off'. These changes that are often part of the nomadic practises of Muslim femininity can be translated by Prevent policy (see Chapters 1 and 2) and school authorities as 'sudden', risky or suspicious. I argue that these relationships between Muslim girls, their hijab and body can make their body a *questionable-body*, the veiled body that has to answer questions of the non-veiled normative body and the veiled body that has to be questioned. As Ahmed suggests: 'To be questioned, to be questionable, sometimes can feel like a residence: a question becomes something you reside in' (2017, 116). For Ahmed, residing in a question 'can feel like not being where you are at', in a sense the disorientation of the place, of your body and other bodies.

In contrast to Maha who reacts to 'weird questions' with laughter, Muna (S1, Y12) not only becomes questionable to others but questions herself:

Sometimes I'm just like 'eh, oh well they can look at me', but other times I'll be like, oh did I do anything wrong, am I not supposed to be here? I just feel like I'm not in a place I'm supposed to be. I just feel different from others I don't know how to say it. I guess I just feel different.

Here Muna questions herself, her embodied spatial dis/orientation. As Ahmed argues, then her (veiled) body becomes a question mark and 'you feel like a question mark, you feel marked by questions' (2017, 117-120). As part of a wider racialising assemblage and 'culture of display and confession' (125), the questions as affectively charged events (Ellsworth 2005) draw in the Muslim-veiled-body in a way that Maha and Muna do not simply internalise the weird questions; rather these weird questions affectively animate effects (Chen 2012) moving knowledge, feelings and perceptions, self-doubting and self-questioning. As affect, 'weird questions' channel 'all kinds of linkages and unwieldy transmissions' (Niccolini [2016a](#), 241) and with Muna self-questioning

and self-doubting, feelings of being in a place where she is not supposed to be affectively changes the intensities of her body and the directions of those affective forces to herself, in a sense that 'I am' becomes 'am I?' (Ahmed 2017, 131). Maha and Muna's femininity emerge as the subjects of the (affective) events of racial harassment as 'superject' that is 'the outcome of the ingathering force of the event (Whitehead 1978, 23-26). They become superjects because they are Maha and Muna emerging anew from this event and entangling with wider racialising assemblages, terrorism, counter-terrorism and Jihadi brides.

ISIS Joke, 'S' word and what sticks

In this section, taking affective turn, I consider jokes as another *affective channel* for the new racialising assemblage of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy, that can affectively and materially reconfigure the relationships between my participants' senses of self, body, others and more-than-human others.

Inas (S1, Y12) is the oldest of 3 female siblings, living in the same house at Elephant & Castle where she was born and is 40 minutes by bus to school. She says she is constantly asked questions about her hijab in school, sometimes simply, 'How come you have to wear it?' She says the way people look at her on the outside means that they think she is a terrorist. She speaks very quietly and most of the time gives short yes or no answers. In our individual face-to-face interview I asked about Prevent policy in school and if she noticed any changes or felt she was being monitored. She said she didn't know anything about Prevent but then continued with this experience:

Uhm, in year 9 I had a little fall-out with some girl, but she said she was joking but then it got a bit serious...she was joking but she wrote a letter to me, an apology letter, said sorry a lot, she called me ISIS. So, yeah it was quite a big thing, she was just joking, she was like, I can't remember how it happened...she was just like ISIS, something about ISIS. Then I got angry at her and my Jamaican friend attacked her like physically, she [the Jamaican friend] wasn't my best friend, she was just like a friend but she got angry coz she said something to her, then she started attacking her about

something else and she just got more angry and she just grabbed her.

School intervened:

They were really angry and about to exclude her. She wrote a letter to me, she said sorry, but the school did treat her [ISIS-caller] really as a big deal.

The vital affective materiality of ISIS joke, pulls in school staff too. Putting ISIS joke events into the context of school's 'post-threat' atmosphere loaded by Prevent policy and safeguarding discourses and monitoring, we can understand how and why this joke not only affected Inas, made her 'angry' and then 'paranoid' about others' perception of her as terrorist, but also affected school authorities. ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) refers to an armed violent group who succeed to annex large geographical areas inside Iraq and Syria, exercising a colossal level of violence against its enemies, and against unarmed, innocent people (Chulov 2019). ISIS recruits fighters from all over the world, making it an international organisation (Al-Ibrahim 2015). ISIS sticks on Inas's body, becoming the affective partner of her subjectivity-becoming assemblage and school experiences. School's reaction to this event is part of the relational materiality of the enforcement of Prevent policy in schools since July 2015 and Ofsted³¹ evaluations of how well schools have implemented this duty³². Any ISIS-related incidents in school could cost fewer 'tick-box' and lower qualification reports.

The affective contagion of ISIS joke hovers intensively around school, as Inas says: '*The whole thing went around, and everyone knew about it and people asked me what she said.*' At the beginning Inas described this as a joke but later when I asked her how she felt, instead of answering my question, she

³¹ Ofsted is the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills in the UK. As a non-ministerial department, they inspect and regulate services providing education and skills for learners of all ages: <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofsted>.

³² How well are further education and skills providers implementing the 'Prevent' duty? https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/543937/How_well_are_further_education_and_skills_providers_implementing_the_Prevent_duty.pdf. Accessed on 13 August 2020.

replied: *'Uhh, I don't know, she thought it was a joke or something, but obviously I didn't take it as a joke.'*

Being called ISIS can be understood in conjunction with a wider network of connections in and out of school; terrorism, threat, Prevent policy. I do not consider ISIS (*joke*) primarily as an intra-personal actant to obscure the role of school, but rather the whole ISIS *joke* incident as part of other wider affective charges and discursive and disciplinary discourses generated in the school and between various actants. It is a heavy, complex and risky materiality that although it can be discursively used in relation to Muslim bodies more than other bodies, it can still affectively bring new and different material relations to self and others. I write *joke* in italics to emphasise the racist affect that lies beneath the normalised perception of such an act as a joke.

The relational materialities that being called ISIS brings is different from being called 'slut', 'paki' etc; it counters the veiled-body with threat, terrorism, fear territories, the veiled-body as threatening and risky. Being called ISIS affects the relations and intensities between Inas, her classroom, students and teachers. Being called ISIS as a *joke* that is intensely molarised by the terrorism/counter-terrorism machine is harder to resist, compared to other jokes and labels such as slut, fatty, paki, etc. However, Inas's Jamaican friend affected with this *joke* in defending Inas de/re-territorialises the heavy school surveillance relations and space into activism, resistance and girl-power (Ringrose and Renold 2012; Retallack et al. 2016) in a unique affective way, making it a 'big thing', more affective, more bodily, involving anger, attacking and grabbing as Inas described.

When I asked Inas: 'Do you know why she called you ISIS?' she replied: *'I don't know, she's my friend as well. Well she's not my...she's not like a close friend she's just a friend.'*

Drawing on Judith Butler, being called ISIS implies the enfleshed history of injurious name/speech:

One need only consider the way in which the history of having been called an injurious name is embodied, how the words enter the limbs, craft the gesture, bend the spine ... slurs accumulate over time ... taking on the semblance of the natural ... in such bodily productions resides the sedimented history of the performative.

(Butler 1997, 159)

I read Butler's depiction of en fleshed sedimented history, and how the injurious name enters the limbs through affective and material turns. With Butler, I think of being called ISIS as an embodied experience of injurious name, that matters. For Butler 'implicit censorship' in unspoken ways rules out 'what will remain unspeakable. In such cases, no explicit regulation is needed in which to articulate this constraint' (1997, 130). I want to extend Butler's line of thought, to think of injurious names and speeches not only as embodied experiences that craft, bend and accumulate the form of the body producing its sedimented history of the performative, but also as an affective entanglement that can diminish or enhance the capacity of body to act. A body that is affectively moved, moves through an affective intelligence across time and space. ISIS *joke* enters the limbs affecting human and more-than-human bodies, instead of containing within individual bodies, transmit between bodies (Brennan 2004) and is thus acknowledged as joke than a racial harassment by Inas at first. ISIS gives way to different experiences; ISIS then becomes ISIS-ness; 'an affective quality of experience' (Massumi 2011) and a component of a relational field that de/re-territorialises the habitual tendencies of Inas and others to create different ways of schooling and being in the world. With Ahmed (2006b) in *Queer Phenomenology*, I think of ISIS injurious joke as part of the 'conditions of arrival' and affective accumulation of orientation, that contribute in constituting the class, gender, sexuality, ability, and racial politics of classroom encounters and the literacies that take shape there (Snaza 2020).

The racialising refrains of a normalised shock

What is the correlation between Inas being Muslim, wearing hijab and being called ISIS? If Inas was not Muslim, brown and Asian would she still be called ISIS? There are various affective aspects and points of stickiness involved.

One affective aspect that glowed for me was the fact that the girl who called Inas ISIS was Muslim herself but does not wear hijab. This could suggest how Muslim femininity emerges in its relationship with veiling/not veiling and particular affective power relations inside and outside their community. As I argued in the previous section, hijab as an affective material investment can not only extend or limit the capacities of bodies to act but also divides Muslims into veiled threatening Muslims (ISIS-look-alike and being called ISIS) and good non-veiled Muslims through the state's Prevent policy lens. As a pressure point and *affective channel* here hijab agentially re-arranges its relationship to other Muslims and non-Muslims and their space.

ISIS *joke* ruptures the boundaries of race, ethnicity and religion even beyond the interceptional discursive power relations to a rhizomatic complex material relationality that virally folds and extends into new networks of relations, Inas's parents, the whole school, Inas's feelings and knowings of herself and body. It not only discursively inscribes on her body or constitutes her new identity but also enables an affective taking and carrying that increases or diminishes her body's intensities, capacities and potentialities in various ways and in various relations. Inas's affective and material entanglement with ISIS does not happen with her ideologically having any connection to or interest in their (ISIS's) views but through her classmate's *joke*. As a new affect-laden imprecation this ISIS joke created a buzz in the classroom (Niccolini [2016b](#)) then moved through Inas to her friends, teachers and Inas's parents when she told them later on, entangling them in a new and different series of relations, feelings and thinkings. ISIS *joke* autonomously cut across school space, bodies and time and not only agentially elicited new and different 'boundary-drawing practices' (Barad 2007, 140) but was carried by Inas into this interview a few years later, to my body and my PhD as well.

For Spinoza, emotions (affectus) are:

The modifications of the body by which the power of action of the body is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time the idea of these modifications.

(*Ethics*. III, def.3)

Accordingly, *ISIS joke* modifies and 'modulates' (Massumi 2015) Inas's body and other bodies, space and time each within their singular disposition of intensity. The emergence of 'shock' and 'confusion' for Inas and Farah, after bouts of racial harassment did not reduce the intensity and shock of the next racial harassment encounter. Inas was shocked because that's 'never happened before'. When I ask whether Farah needs to do something to avoid these encounters or to react differently the next time, her 'shock' glows:

Yeah I think every time it happened you just think oh next time I have to confront that person, tell the person this is wrong but you never do it because you are so shocked at the time it happens, it's not a shock like wow I can't believe this happened to me, it's a shock that so normalised now that if this happened to you it's not a big thing anymore.

As Farah says, even though she thinks to confront the harasser after each racial harassment encounter, but she is always so shocked when it happens. With Massumi (2002, 35-36) 'shock' as 'the escape of affect' and 'the sudden interruption of functions of connection' cannot be perceived; alongside the perceptions of its 'capture' as a 'side-perception' and 'background perception' it accompanies every event, feeling, action and movement. For Inas and Farah, the shock implies an embodied encounter with affect, *ISIS joke* that suddenly interrupts the material, emotional, spatial and temporal arrangements, which then as a 'side-perception' and 'background perception' travel with them and others.

Farah's reference to simultaneous, normalised and shocking experiences of racial harassment not only suggests schizoid relational materialities and schizoid anti-linear becomings (Renold and Ringrose 2011) between bodies-space-time-feelings but also a *racialising refrain*, the expected and normalised re-emergence of racial harassment as attachment to the background racialising affective assemblages but at the same time shocking as the new encounter happens with different intensity, actant and co-composition. For Deleuze and Guattari (1987) refrain is repeatable, portable and enables the holding together of many heterogeneous elements. As refrains, paki, *ISIS* and

weird questions move and thus hold territories. In the context of my study, these territories are racialising assemblages of terrorism/counter-terrorism, Prevent policy and security thinking, which 'draw us in and as having catalytic function enables something new' (Jackson 2016, 183); these racialising refrains return, each time with different capacities and relationalities, as Farah calls it, a normalised shock. In a sense these racialised encounters never become normalised as Inas and Farah get used to them and therefore they are not as affective, effective or hurting; instead, every time they happen, they take, give, carry, move and slide differently and they hurt differently.

Even though Inas suggests she isn't scared that this incident might happen again in school, her next comment implies how physically and mentally she has experienced her body-self through the ISIS *joke* that 'stays', 'sticks', 'travels' (Ahmed 2004; Coleman 2009; Kofoed and Ringrose 2012; Niccolini [2016b](#)) and is being carried by Inas's body and unconscious:

Uhhmm, I'm not gonna lie, sometimes I feel a bit paranoid, uhhh especially after that incident that people just look at you and you think 'oh no they think I'm a terrorist'.

Inas's affective encounter and micro-materialist feelings of being called ISIS made her 'feel paranoid'. As a new becoming, the *joke* enables different territorial connections that bring about complex material effects for Inas, displacing conventional boundaries and creating new feelings and hesitations in her and others, silencing, paranoia, stigmatising, exclusion, anxiety and distrust. Nathan Snaza describes these feelings as educational situations that 'unstuck us from our present ways of thinking and being, leading us to become lost (Snaza 2013). For him, these feelings regardless of becoming/not becoming conscious to Inas, students and teachers or take/do not take on the form of an event, constitute part of the situation of the classroom and become affects circulating among bodies as students see, smell, hear, and feel each other (Snaza 2020,108). Being called ISIS affectively relates Inas to the *threat-assemblage* in school and wider society. ISIS *joke* as an agential factor not only enables an affective 'alliance' (Spinoza, cited in Thrift [2004](#), 62) between Inas and ISIS in school and amongst schoolmates but also her feelings about

herself and others. Depending upon the forms of composition, singular intensities and capacities of those engaged and the energy formations from this intra-action, every component, Inas and others, experiences this affective alliance uniquely and differently.

Ahmed's (2014, 11) question of 'what sticks?' and Coleman's analysis of 'things that stay' (2009, 166) show how ISIS *joke* moves, sticks and slides with Inas and becomes part of the potentialities of feeling, knowing and understanding of both her and others' bodies. Affectively jokes and comments can both stick and unstick things, perceptions and feelings in different and new directions. Enduring moments of 'paki', 'ISIS' and 'weird questions' stay not as a cause of intensity but *because* of their intensity (Coleman 2009, 171). In a sense Farah, Inas and Maha singularly experience their bodies through these '*jokes*', comments, weird questions and racist affects that stay or stick. Through another attempt to connect Inas and ISIS, ISIS becomes an *affective channel* that in turn connects outside to inside school. ISIS as a re-assembled label, affectivity slides from media and public imaginaries and sticks only to Muslim-veiled-bodies and not others, turning Muslims into a new figure of terror/ threat/risk/hate.

ISIS *joke* within the racial harassment event that Inas encountered, affectively engages different actants to those known and normalised white/non-white, Muslim/non-Muslim, us/them, orient/occident, that are veiled-Muslim/non-white-non-Muslim, veiled-Muslim/non-veiled Muslim and veiled-Muslim/non-Muslim. This is not just the ISIS *joke* that re-assembles the relations of humans and more-than-humans in/beyond the classroom but also the way in which the materiality of the context, school's disciplinary forces and affective affordances of all agential actors in this event re-modify the meaning and mattering of the word 'ISIS'. ISIS is no longer a word used only in political spheres but an entry point for some to engage in their everyday ordinary lived practices and encounters. It acquires a new life or a past that lives. ISIS, paki and weird questions 'as intense images of a body that endure' (Coleman 2009, 167) stick, being carried and transported to the present. In a sense, racial harassment experiences as intense experiences stay with and through their

duration. As the duration has 'the capacity to go... beyond all our imagination' and 'is not ours' (Bergson cited in Coleman (2009) 2002, 206-207), it is not only Inas who is affected by the ISIS *joke* but the whole school/classroom, other bodies, teachers, students, and it's not just in the past but in the present too. What is mapped here is an episode of what I call *post-threat pedagogies* and *post-terrorist times* (Zarabadi 2020), affective ways of experiencing, knowing, learning and teaching in relation to time and space that are charged with threat proliferated by counter-terrorism racialising assemblages. Threat affectively conditions the way that pedagogy works, in school spaces and in human and more-than-human relations. For scholars who think of affect as a form of pedagogy (Hickey-Moody 2013; Seigworth 2020; Albrecht-Crane and Slack 2007; Niccolini 2016a and b; Probyn 2004c; Zembylas 2007), affective pedagogies also emerge when human and nonhuman bodies meet, which is sometimes outside teachers' conscious intentions with learning (Dernikos et al. 2020, 15).

Fateena's (S2, Y12) story resonates with Inas's and Farah's showing how the participants of my study sometime overturn and resist the securitised and racialised affective atmosphere of school through another affective entanglement. She recalls:

We don't take Syria and stuff seriously, obviously we know it's just silly, so as a joke, we say, "Oh I'm going to Syria" and know it's a joke 100% and like we're obviously not going to go to Syria, we're only saying that because everyone thinks we will go to Syria.

This happened around the same time as the departure of the Jihadi brides who went to the school next to School 2. Fateena says '*the "S" word*' (which stood for Syria) became unofficially banned and students knew that they '*can't say it*', but countering the molarised securitised atmospheres of schools Fateena and her friends used to make 'S' word jokes. As a point of molecular aggressions, 'S' word jokes counter-actualise the gendered, racialised and affective molar thinking about Muslim women, their potentialities to radicalisation and flight to Syria since the 2015 'Jihadi bride' incident. To trouble the racialising assemblages and images of threatening and risky veiled Muslim women,

Fateena and her friends met affective modulation with affective modulation (Massumi 2015a, 34) through de-territorialising the complex affective connections with Syria and re-territorialise it as *Joke* between themselves. De/re-territorialising the racialised gendered post-threat atmosphere of school environments and practices through 'S' word jokes resonates with Maha's laughing till she almost fell off her chair.

Continuation

In this chapter, the participants of my study and I mapped the emergence of racial harassment in their ordinary everyday lives. Most of these schoolgirls had experienced racial harassment, direct or indirect, often involving family. I argued that racial harassment matters for these Muslim schoolgirls in my study; these experiences happened at various times, in various places, through different *affective channels* and comprised racist jokes, weird comments, blunt staring and baffling questions which agentially changed their relations to their own bodies, other bodies, space and time. My participants' subjectivity-becoming emerged in between the relational materialities that jokes, weird questions and being called paki and ISIS affectively channel. I argued that the emergence of racial harassment experiences in their stories mostly during our face-to-face interviews in school, suggest the affective capacity of schools and its atmosphere to enable entanglements with racialising assemblages and racist affects to happen, as if the relational materiality is already there, intertwined with racial harassments.

I argued that these racial harassment encounters as ontopower (Massumi 2017) generate different kinds of power, agency and control rather than discursive disciplining; they affectively modulate the bodily intensities, enhance or diminish their capacity to act, feel, think and desire. I argued that the affective atmosphere of Prevent policy and counter-terrorism re-modulating and re-tuning educational environments de/re-territorialise the racialising enactments often to be perceived not as racial harassment but simply as joke/weird/baffling questions. Affect and affective approaches helped me to explore the vital relational materialities between racial harassment

experiences, bodies, veil, space and time. Although these agential combinations sometimes stay beneath the normalised, unknown and vague, still they can affectively do things to human and more-than-human relations. Like the ocean's ebb and flow, these racialised affective entanglements suggest 'the everyday movements in which outside influences enter bodies, infuse and confuse their organisation, and then exit, themselves having been transformed into something new' (Bennett 2020b). Racism and racial harassment flow through these affective modulations and atmospheres, refrain-ing the racialising assemblages of colonial past and connecting the bodies of these Muslim schoolgirls to those assemblages.

Chapter 5: Mattering with Shame, fear and ‘fucking feelings’

Introduction

A looking becomes a touching, a feeling becomes a hearing. But not on the skin of the body. Across strata, both concrete and abstract, that constitute an assemblage. This assemblage is a sensing body in movement, a body-world that is always tending, attending to the world.

(Manning 2013, 2)

In this chapter, I map the relational materialities between my participants’ experiences of shame and fear and their bodies, veil, space and time. In considering the vital materiality of shame, fear and feelings, I explore how these human and more-than-human affective and material entanglements, matter. I take affective turn to analyse how shame, fear and feelings become agential factors in the subjectivity-becomings of the Muslim schoolgirls in my study.

I consider shame, fear and feelings as affective ‘events’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) of movements, intensities, bodies and capacities that qualify the intensive relations of body with others. The concepts of ‘political affect’ (Protevi 2009) and ‘public feeling’ (Cvetkovich 2012) enable me to explore the vital materiality of feeling shame and fear as an agential factor in my participants’ knowings/thinkings/feelings. Considering shame and fear in my participants’ experiences and stories as political affects, helps me to see not only the historical, social and material embeddedness of some affective perceptions but also to understand how the world can happen through feelings of what one can and cannot do in certain situations (Protevi 2009, 48). For Cvetkovich (2012, 143), depression as a ‘public feelings project’ links structural legacies of colonialism, slavery and racism. I explore how the notion of public feelings project helps me to make the relational materialities between feelings of shame, fear and wider political structures; the affective relationships between how my participants feel shame and fear and how society is primed in an atmosphere of fear, control, terrorism/counter-terrorism. I explore how feeling

shame and fear in orchestration with affective 'atmospheric attunement' (Christiansen [2018](#), 44) of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy 'racializing assemblages' (Weheliye 2014) re-modulate the body-space-time experiences of my participants. Drawing on Kanai (2019) I think through shame and fear as lived feelings that are not simply experienced as a set of life regulations, but as a set of feeling rules. The phrase 'feelings matter', that I use here and throughout this study, can be also explained by Berlant's notion of feeling politics when 'people believe that they know what they feel when they feel it, can locate its origin, measure its effects contestation' (2001,111). Building on this, I explore how my participants feel the politicised feelings of shame and fear.

In the first two sections I explore how my participants enter into shame and fear events, what I term 'affective entry' into events. I map how shame and fear raised by affective entanglements with various events, racial harassment encounters, comments, jokes or media news on terrorist attacks, transform into fear, concerns and worries in my participants' everyday lives. In the final section, I explore how racialised affective relationships qualify feelings that do things to my participants' thinking, knowing and acting.

The data analysed in this chapter emerged mainly from our face-to-face interviews. They were drawn from my participants' stories showing the importance and vital materiality of voice and narrative as one component of my methodological assemblage, whilst moving beyond voice/human/narratives as a central element in walking intra-views and photo-diary encounters.

Shame-events, affective modulations and racialising assemblages

Reema (S2, Y12) is the oldest child in a family of five. She lived and was educated in Luton but when they moved to Bethnal Green, and Shalwar Kamiz and headscarf became her school uniform, her parents asked her to use the opportunity to start wearing hijab. She wore it for just three weeks. The day

after the London Bridge terrorist attack in June 2017³³, Reema describes how that terrorist event affectively intensified her relation to her body, school, teacher and others:

The next day we had school and I came in, I don't know if it was me or actually everything was much more silent and then me and one of my friends, we are both Muslims, we didn't want to enter the classroom, even though the teacher was already in, the teacher is British and not Muslim, we didn't know how to go in. When we eventually went in and sat down, we just didn't talk for a bit and then I told my friend "Oh my God, I feel really guilty right now," I don't know why I said it, I just really felt guilty even though I know I didn't do anything wrong or people that I know didn't do anything wrong, but I just felt guilty, I'll never forget that first morning because I actually felt like it was my fault or something but I didn't have anything to do with it.

Affected by both the terrorist attack and media live coverage³⁴, Reema experienced her body and capacities of her body differently. The images of that affective event stayed with her, carried into class as more than an ensemble of mental images, rather 'a set of visceral alignments over which the intellect has no jurisdiction' (Mahood cited in Probyn [2004a](#), 343). Her body became immobile, refusing to adapt, when *she didn't want to enter the classroom*. She tells her friend that she feels guilty. The day after the London Bridge terrorist attack, Reema entered into shame, becoming more silent and feeling guilty for something she hadn't done. Here, shame has agency to re-configure the possibilities and capacities of her body to act (Probyn [2004a](#)). Shame not only 'makes ourselves intimate to ourselves' (Probyn [2004a](#), 331) but also enables re/de/territorialisation of the proximity of public and private, of the extraordinary and every day, to ourselves and to others. Shame diminished Reema's bodily capacity to move, talk, enter the classroom. Ahmed (2014, 105) considers differences between shame and guilt, where guilt implies action

³³ On Saturday 3 June 2017, three attackers ploughed a van into pedestrians on London Bridge before launching a knife attack in nearby Borough Market. Eight people were killed and many more injured. The men were shot dead by police, who arrived at the scene of the attack within eight minutes.

³⁴ Brian Massumi explains this media 'automatic image loop' as a pattern of news repetition that affectively attenuates public understanding from one of complexity to simplicity and visual and sound 'bytes' (2015, 32).

whereas shame as more than one's action fills up the self, becoming part of the self-recognition process:

When we recognise ourselves as shamed, that self-identification involves a different relationship of self to self and self to others from the recognition of our-selves as guilty...*the badness of an action is transferred to me...*I feel myself to be bad and to have been 'found' or 'found out' as bad by others.

Similarly, Probyn considers shame as having many more shades of difference than guilt, explaining, 'shame is deeply related not only to how others think about us but also to how we think about ourselves. Guilt is triggered in response to specific acts and can be smoothed away by an act of reparation. Shame, however, demands "a global [re]evaluation of the self" (Probyn 2005, 45). She argues that 'shame can revisit you long after the particular moment of shaming has passed' (46). Reema's feeling of guilt in the moment she enters the classroom resonates with Probyn's understanding of guilt as on/off feelings, that within a system of reparation it prompts recompense and then is done (46). Reema's reaction and bodily performance in refusing to enter the classroom at first and then sitting and staying silent for a while, according to Lewis et al (2008, 748) does what an ashamed-body does rather than a guilty-body: 'In shame we see the body hunched over itself in an attempt to hide and disappear, in guilt we see individuals moving in space as if trying to repair their action'. Reema says she felt guilty, but shame stays with her and recurs differently in our other encounters.

As my intention is to explore relational materialities in my participants' experiences through affective frame, I move away from phenomenological accounts that see sharp differences between shame and guilt as in Ahmed and Probyn. Instead, I consider them as relational, components of the wider 'affective economies' (Ahmed 2004), of emotions that do not positively reside in a subject or figure but still work to bind subjects together (119). In this sense instead of considering guilt and shame as two oppositional emotions emerging in that particular experience of Reema, I consider guilt as an extension of 'shame and its many faces' (Zournazi, 2006). Drawing upon Benedict

Anderson's concept of the imagined community, Breen-Smyth (2014) uses the term 'suspect community' to suggest how enhanced levels of public fear and the discourse of threat not only prepare the minds of the public to understand this virtual "suspect community" as dangerous but also to make it "understandable" to suspect Muslims and towards the attitude that to be Muslim is to be guilty (229). I consider Reema's guilty feelings alongside what Salem et al (2019,247) call the burden of collective guilt levelled against the Muslim community worldwide based on the actions of 19 terrorists during attacks on New York, Philadelphia, and Washington on September 11, 2001.

Taking affective turn, I extend Ahmed's (2014) and Probyn's (2004a) analysis of shame to explore the relational materialities that emerge in Reema's experience, what shame does to her body and how it agentially re-modulates Reema's relations in the wider context of pre-emptive logics of counter-terrorism and Prevent policy. Ahmed uses the context of Australian politics in a government statement, to argue how 'individual guilt' is replaced by 'national shame', detaching the recognition of wrongdoing from individuals, 'who had no part in what was done' to conceal how this past injustice lives in the present (2014, 102). Reading Reema's experience, it is 'national security' for some (in relation to generalising all Muslims as threatening) that materialises as 'individual guilt' of others, all Muslims 'who had no part in what was done', to pre-emptively act on the present and future.

I argue that working with shame as affective and material entanglements allows the exploration of movement of shame in and out of bodies, places, time and objects. Affect shortens the distance, as if it cuts or saturates the in-between space with intensity and thickness and, as it flows, makes reachability happen quicker and more easily; random terrorists or a random terrorist event crosscut the borders of spaces and bodies, de/re-territorialising Reema's relations with her body, other bodies, school and here in our research encounter. Affect lives.

I move beyond Ahmed's question of how one can claim one's identity through shame (Ahmed 2014, 101) to argue that this shame does not determine

Reema's identity but affects the capacity of her body to think/feel/act. In the context of my study, working as an affective component of pre-emptive logic of threat of terrorism/counter-terrorism, it re-modulates the relational materialities of Reema's body. In this sense, shame as an agential actant not only enables the flowing of racialising assemblages of terrorism/counter-terrorism but also pulls Reema into these 'racialising assemblages'. For Weheliye, 'racialising assemblages' are certain arrangements that enable the 'political, economic, social and cultural disciplining of homo sapiens into assemblages of the human, not-quite-human, and non-human' (2014, 43). Shame becomes the affective partner of the threat in the present and future. In my study, shame then is not just 'crucial to the process of reconciliation or the healing of past wounds' (Ahmed 2014, 101) but an agential actant in pre-emptive thinkings/doings/feelings before future wounds to come. Reema enters into shame not just because of the *past* colonial and racial history to heal past wounds as Ahmed suggests, but also because of the *future* threat that she, being Muslim, threatens the security of others. Shame affectively animates Reema's body to the past-present-future-school-media-terrorism-counter/terrorism.

In declaring that '*I actually felt like it was my fault or something but I didn't have anything to do with it*, Reema is ashamed. Without doing anything, the feeling of badness transferred to Reema (Ahmed 2014, 106) turning her into the object and subject of the feeling. Ahmed suggests that shame requiring an identification with the other, here those involved in London Bridge terrorist attack, as witness, not only returns the subject to itself but also makes her see herself as *if* she was this other (106). I read Ahmed's analysis above through affect to argue that this is what affect does: re/de-territorialising the relations and capacities of bodies to act/think/feel. Reema not only feels bad but sees herself as a bad person, but this affective tangling sticking and carrying with her either diminishes or enhances her body's capacity to act. She couldn't move, talk or enter the classroom the day after the terrorist attack and she carried this with her and into our research encounter.

Veil-shaming, an affective partner of counter-terrorism

Muna (S1, Y12) is the oldest of 5 siblings. She wears hijab, says she is proud of her religion and abaya but has encountered 'weird looking and staring' in the street:

I was with 4/5 other women in Ramadan going to the mosque to pray and there were police cars just going everywhere, everything was blocked and because we were wearing all abaya, everyone was just staring at us. People stare or look weirdly; we were like 'what did we do? Did we do anything wrong?'. And it just felt like we were victims of something. Sometimes I do feel people do stare at me and they probably judge me or something.

As school uniform was not essential for sixth formers in School 1, Muna started wearing abaya then. She describes how she has encountered more weird looking and staring since she started wearing abaya:

Before it was like I'm wearing the same things as you, as everybody else, so nobody really would look at me in a way, but when I have the abaya on, I think more people look and especially when I'm getting on the bus. Then I think, what do they think, are they thinking bad of me? That's what always comes in my head 'are they thinking bad of me? and sometimes I'm just like 'eh, oh well they can look at me' but other times I'll be like 'oh did I do anything wrong, am I not supposed to be here? And I think I'm not in a place that I'm supposed to be, I just feel different from others...

To consider Muna's experience, how does this staring affect her relationship to her body and other human and more-than-human bodies? The affective assemblage of Muna-abaya-staring creates affective entanglements with gendered racialising assemblages that terrorism and counter-terrorism's affective atmosphere enabled in the 'public feeling' (Cvetkovich 2012). The affective experience of 'bewilderments' (Snaza 2019), self-questioning and doubting which Muna thinks is public opinion of her-veiled-body being bad, wrong or not-in-place produces anguish as a necessary mode of disorientation and getting lost, moving Muna to thoughtfulness, thinking and dreaming (80-81).

Some scholars use bewilderment as an affective disorientation and point of departure towards anti-settlements in normalising socio-political structures; for instance becoming 'wild' (Halberstam 2013) in refusing to be oriented toward Man and its politics (8) or 'fugitive' (Harney and Moten 2013) resisting 'the perfection of democracy under any smooth operation of political governance' (56-57). Muna's encounter with these questions of 'do I? do they?' as Snaza (2019, 68) writes is 'most immediately a question of affect'. Muna is bewildered, she *always* questions, '*Are they thinking bad of me?*' But then in saying, '*Eh, oh well they can look at me...*', she de-territorialises the bad, wrong thinking-feelings and re-territorialises it to, '*Eh, oh well...*'

She is pulled into the affective atmosphere of public feeling. Cvetkovich (2012, 1) suggests, 'our moods are our ideas', and Muna questions herself because she has hooked into the complex, relational and affective materiality of staring. Building on staring as a tool of domination, control, racism and sexism that fixes the bearer of the staring in gender, race, disability, class or sexuality systems (Garland-Thomson 2009; Mulvey 1999), I take affective turn to argue that Muna does not just encounter colonial, racialised and sexualised male/non-Muslim gaze seeking to fix her into oppressed-passive-othered-identity, but that staring as an affective channel enables *racialising refrain* to emerge, de/re-territorialising her into new relations with her body, abaya and others: a shame-event. In this context, as an agential component of terrorism/counter-terrorism 'affective assemblages' (Ringrose and Coleman 2013) staring provides particular 'conditions of emergence or... arrival' (Ahmed 2006a, 549) of Muna-body-abaya in that timed-space. The affective lively intensities of body-abaya-staring stays and endures as Muna unfolds her experiences, memories, thoughts, feelings and decisions into another affective entanglement: shame.

Depending on the specific 'spacetimematterings' (Barad 2007) that Muna's veiled-body is orientated towards, shame emerges in 'different hues of intensity' (Tomkins in Sedgwick and Frank 1995, 134). Shame as a flashing light indicates the onset of the breakdown of humanity (Probyn 2005, 14) and affectively and materially re-assembles the connections and experiences

differently every time that Muna's veiled-body, other human and more-than-human bodies intra-act. In that affective material moment of 'weird looking and staring', Muna felt herself questionable before others, the de-territorialisation of the relationship between her-self-abaya-body-otherbodies-space and re-territorialisation of those with terrorism: '*That's what always comes in my head, are they thinking bad of me? Do we do anything wrong? I feel I'm not in a place I'm supposed to be.*' Muna says she feels the same, '*if I go into a packed bus and if there's nobody else wearing the same thing as me, that's how it feels, you think what do we do? Do we do anything wrong?*' Muna's sense of her veiled-body and space emerges as 'the out-of-place shame' (Probyn 2005, 39) that is the 'body's sense of being out of place and in the desire to fit in and an interest in being part of a place'.

Inas's entry to shame-event happens in encountering the ISIS *joke*, the shame of being called ISIS by her Muslim non-veiled friend and how everyone in school knew about it. Inas re-materialises the shame-event of that day in our interview; as a flesh and flash of memory carried by shame, we, Inas-ISIS-joke-event-me crosscut the time and space and become de/re-territorialised into Inas's classroom, the physical fights, fists, shouts, bodies, sweat, the atmosphere burned hot with shame and Inas: '*I was angry, I walked out of the class*'. For Muna and Inas, who wear hijab, their experiences of shame are also enabled by another affective component and its vital materiality: the hijab. They are pulled into the affective racialising assemblages of veil-shame-terrorism. Shame as an affect involves movement, the intensity of 'relay and return' (Haraway 2016) between terrorism, nation, Muslim veiled/non-veiled body and other bodies and space; the sliding of the terrorism and Muslim-related racialising 'automatic media image loops' (Massim 2015a) and its sliding and sticking to Reema's, Inas's and Muna's bodies in/out of school. I draw on Bronwyn Davies (2014) to think about Inas's anger as an overwhelming bodily intensity that surges up through her own body (738). Instead of considering self as a separate material subject thinking or experiencing intensities, Davies, inspired by Deleuze, thinks of self as a matter of intra-acting intensities that run through one. Anger in this sense for Inas emerges through intra-action with other intensities, the ISIS *joke*, her Muslim

friend harasser, her veiled-body, her non-Muslim Jamaican friend and school space. Turning to shame of one's Muslim threatening veiled/non-veiled body, for Ahmed as collective politics, is 'a form of nation building' which makes some people 'feel bad for the nation to feel better' (Ahmed 2014, 102).

As such shame-events re-modulate my participants' capacity to act, they transmit their intensities to another intensive assemblage; for Reema and Farah the feeling of necessity to prove themselves 'better', 'nicer' and to be 'above' and for Muna, the self-doubt and feelings of being question-able, someone who 'must' be questioned. Shame-event ruptures the way Muna thinks of how others think of her and the way she thinks of herself. To avoid shame, subjects must enter the 'contract' of the social bond seeking to approximate a social ideal, as Ahmed (2014, 107) suggests. In this sense shame works as a deterrent and those who experience it pay for the affective cost of disrupting the normative being. Farah, Reema and Muna describe how they feel shame, doubt their bodies and their relations to other bodies and spaces and feel the need to prove themselves, implying a failure to approximate 'an ideal' given to them. To keep the 'Model minority' (Bradbury 2013) status they need to aim for identity models that 'serve the interests of powerholders' (Gilborn 2008, 146), a type of ideal Muslim subjectivity re-made post-9/11 by Prevent policy as non-threatening and non-debating (Puar and Rai 2004), or through an unproblematic and monolithic ground of agreed British values in Fundamental British Values (O'Donnell 2016a), or by western post-feminist neoliberal empowered and hardworking Muslim femininity discourses (Mirza and Meeto 2018).

As a political, affective force and intensity, shame then becomes a form of identification, a failed-shamed-other, a failure to 'live up to' those others, a failure that must be witnessed, questioned, doubted, prevented and looked at. Shame as 'deterrent' can pull the subject into a contract with a social bond (107). In my study, shame can affectively present my participants within state political and colonial ideals of 'assimilation', 'integration' and 'the counter-terrorism pre-emptive logics' (Zarabadi and Ringrose 2018b). Terrorist attacks, their bodies, being Muslim, the veil, their presence in public as vital

materialities, combine them with shame-event and then they feel the need and, more precisely, the imperative³⁵ to prove themselves as 'nicer', 'better', 'above' (Reema and Farah), to answer questions, be mocked and racially harassed. These are not simply the actions and decisions of some individuals, but weaponised affective modulations of racialising assemblages that happen through the 'affective atmospheres' (Anderson 2009) of counter-terrorism and Prevent policy.

As with Farah, Reema and Muna, shame is felt differently through different affective channels, different intensified bodies and spaces. Reema feels guilty, Muna doubts and questions, '*Do we do anything wrong?*' and Farah tries to prove she's a better person. However, the feeling of shame, for Reema, Muna and Farah, does not necessarily mean any wrongdoing or violation of rules, rather an imperative to avoid wrongdoing and its consequences. These shame-events as enduring moments and experiences stay with Reema and others, hovering around their bodies and space, becoming *of/off* their body and intensifying relations in class and out. For my participants shame is the 'affective cost' (Ahmed 2014, 107) of being veiled Muslim women who don't follow the scripts of normative being, affectively increasing or decreasing the intensities of their bodies, however, shame can be experienced differently in different spacetime-mattering assemblages.

The distribution of fear and modulating bodies

Fear does not simply come from within and then move outwards towards objects and others (the white child who feels afraid of the black man); rather, fear works to secure the relationship between those bodies; it brings them together and moves them apart through the shudders that are felt on the skin, on the surface that surfaces through the encounter.

(Ahmed 2014, 63)

³⁵ In Chapter 2 I argued ways in which pre-emptive logics of counter-terrorism created a 'must' security culture that everyone (more in some groups of people) and everything has to be unveiled, flattened and clear.

In this section, I extend the analysis of shame into *the distribution of fear* through various affective linkages between bodies, hijab, abaya and social spaces, the capacity of some bodies to inhabit and move in public spaces, the relationship of their bodies to other bodies and spaces. I argue that fear as an experience is a 'coordination of affect and idea' (Stengel [2010](#), 530) mediated by social circumstances and relations to an embodied and embedded singular experience that 'is not fundamentally an emotion rather the objectivity of the subjective under late capitalism' (Massumi 1993, 12). According to the empirical data, my participants have various types of fear in relation to their veiled/non-veiled-body in public which I will explore. I ask what fear as an affective component of my participants' subjectivity-becoming and as a 'politicised feeling' (Berlant 2001, 111) does and how fear relates their bodies to others. I map affective movement of fear in and out of body, moving around school, travelling on buses or walking to and from school. Fear de/re-territorialises the 'affective atmospheres' (Anderson 2009) both creating/being-created by the affective atmospheres of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy.

The lowest of the low: being black Muslim girl and veiled

Fareeda (S1, Y11) is a black Muslim from Sierra Leone born in the Netherlands, living with her family of six. Nobody in her family wears hijab, except her grandmother. In Year 7 Fareeda wore hijab for one year but says when she wore it people stared and looked at her differently. She is scared to wear hijab because of the stories she hears, the way Muslim veiled women are treated. Even though Fareeda has no personal experience of racial harassment or hate crime, unlike Farah, Fazilah and Muna who wear hijab, she knows affectively that there is a relationship between wearing hijab and being racially harassed. Like Rana, Reema, Fateena and Noora, she says she is labelled as a not-good-Muslim for not wearing hijab.

Hijab is one of the agential factors of my participants' fears about their bodies inhabiting different social spaces. For some of my participants hijab is a newly

racialised 'object of fear' (Ahmed 2014), establishing their bodies as higher targets for racial harassment. Fear governs not only the relation between my participants' senses of self and others affected but their relation towards wider racialising assemblages and bodily politics of fear. The affective entanglement between fear and hijab emerged in the experiences and stories told by my participants.

For Fareeda, being black and Muslim has already oriented her into a complex position that relates to her experiences of body and space, and she does not want to add hijab as another agential factor to this already scary assemblage. I ask her what people might think of her being both black and wearing hijab:

It would be like the lowest of the low because being a black person already causes struggles, then being a black Muslim with headscarf comes with more struggles, so like that would be very degrading how society sees people. It would be the worst of the worst, being both and then adding to these being a girl on top of that.

Fareeda's fear of being 'the lowest of the low' and the 'worst of the worst' affectively diminishes her capacity to wear hijab. As an object of fear, hijab de/re-territorialises the way that Muslims know the world and the way that the world knows Muslims. However, Fareeda's un-veiled-black-Muslim-ness is afforded a little 'elbow room' (Massumi 2013, 21) for different experiences to emerge as 'uncramped by the constraint of connectively fitting in' and as some 'lines of flight' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), as she says no-one can tell instantly she is Muslim. For her, being a black-veiled-Muslim is more fearful than being black. Fareeda is attuned to the affective intensities of counter-terrorism racialising assemblages which imply the new 'administration of fear' (Virilio 2012) and 'networked affects of contemporary warfare' (Anderson 2013) in relation to threatening veiled-Muslim bodies. Even though she escapes falling into the lowest and worst situations with her blackness, she still stays in 'low' and 'worst', 'because of being black'. Fareeda's fear of wearing hijab and becoming the lowest and worst works to de/re-territorialise the relation between herself and her body, and the relation of her body to other bodies and spaces.

Being of hijab: veiled or un/non-veiled

Building on the notions of 'queer use' (Ahmed 2019) and 'nomadic subjectivity' (Braidotti 2011) as the fluid state of being caught up in dynamic webs of complexity, I call my participants' relationship to their veiled/non-veiled body a *nomadic relationship* and as part of their experiences of *nomadic Muslim-ness*. For Ahmed, queer use as reuse is both 'to reorient one's relation to something as leaky' and 'to bring to the front what ordinarily recedes into the background' (2019, 198). Queer leaky relations can also be read through Braidotti's nomadic subjectivity as emerging with contextually, territorially, rhizomatically infinite fields of intensity of all kinds (2011, 289). Unlike the strict hijab-wearing Farah, Muna, Ameera and Inas, the strategic on-and-off-hijab-wearing Maha, Fateena and Rana have different feelings of fear in relation to their bodies and social space. They fear becoming 'racially' harassed by other Muslims in their own community for not-wearing hijab and for not-being 'good Muslims' (Noora, Rana, Reema) and outside their community just for being 'brown and Asian'. Reema (S2, Y12) says, '*Even though I don't wear hijab, I still feel that the fact of me being brown will affect somehow others' judgement of me*'. Fateena (S2, Y12) describes her nomadic relationship:

I feel like people look at me more when I'm not in hijab, than when I am in hijab. They'd be like Bengali aunties will look at me and be like, oh she's not wearing hijab, so they would feel like it's more odd if I don't wear hijab than if I do.

Like Fateena, Fayrooz (S2, Y12), who doesn't wear hijab either, explains her experience:

This happens a lot like in the elderly Bengali society and more elderly Bengali women, when you walk past them in this area, you can tell they're judging you by their faces, they will look at you up and down in such a weird way. Because it's such a small community like everybody kind of knows each other and everybody kind of knows my mum and yeah.

Fateena and Fayrooz's experiences resonate with the understanding of fear 'not as a property of a person or an effect of relations that set or fix persons

and objects in particular relations' (Ahmed 2003, 11), but rather beyond this, as embodied affective contingencies to space and time that re-modulate the capacities of the bodies in these relations.

Unlike Fateena and Fayrooz, Farah experiences the fear of being judged for wearing abaya outside her community. This fear emerged in our walking intra-view in Brick Lane (Figure 11):

I am wearing a poncho and abaya, I don't enjoy wearing abaya because I don't feel I am ready for it, I kind of scared with everything going on, I feel I am being judged, every morning I feel like when I go to school the teachers might judge me, I feel like people think oh she has less freedom now.



Figure 11: The moment we stop walking to talk about abaya

Rather than implying a religious cultural not/ready-ness, Farah's 'not feeling ready' to wear abaya suggests a fear of transforming herself into an easy target, becoming involved in gendered racialising shame-events. Farah experiences her body in relation to other human and more-than-humans through the vital materiality of abaya and its agential force in her thinking/knowing/feeling. Farah's subjectivity-becoming emerges in-between intra-actions of her body-abaya-feelings-school-teachers' assemblages. In this post-human understanding that Farah's abaya has 'thing-power' (Bennett 2010, 2), it's not so much its meaning that matters but its agency in taking her

body-assemblage to another level of complex materiality and affective emotions. This material object that Farah does not enjoy wearing it, nor feels ready for it nor wants to feel judged by it, is not passive but as dynamic material force continually reminds her what she is and isn't, and de/re-territorialises her relationship to her body and to other bodies. Abaya has another material force when Farah says people think she has less freedom. As a racialising and sexualising actant, abaya not only materialises the otherising of her veiled-body as oppressed-Muslim-woman, i.e. having less freedom, but also enables the 'shouting white men', the white woman who called her 'paki' and her schoolmates who excluded her from playing football, to enact patriarchal colonial force relations and re-territorialise Farah to her racialised, normalised 'place'.

Her fear of being judged merged with the racial harassment experience she had at Tower Bridge, when a couple of 'shouting white men' called her 'nasty things':

I was confused, cos there were so many people, but they were staring at me and I felt really off-putting, you feel like you become really conscious about how you look when you are going out.

Farah is harassed on by some racist white men, not only does she feel confused and put off after this racist incident but says she becomes more conscious of her look, body and abaya. Here, Farah's fear is not an abstract form of power emerging only to fix identities and relations, but a mechanism of formation (Massumi 1993; Ahmed 2014 and 2003; Stengel [2010](#)) to perpetuate intensities moving and flowing.

Farah's relationship to her abaya resonates with Robin Bernstein's (2011) dolls and how children play out sensations and emotions with a black doll during playtime, rehearsing volumes about the race of childhood, from times of slavery to [American] Civil Rights. For Bernstein the doll as a theatre prompt for performance foregrounds a set of actions connected to feelings. Like playing with a doll and rehearsing the race of childhood, Farah plays the racialised childhood becoming conscious about her look-body-abaya through

this racial harassment. However, inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's concepts, feminist scholars think differently about enactment, performance and resistance in early childhood. Extending subjectivity beyond the individual towards a collective and connected affective assemblage of other bodies and things, they consider key sociological categories (e.g. gender, power, agency, age) as a site of immanence and flows more than fixed scriptive behaviours rehearsed literally. For them, children are not playing the scriptive (racialised) gender but playing with (racialised) gender, challenging, resisting and transgressing gendered ways of being through their interactions with complex affective assemblage of other bodies and things (Renold and Mellor 2013; Lenz Taguchi 2010b; Osgood 2014; Osgood et al 2015). Like these scholars, taking affective turn, I consider Farah's experience and her emerging fear in relation to her veiled-body not as a racist encounter or emotions which fixed forms of racialised and gendered identity/knowledge/performances on her body, but as an affective connectivity that can re-assemble her bodily capacities and relationship of her body to other human and more-than-humans.

Turning to fear, for my participants, fear does not emerge only between a non-Muslim world and a Muslim woman's body, but the Muslim woman's body and the Muslim world too. Fear affectively re/de/territorialises the non-veiled-Muslim woman as a Muslim-other and a not-good-Muslim for other Muslims and as the Muslim 'other' for non-Muslims. Simultaneously, both veiled and unveiled Muslim women become the affective 'others' of terrorism and counter-terrorism racialising assemblages.

A fear-ed body: nail biting

Fear emerged in-between intra-actions of Inas's body-space-bus-me during a walking intra-view to school. Inas's fear materialised through her body-space relations. Her body felt and knew fear faster than her words; biting nails, continually tightening her scarf around her face, putting her hands on her face, avoiding looking at her phone and the sudden fortunate end of the call because her data finished.

Picture freezes, no sound, as if we are in vacuum, call has not been dropped yet, the last pictures: she ran upstairs to her bedroom for her headphones, as if everything becomes motion-less, but things are still moving, she has probably left the house by now and is walking to station and I am still waiting, not seeing or hearing her but feeling and knowing that I am still with her; she is carrying me. Four minutes later, another call, she is at bus station, standing in the corner of a building, still facing the camera, I ask her if she can show me around, she replies; *'It's a bit embarrassing cos everyone is watching'*. She keeps fixing and tightening her headscarf, she seems nervous trying to avoid looking at the phone, at me (Figure 12).

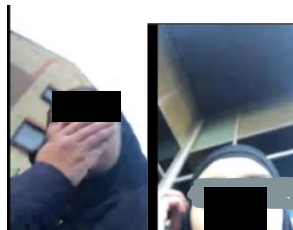


Figure 12: Inas at the bus station

I am an affect alien, an outsider, a cyborg researcher that ruptures the norms of a normal day for a Muslim girl waiting on the corner, trying not to be visible; she re-territorialises her body in space by not looking at her phone and giving short answers. She travels on the upper deck, seeming more nervous on the bus than at the station, putting her phone down on her lap, rarely looking at it, biting her nails, continually asking 'ha?', 'what?', not paying attention to me, as if her surroundings, the bus and others need her full attention. Her bodily relationships with space-others-phone-me enable an affective complex sense of fear, anxiety and shame and the challenges to fit in, in this new affective assemblage. The seat/sit-ing of Inas's veiled-bodies-phone-space-filming materialises an affective assemblage that intertwines with counter-terrorism *must security culture* pulling Inas-passengers-me-phone-Skype into wider racialising assemblages of surveillance materialised as nervousness, wondering how others might perceive the implication of her filming them. Inas

says *'it's a bit embarrassing'* to show me around, not because she speaks on her phone but because *'everyone is watching'*. This is not about the embarrassment of the Skype video phone call on the bus but because Inas is doing it. Inas, who has encountered racial harassment at school from her Muslim friend calling her ISIS (discussed in chapter 4), explained earlier that she feels paranoid after the ISIS incident: *'Sometimes I feel a bit paranoid, uhmm especially after that incident that people just look at you and you think 'oh no they think I'm a terrorist'.'* She has already had the affective experience of being called ISIS and still carries the fear of this recurring when she says, *'everyone is watching'*. Her answers are full of no's and don'ts. As her fear moves, I feel it and how much this embarrassment has been provoked by me. I ask if she is nervous and if she prefers to end the call. She replies: *'I am alright, I don't know what to say, my data is gonna end now so'*. And it ends.

Inas's affective-im/material discursive-corporeal entanglement with her surroundings, the outside, materialises a different Inas to the one I met in her house. Outside, she bites her nails and avoids looking at her phone; inside, her body re-territorialises positively, covering the whole frame of the picture with her smile, body, her sister's body and stories (Figure 13).

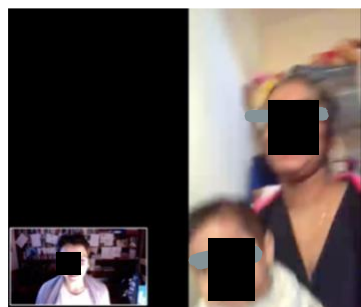


Figure 13: Inas in her room

The shame and fear that Inas experiences outside, makes her *'feel small and somehow undone'* (Probyn 2005, 2); as an affective avatar of fear and shame she has already too much to deal with when outside as well as intra-viewing with me. Approaching fear through affect analysis, enables the understanding of Inas's *'shrinking bodies'* (Probyn 2005; Ahmed 2014) as a form of

debilitation (Puar 2017), when fear affects the capacity of the body to act. With Inas, the short no's, don'ts, ha's and what's, her nail-biting, hands rubbing on her face and scarf tightening show fear all re-assembling new material and affective relations of her body to other bodies and space while re-modulating her internal in/corporeal capacities.

Fear as an affective relational materiality, a feeling of 'the body-in-relation' (Protevi 2009, 53) to fear, stays, carries, travels across time and space working at the level of bodies' intensities and capacities, something that fear does to the body and the relationship of body to itself and others. Once affected by fear, 'out'-side, Inas and other bodies become interwoven.

Fear and pre-emptive controls

In this section, I consider the relational materialities that fear and shame open up for the work of Prevent policy and counter-terrorism agenda, in re-modulating the affective atmosphere, Muslim bodies and their relations to social spaces.

As described in my Introduction, most of my participants have had an ambivalent relationship in school to Prevent policy, the anti-radicalisation duty obliging schools to be vigilant for signs of radicalisation. However, all students in both schools know and feel that they need to be more careful in what they say and do. Participants in School 2 (Bethnal Green, with a high rate of Muslim students) more actively complain about the new security measurements around Muslims and Muslim communities than those in School 1 (Peckham). This finding resonates with my analysis of Prevent policy (as well as wider counter-terrorism strategies) as a type of control and ontopower relation that works more at the level of affective modulation than ideological and rational justification. For Massumi, ontopower 'does not cause in any traditional sense. It conditions. It reconditions the field of emergence, in order to modulate what becoming unfolds from it' (2015b, 240). Ontopower of Prevent policy and counter-terrorism in and out school, conditions racialised relations. In this affective atmosphere, the vagueness and ambivalence enable better control

through fear and its affective modulation as not-doing, not-speaking, not-acting than through disciplining through rules and regulations guiding what to say and what not to say.

Farah (S2, Y12) describes her experience of schooling:

When they monitor [school staff] us, it means that we have to take into account everything that we say, we can't be too extreme, I have to hold myself back, or else they might think 'oh I am becoming extremist' which obviously I am not. It's not only you have to be careful what you are saying, but you have to be careful with who you are now, and you need to make sure they do believe you.

Farah documents the material and affective consequences of monitoring as part of the Prevent duty in schools to control Muslim students' interactions. As Farah explains even if they hold themselves back and be careful with what they say, school still monitors them because the issue is not about *what* they say but about who they *are*. This suggests that radicalisation measurements of Prevent policy work according to fixed essentialised assumptions about Muslims and extremism in schools (O'Donnell 2016a; Sian 2015), and even holding themselves back cannot help their situation. What Farah maps resonates with the understanding of Prevent policy as a new affective partner of 'control societies' (Deleuze 1992) and neoliberal counter-terrorism, having a sense of 'acts at a distance' (Lazzarato 2006, 180) not only through the modulation of capacities or debilitation of bodies and flows of desires and beliefs but also through the forces, memories, attentions and decisions that enable them to flow. Unlike disciplinary regimes that regulate students' bodies in school with discursive forms of power relations and discourses, Prevent policy controls students' bodies through its affective modulations, sometimes through vagueness and thus what Farah describes as holding themselves back.

Puar (2007, 129) reads Deleuzian model of control societies as surveillance technologies that vibrate 'how things feel, how sensations matter as much as if not more than how things appear, look, seem are visible or cognitively known'. Other participants shared with Farah the experiences of vagueness in various

contexts; 'the fitting in' of their bodies in social spaces, their perception and interpretation of racial harassment experiences and their future career opportunities, all suggest kinds of control that don't aim to produce a formed and disciplined Muslim student body, but rather a vague unfinished formless threatening subject that has to be prevented and pre-empted before entering any school encounter. My participants' vague feelings about their relations and position to others and within social places resonate with anticipatory quality of fear as the more-than, an 'unknown-known anticipation' (Renold and Ivinson [2019](#)), the feeling that something is about to happen, without knowing from whom, where, how and when.

Controlling the threatening Muslim body in 'Post-threat' and 'Post-terrorist' (Zarabadi 2020) educational environments and practices works at a level of fear, shame, confusion, hesitation, doubt, vagueness that shifts the self-disciplining measurements into self-preventing actions and decisions. Farah's 'holding self-back', Reema's 'become silence' or Maha's 'excluding self' are part of Prevent policy's control in schools which does not need confinement (Deleuze 1992) by school authorities, but is affected by the contingency of affective atmospheres and media modulations around terrorism and Muslims. It has been done properly, if only Muslim students have *vague but tangible feelings* of their not-quite-body-fitting-in-space, of how they must behave and what they should and shouldn't say. Such vagueness holds a series of opposites (Anderson 2009, 80) and tensional relations of Muslim bodies with other bodies and spaces; actual/virtual, absence/presence, fitting-in/not-fitting-in, being-in/not-being-in a right place. These controls and confusions even extend into our interviews; several times some participants hesitate in talking openly about their racial harassment experiences or their opinions on how Muslims are treated in relation to terrorism (Fayrooz and Reema, S2, Y12).

During a conversation with her teacher, Farah realised how teachers look out for extremists:

My teacher said, if the child is too loud, too quiet, contributes too much or don't contribute at all that they are signs you need to look

out for but that's so silly because every child can be like this. My teacher found it silly too but said that's the policy that they have to follow, I was like, this is so ridiculous it could be any child even small child.

By Farah and her teacher finding Prevent policy silly and ridiculous they show a sense of resistance and criticism towards it. However, as the teacher says, they have to follow it and, as Farah says earlier, she has to hold herself back. Moreover, Farah's teachers' relationship with Prevent policy sheds light on another angle of control, fear and confusion in schools (Sian, [2015](#)). In such a racialised affective atmosphere prevented and debilitated Muslim bodies cannot engage fully in schooling practices. Within this vague environment, teachers are obliged to manage as-if-questions, which are sets of risk measurements (Sjoberg [2015](#), 394), one of the agential forces of Prevent policy's pre-emptive logic. Like Sedgwick (1990) I consider these as-if-questions as a kind of 'paranoid knowing' achieved through things that have not-yet-happened, nor do we know if or how they will happen in the future. This temporal pre-emptive logic (Massumi 2015a) working at a not-yet-happened level, within an atmosphere of fear proliferated affectively by Prevent policy, makes the experience of the future more real than the present or past (Massumi 2010, 52). As Farah says, as a component of control societies, what matters in school is that students feel fear leading to self-preventing, rather than knowing exactly why and how they are being monitored. These vague feelings of fear resonate with Berlant's argument of 'feeling politics' (2001, 111) which 'claims a hard-wired truth, a core of common sense...beyond ideology, beyond mediation, beyond contestation'.

Reema (S2, Y12) explains her experiences and feelings of Prevent policy differently to Farah's:

It's always in the news [generalisation of all Muslims as threatening], I don't know, categorising Muslims like this, is not right, it's heart-breaking in a way, it's always around us and because of how much it is around us it just seems like it's bigger than it is, than it should be, that's how I know about it.

For Reema, what Prevent counter-terrorism and media do to Muslims is not ridiculous, as it is for Farah, but is heart-breaking. I read as fear Reema's take that it is *'always around us and because of how much it is around us it just seems like it's bigger than it is, than it should be, that's how I know about it'*. A 'politicised feeling' (Berlant 2001) emerging through an affective atmosphere that autonomously and phantomatically moves, modulates and intensifies the capacities and potentialities of bodies and spaces. With Lenz-Taguchi and Palmer (2013, 678) I wonder how the school environment, intra-actions and media news can become such a powerful performative agent in enacting Reema's sense of heart-brokenness. They suggest that 'ill- and well-being emerge as enactments of (material-discursive) intra-activities between caught-up material environments and discursive notions in different and situated ways (684). Therefore, instead of being an individual affair, Reema's heart-breaking and Farah's off-putting feeling imply a collective and extended phenomenon comprising multiple performative agents.

'Fucking feelings' as pre-emptive touching-feelings

In this section, I argue how feelings matter, how they stay with us and how as a form of knowing entwine us with the world, able to change the capacity of decisions, perceptions and actions. I take the affective material and mingle with participants' feelings as a 'sense-event' (Manning 2007). Affective analysis of racial harassment experiences, fear and shame-events allows us to understand 'the body as much outside itself as inside itself' (Seigworth and Gregg 2010, 3). This mingling witnesses an inherent participation and potential within the world that troubles the traditional notion of individual as self-contained entity finished at the border of skin. Previously I highlighted episodes of racial harassment themselves; in this section, I focus more on what they do to the body. I consider that the affective intensities in intra-actions stick, slide and travel with human and more-than-human bodies actualised as feelings and emotions: 'recognised and qualified affect' and/or carry as 'affective intensities' (Massumi 2002, 26; 61). I briefly discuss how racial harassment experiences working at the level of affective modulation can use body, feelings and emotions as their territory for power exercises and control.

Shouting (white) men, 'nasty' event and wall-ed feelings

The wall is a finding. Let me summarize that finding: what stops movement moves.

(Ahmed 2017, 137)

In this section, I consider one of Farah's racial harassment experiences through the concepts of refrain, intensity (affect) and feeling. Throughout the section I keep asking, 'What do these racial harassment events/experiences do to the body?' One day at Tower Bridge when she was just 12, Farah was racially harassed by several (white) men:

My aunt came over and we went to Tower Bridge, there were few people shouting few nasty things, I really don't want to repeat what they said, I felt so scared that they might physically attack me, sometimes I think not go out but you have to get over it eventually. When I got home that day, I just felt really insecure about me wearing hijab and me being Muslim and me being Asian and looking different.

There are various racialised and gendered agential forces involved in this affective event; the nasty things and the way they affectively stay, several white men exercising their power over a young Muslim girl, the act of shouting, a veiled-Muslim-body, feeling scared and insecure. Farah's intense experience becomes organised extensively (Coleman 2009, 136) in her insecurity about wearing hijab, being Muslim, Asian and looking different. This racialised affective entanglement enables her to think/decide/act 'not to go out'. Even though she decided to get over it but the affective intensities of that racialised entanglement stay with her as 'qualified and recognised feelings' of insecurity and fear (Massumi 2002, 26).

Farah makes the relational materiality between this racial harassment incident and her hijab, body, race and religion. Most of my participants say their hijab makes them a bigger target of racial harassment. They are aware of how public opinion perceives Muslims, their representation in media as having the 'visuality of suspectness' (Heath-Kelly [2012](#), 69), therefore being dangerous.

Salem et al. (2019) argue that the headscarf as a cloth of prejudice and intolerance, 'strips the human body from its humanity to deem it disposable and foreign within the politics of belonging' (243).

Farah describes her feelings about the 'nasty' incident:

I felt really restricted like there was a wall against me, there is nothing I can do to stop that, it made me feel like being myself was a bad thing, I didn't know what to do, because there is nothing I can do to change myself, being Asian is nothing I can change, nothing I can do to change being a Muslim, so I felt I was being limited into this box where I was only this person and I couldn't exploring as much as I wanted to be, to become a bigger person, I couldn't do that because I was being limited by that comments about my race and stuff.

The emergence of the wall in Farah's experiences of her body and its relationship to others, matters. Following Ahmed (2017, 137) I consider 'wall as a finding' as an actualisation of a virtual state of being/feeling/thinking that gives materiality to the affective presence of racism and discrimination. I believe that 'feeling a wall against you' does things to Farah's body to make it act. It stops and moves the movements, as Ahmed suggests. I will expand on the vital materiality of the wall and box through Ahmed's accounts of wall as hard histories (2017, 136) or life description as wall description (2017, 142). Inspired by Raymond Williams's (1977) 'structures of feeling', Ahmed coins the notion of 'feelings of structure' (2010, 216) to suggest feelings become structures that get under the skin.

I turn to affect theories to call Farah's 'feeling wall against me' as *wall-ed-feelings*, the actualised materiality (the wall) of a virtual feeling that modulates the capacities of her body, her relations to her body and other bodies. Farah's becoming as the ongoing and relational identity formation happens in-between the intra-actions (Barad 2007) of these walls and other human and more-than-humans. *Wall-ed-feelings* may stop us from being included or from doing something or being something (Ahmed 2017, 142) as part of the re-territorialisation of institutional racism, sexism and inequality. However, they simultaneously transmit the affective intensities of a body-assemblage into

another assemblage, moving and flowing with fluctuating intensity and capacity. As the affective agential partner of Farah's becoming-assemblage agentially re-modulating the micro-intensities of space, time and everyday life (Ivinson and Renold 2013; Juelskjaer 2013), these *wall-ed-feelings* matter.

Farah materialises her experience of her body as a wall, limited to 'this' box, the actualisation of her experiences: wall and box. Wall as *racialising refrain*, marks the territory of Farah's veiled-body and its movement. Wall as the affective material figuration of virtual-Farah-veiled-body as a refrain enables an organisation of 'a limited space' with a 'circle' drawn around it (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 311), a veiled-body refrain-ed back into racialising assemblages of terrorism/counter-terrorism, although with different intensity. Farah's materialisation of her feelings as being limited to 'this' box, suggests the ways in which her capacities and intensities affectively decrease, 'refrain'-ing back into racialising assemblages. Farah relates her insecure and *wall-ed-feelings* and being limited to 'this' box to her hijab, being Muslim, Asian and looking different. Her experiences of self, body and other human and more-than-humans emerge through the intra-actions of hijab-box-wall-ed-feelings-nasty-things-feeling-insecure.

Walls as part of Farah's gendered, racialised and sexualised becoming assemblage and as immaterial, haptic/optic experiences of her body, appear and re-appear in different moments of my encounters with her, after the 'nasty' event in Tower Bridge, when talking about her university choices and future career and in her photo taken from the window of a rooftop classroom at school. This window is an affective opening to the *wall-ed-feelings*. In her photo-diary she maps these walls (Figure 14).

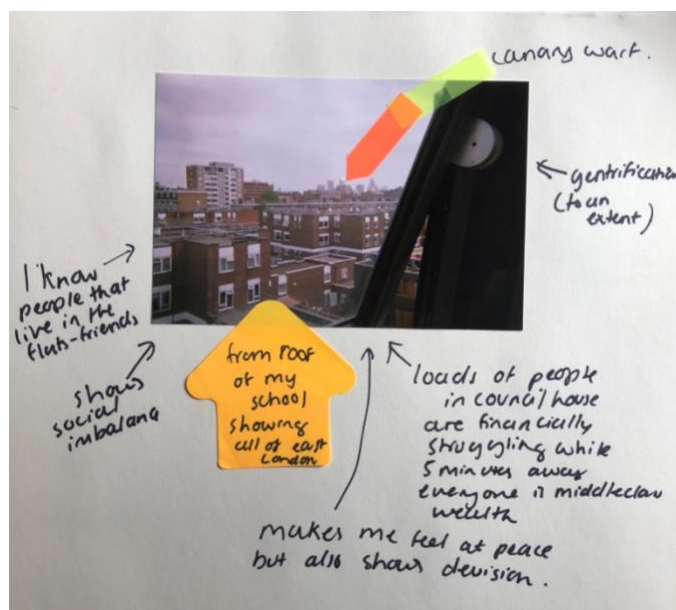


Figure 14: The roof-top window: Wall-ed-feelings

All the arrows aim into the picture rather than outwards, the big orange arrow shows all of *East London* that is close, and the narrow and furthest away arrow shows 'Canary Wharf' at the top. Farah materialises a stark contrast, there is nothing other than buildings and more buildings, and Canary Wharf, even the sky adds nothing special, just dark, grey, cloudy, a good blunt context for the contrast to become underscored. Here in Bethnal Green is everything, traffic of doodles, lines and words. Over there is just Canary Wharf, standing tall and visible. Farah writes: '*Loads of people in council house are financially struggling while 5 minutes away everyone is middleclass wealth*' and she knows people that live in the flats. She interprets the picture as showing '*social imbalance*' and '*gentrification*'. Further down she writes down the last thing she wants to about the picture; '*makes me feel at peace but also shows division*'. This appears more in the distance, with the longest arrow as if the social imbalance, divisions and struggling leave little space for things other than the material lived feelings to be said.

I read these wall-ed-feelings 'nasty things', 'paki', 'ISIS' and 'weird questions' through Puar's (2017) concept of 'debilitation' to argue that forms of power relations that affectively re-modulate the capacity of body to act, called 'ontopower' (Massumi 2015a; 2015b), debilitate the body-assemblage. Puar

uses the concept of debilitation to interrogate Israel's policies towards the mass debilitation of Palestinian bodies by supplementing 'the right to kill' with 'the right to maim', i.e. not to kill but to leave behind injured debilitated bodies facing social exclusion brought on by economic and political factors. I diffractively read debilitation through affective modulations of ontopower, to argue that wall-ed-feelings, 'nasty things', 'paki', being called 'ISIS' and 'weird questions' do not work to oppress, directly exclude or divide but to debilitate the capacity to act. I argue that debilitation, in the context of a contemporary neoliberal logic governing with a particular emphasis on individualisation, competition, choice, entrepreneurial identity, self-help and diversity, works to create debilitated subjectivities that do not have the capacity to choose, compete or help themselves: as if people can have what they want and can reach it *only* if they have *enough capacity* for it. Instead of directly excluding them from the social and political, debilitation as a form of 'slow violence' that occurs gradually and sometimes out of sight as a delayed destruction dispersed across time and space (Nixon 2013, 2), makes them feel insecure about themselves and their ability. Debilitation works at the capacity level, which is where affective modulations through racial harassment and media images in mundane everyday practices come to play.

'Fucking feelings' and what it can do

Fazilah (S2, Y12) wears full make-up and a beige hijab (see footnotes 30,40,41), rather than black like most of my other participants, wrapping it round her head rather than using a pin to keep it under her chin. I met her only once in a face-to-face interview at school. Our scheduled walking intra-view never happened as the weather turned rainy and blustery that day whilst she was going to school, her connection was poor and only lasted a few seconds. Fazilah's domestic situation constrained our encounter; she was balancing her time and energy between working at MacDonald's for seven hours a week and studying for her BTEC at school. She is the oldest in a family of five, living in a two-bedroom flat and sharing a bedroom with her two brothers, 10 and 13. They have been on the Council waiting list for a bigger house since her 10-

year-old brother was born, so her hopes are not about her future career or her individual desires but '*just to get a new house with my own bedroom*'.

One episode of racial harassment she encountered was:

I was going off the bus and a white man, he went past me and he was like, "Fucking Muslims". My aunt was with me and obviously she swore back at him. We were both wearing scarves. I felt angry because I was thinking you know why am I getting targeted? But then he was an old man, so I didn't really feel the need to do anything, because obviously you know he was old.

During our interview she repeats several times that if she had an option, she wouldn't wear it (she calls it scarf and not hijab):

I really don't mind wearing it but if I had the option to wear it or not, I wouldn't wear it. But it's something that I just have to do because my parents told me to wear it so I have to.

When I ask her if this was her only racial harassment experience, she replies, '*No. It was last time*'. All of my participants had a sense of fear and concerns about their presence in public, with different levels of anxiety depending on their proximity to home or, for those at School 2, to Bethnal Green. Fazilah relates being called 'fucking Muslims' to wearing scarves in retelling her story. She becomes part of the affective racialising assemblage of veiled-body-fucking-Muslims-feelings-anger-getting targeted. Her nomadic relationship to her scarf emerges when she says she has to wear it because of her parents. Rather than considering this relationship as ambivalent or conflicted I found it nomadic, a non-linear open-ended relationship that comes through connections, movements and becomings rather than oppositions, categorizations or fixed beings (St. Pierre 2013, 226). In her nomadic relationship to her scarf, Fazilah moves back and forth in different times and spaces and between a range of experiences and feelings.

In refraining the relational materiality of her wearing scarf 'only because of her parents' and 'she wouldn't wear it if she could', she tries to answer the question of why she is being targeted. She feels angry not because she

doesn't know why she is being targeted but because she knows that her parents' force agentially de/re-territorialises Fazilah's body and relation of her body to racialising assemblages of 'fucking Muslims'. Her parents are an agential component in her veiled-body-fucking-Muslims affective assemblage. Everyday Fazilah's veiled-body carries this affective relationship and relational materiality between her parents' normalising force and the affective vital materiality of her scarf encompassing her body with racial harassment. Anger enfolds as socially, culturally and politically relational materiality enters Fazilah's body which as a questioned-able body affectively thinks-feels (Massumi 2015a): 'Why am I being targeted?', similar to Muna's *becoming questionable-body* when encountering weird looks: '*Did I do anything wrong? Am I not supposed to be here?*'

The fear of becoming the target of racial harassment as an autonomous affective enduring force is with them; not the only time but the '*last time*' for Fazilah and '*the most recent one*' for Farah. This fear is neither purely objective nor subjective, corporeal or incorporeal, and does not simply emanate from within or without (in relation to a psychological measure such as self-esteem, for example), but is rather an intensity generated between bodies (Blackman 2012, 13). The *obvious* happening of racial harassment, the constant fear woven into their ordinary living practices and obvious expectations that it might happen anytime anywhere, implies different 'body concern' (Coffey [2019](#), 8-10) for Muslim girls which is not just about their body shape or size, rather about the presence of their veiled/non-veiled-body in the ordinary everyday practices in the public and whether they fit or not. However, there are occasions, for instance as Fazilah mentioned about her aunt who '*obviously swore back at him*', that rupture the normalising 'obvious-ness' of encountering racial harassment. By swearing back at the harasser Fazilah's aunt de/re-territorialises their 'obvious act with another 'obvious'/ not-obvious act'. As Ahmed (2017, 142) argues, 'what is real, what is in concrete terms the hardest, is not always available as an object that can be perceived or touched, what is the hardest for some does not even exist for others'. In the same vein, for my participants, the nonexistence of what has not yet happened, a

mockery, a joke, a racist comment, racial harassment and fear are affectively more real than what is now clearly over and done with (Massumi 2010, 53).

Fayrooz (S2, Y12) has three other siblings. Her older brother and younger sister attend her school and they travel an hour to school by train. She also tells a 'fucking'-related experience, which *contagiously and not necessarily similarly* suggests particular affective atmospheres hovering around the veiled-body of Muslim women. Turning to affect in reading these 'fucking'-related experiences, I argue that all the Muslim schoolgirls in my study become affected by the contagious virality of threat enabled through counter-terrorism racialising assemblages but each with a different intensity or capacity.

Public transport and streets are the main places where Muslim girls of my study encounter racial harassment other than school; living far from school equates to more hours outside, more spatial and temporal potential to encounter racial harassment. Fayrooz witnessed her mum being called 'fucking terrorist' on the tube:

Two years ago, we were travelling together with my mum to a relative's house and we were on the Central Line, it's always the Central Line, I don't know why. Some white guy made a comment, he was old, he said, 'fucking terrorist' or something.

As soon as Fayrooz gets here, she stops her story. 'Fucking' made a buzz in our conversation, she nervously asks: *Oh! Am I allowed to say?* 'Fucking' not only affected Fayrooz and her mother on that day two years ago but also our bodies in the research encounter, when Fayrooz paused her story to ask if she could continue. The questioned-able body re-materialises again here. Her doubt in voicing or not voicing what the attacker said implies the affective and material agential capacity and 'pre-emptive logics' and cultures that counter-terrorism creates and silences Muslims targeted by such racial harassment to hide what they are going through, due to the fear of being labelled twice.

Farah, Fazilah and Fayrooz's racial harassment experiences from old white men on public transport or in the street suggest a patriarchal gendered and

racialised power relation. The colonial rhetoric of the white man bears the look of a hypervisible threatening body and the body of a woman of colour as new Muslim risky images (Mulvey 1999, 837). In the climate of counter-terrorism, the 'fucking', 'nasty' events elevate the traditional positioning of Muslim female bodies, oppressed by Muslim men in need of western protection and liberation [by white men], into dangerous and risky figures (Hussein 2016; Khoja-Moolji and Niccolini 2016). With my participants becoming the target of new forms of racial harassment this depicts how anti-Muslim racism and discrimination is deeply gendered (Shiple 2017) but also Prevent policy and terrorism/counter-terrorism itself as gendered phenomena (Rashid 2016). Gendering of security and counter-terrorism both in the macro policy discourses and in the micro affective modulations in the everyday ordinary interactions of Muslim girls not only unfold the historical pathologisation of South Asian girls rooted in the imperial imagination (Mirza 2015; Parmar 1982; Puwar 2003) as passive and in need of rescue but also reify cultural differences reflecting a more mainstream 'gendered orientalism' across society (Abu-Lughod 2013, 202). 'Paki', 'fucking Muslims' and 'fucking terrorists', the veiled-body-of-Muslim-woman become an avatar of threat and risky-ness and this racialised, gendered body relationally materialises 'the lofty qualities of White masculinity' (Khoja-Moolji [2019](#), 5).

In the affective atmosphere weaponised by terrorism/ counter-terrorism and Prevent policy pre-emptive logic, the vital materiality of veil/veiling matter as it makes Muslim women an affective component of these new racialising threat-assemblages.

As Fayrooz describes, the racist comment emerged so fast, rupturing the normative relational materialities of the underground space, and affectively touched Fayrooz's body in a sense that she de/re-territorialised the whole event 2 years later in our research interview. 'Fucking terrorists' not only re-arranged the relations of Fayrooz to her own body, other bodies, her mother's body but also the relationship of her body to space. The intensity of her body, space and other bodies affectively has not remained the same as it was before the emergence of this event. Her entanglement with racialising assemblage

opens up to different, more/less intensity and capacity. She de-territorialises the story, the space, her body and her mother's body and re-territorialises the story, space, her body and her mother's body in saying back to the man what she almost said, but didn't: 'What the fuck did you say?' during our interview:

He was getting off while he was saying it, he mumbled it and I heard but my mum didn't, I was just so close to saying, "What the fuck did you say?" At that time, I used to wear headscarf too but then I stopped after a while. I didn't even mention it to my mum because she was in a good mood and I didn't want to ruin it.

Fayrooz's affective passing of that spacetime-mattering resonates with her parents hearing-passing not making a big deal out of Farah's being called 'paki' by a white woman in Birmingham when they were on holiday. Farah 'knows' that her parents 'heard' but they passed, not 'making a big deal out of it'. Fayrooz also 'heard' and passed, creating 'elbow room' (Massumi 2011, 49) to escape that moment. There is a specific gendered racialised materiality between woman-veiled-body and these racial harassments, affective connections between mothers, sisters and aunts that cannot be materially and affectively experienced by men. Veil/veil-ing becomes the materiality of shared and affective binding experiences.

On the day her mother was called 'fucking terrorist', Fayrooz was wearing hijab. She only wore hijab for 3 years and says people treat her differently now she no longer wears it. She's scared of what might happen to her sister and mother, but not wearing hijab to her is not just about her fear of being racially harassed but to avoid 'being embarrassed publicly or in front of others'. Here for Fayrooz, not being ashamed is more important than not having the fear of encountering racial harassment. As Ahmed suggests, 'In experiences of shame, the 'bad feeling' is attributed to oneself, rather than to an object or other' (2014, 103). Building on this, it seems in embarrassment and shame of her veiled-body, Fayrooz is doing something embarrassing (wrong) whereas in racial harassment, it is the harasser who is doing something wrong. She cannot resist what people think of her but can resist the harasser to some extent, for example by swearing back or 'making a bigger scene' as she

describes below. Drawing on Ahmed (2014, 104), feeling shame as a matter of being, is the relation of self to itself, the appearance of subject before and to others. Probyn (2004, 330) adds another aspect to shame, its role in reworking the possibilities of the body and its habits. This resonates with Fayrooz's understanding of her situation, it seems there are more possibilities in not wearing scarf not to feel the shame than to wearing scarf and feeling fear. Shame here as 'a positive and productive feeling' (Probyn 2005, 35) brings new capacities for her in not wearing hijab.

'Fucking terrorists' and 'fucking Muslims' are ugly

To argue how affective encountering with 'fucking terrorists' and 'fucking Muslims' matter for Fayrooz and Fazilah, I use Ngai's concept of 'ugly feelings' (2004, 335) drawing upon Coffey (2019). For Ngai, ugly 'weak, nasty' feelings and enduring feelings have particular socio-cultural importance as functional elements for neoliberal systems (2004, 4). For instance, anxiety as an ugly feeling reconfigures one's actions and behaviours into 'flexibility, adaptability and a readiness' that are productive for modern capitalism. Bragg (2018, 135) shows us how, as a classroom management technique, boredom is used to reduce 'risk' in schooling. Like Kanai (2017) who relates ugly feelings to 'neoliberal feeling rules', Coffey focuses on affective implications of gendered body concerns, asking 'what can the ugly feelings of body concern do, and how do they affect the range of options for living available in the gendered context of neoliberalism?' (2019, 1). To put these in the context of my study and ask 'what 'fucking terrorists' and 'fucking Muslims' do and how these affect Fayrooz's and Fazilah's relations to their body and the relation of their bodies to other human and more-than-human bodies such as veil/veiling, using public spaces and familial relations, I take these as 'movements in which outside influences enter bodies, infuse and confuse their organisation, and then exit, themselves having been transformed into something new' (Bennett 2020b). I argue that 'fucking' as an affective entanglement not only enters the body infusing and confusing its organisation, but also as sets of ugly feelings, qualified as disgust, hatred, anger and more, impacting the available possibilities and 'what a body can do'. The ugly feelings that 'fucking terrorist'

and 'fucking Muslim' enable, as *fucking-feelings* work, as an affective partner of the racialising assemblages of counter-terrorism and Prevent policy re-modulating my participants' gendered and racialised everyday ordinary lives, on the way to school, visiting a relative or on a family holiday.

For Ngai (2004, 125), ugly categories of feeling re-animate the historically tenacious construction of racialised subjects as excessively emotional raced-bodies. These ugly *fucking feelings* matter, as they emerge through the affective relationships between wider terrorism/counter-terrorism racialising assemblages. As Kanai (2019, 60) argues, 'normative youthful femininity is lived "not simply as a set of life regulations, but as a set of feeling rules" that shape the manner in which young women articulate gendered burdens ...within harsh neoliberal, post-recessional social and economic conditions'. I weave affect into Kanai's understanding of femininity as a combination of lived regulations and emotional rules to argue that my participants' subjectivity, for instance for Fayrooz and Fazilah, emerges in the middle of affective racialising assemblages of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy, racial harassment and ugly fucking feelings.

The combination of 'fucking terrorists' and 'fucking Muslims' that not only 'produce bodily knowledge' (Sedgwick and Frank 2003, 22) also affects the decisions, perceptions and actions of all agential actors in that spacetime-mattering. With Fayrooz, the question of 'what happens next' (Buchanan 1997), after the affective entanglement with fucking-feelings, is that she no longer wears hijab, she constantly worries about her mother who wears hijab and she hates her long journey to school:

Sometimes I tell myself that I am scared but then I don't think I really am scared because I'm not the type to get scared easily, sometimes I think it's mainly embarrassment, if someone does something to me and there's like hundred people around me, it's embarrassing and then I'm the type to always talk about that, I always speak up for myself and then I'll create such a big scene.

However, to trouble these racist affective encounters and de/re-territorialise the fucking-feelings, Fayrooz creates a bigger scene, a more affective event

transmitting the intensities of that racialised embarrassing and scary moment into another affective event; she both affects and is affected. In creating a big scene when affected by a racial harassment encounter, Fayrooz 'meets affective modulation with affective modulation' (Massumi 2015a, 34), as an agential re-actualisation of her agency. Fayrooz's affective modulation of the racial harassment encounters 'in creating such a big scene' resonates with Maha's 'laughing so hard and falling off the chair' when being asked the 'weird question' of 'do you shower with that [hijab] on?'

Returning to the question of what the affective atmosphere of terrorism/counter-terrorism's racialising assemblages enables, and why it matters, Reema (S2, Y12) explains how she contradicts herself to prove herself a nicer person:

Especially now in this time I sometimes feel I have to be more careful with what I do, I have to present myself as a much nicer person than I am, and then soon after I think that, I'm like why should I? I am just a normal person; I should be who I am. Just because of what society is thinking right now, I shouldn't change myself. So, I contradict myself, so I don't really know what to do now.

Even though Reema describes herself as 'a normal person' she says she cannot be herself. Reema's need to prove herself a much nicer person *affectively* connects with Farah's claim that she needs to prove herself for everything:

Obviously, I need to prove myself for everything I do, that's with everything I guess because, one I am Asian, two I am a girl, three I am a Muslim. Even if I wasn't wearing a hijab, they would attack me because I am Asian, even if I wasn't Asian, I would have less chances because I am a girl. I guess you have to work through all of these. You have to be better, be above it.

Affected by the complex affective atmosphere of terrorism/counter-terrorism racialising assemblages, Reema and Farah feel the need 'to be better', 'to be above' and 'to present...as much nicer person' as opposed to, in their eyes, threatening, risky, dangerous, bad, wrong. Farah has to *work through* being

Muslim-Asian-girl as she does not or cannot occupy a position to feel herself *in* and *of* it. The struggle to prove herself is to re-orient herself in another position. Feeling the need to prove yourselves as much nicer, better, above are *affective takes* of the racialised affective encounters they had/have. This is what they carry and what stays with them. Affected by the need 'to be better', 'to be above' and 'to present yourself as much nicer person', Farah knows that she is not/never good enough and not/never there enough.

Farah and Reema's *feeling the need* to prove themselves are 'feeling of the body in relation' (Protevi 2009, 53) as one of the components of the new complex racialising assemblages of counter-terrorism, terrorism and Jihadi brides. These feelings are actualised and materialised knowings, perceptions, actions and decisions that emerge through the intertwining of Farah's and Reema's bodies with others in racial harassment experiences. As Damasio (in Protevi 2009, 26) suggests: 'Feeling is the consciousness of affect that translates the ongoing life state in the language of the mind'. *Feeling the need* to prove self as nicer, better and above, 'as a way of knowing' (Ahmed 2004; Manning 2014), is part of the real and material *affective scaffoldings* of our present time. Protevi coins the notion of 'political affect' (2009, 35) to stress how affective cognitions are historically and socially embedded; 'living bodies do not negotiate their worlds solely - or even for the most part - by representing to themselves the features of the world, but by feeling what they can and cannot do in a particular situation' (2009, 48).

Continuation

In this chapter, I mapped the vital materiality of shame, fear and feelings in my participants' experiences of their body and relations of their body to other human and more-than-human bodies. I read my participants' experiences of shame and fear through affective analysis, not only as affections or modes of feeling but as 'the passages or transitions from one state to another, happening between bodies (Deleuze 1988, 49). I argued that affective and material entanglement with shame, fear and what I called wall-ed-feelings and fucking-feelings matter, as they remodulate my participants' thinkings, feelings

and doings and become affective partners of their subjectivity-becoming experiences. As emerged in data, I showed how feelings as ways of knowing are not some kind of affective supplement to knowledge but a kind of knowledge (Snaza 2019, 23). In re-telling their stories, they re-materialised not only how they know themselves and others through the racialised affective relationships, but also in bigger scale how these affective modulations work as a component of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy racialising assemblages.

Chapter 6: Nomadic self, actual-virtual body and porous positionalities

Introduction

The nomadic subject is a myth, that is to say a political fiction, that allows me to think through and move across established categories and levels of experience: blurring boundaries without burning bridges.

(Braidotti 2011, 4)

This chapter maps a series of material and immaterial entanglements and movements with some of the human and more-than-human participants of my study. I explore my participants' emergence of 'nomadic subjectivity' (Braidotti, [2013](#) and 2011) through the actual and virtual intra-actions with things that matter for them including hair, hijab, sea, shark, headphones. As 'dis-identifications from dominant representational and even self-representational practices' (Braidotti [2013](#), 348) these nomadic becomings are actualised through walking intra-views and photo-diaries where humans and more-than-human participants enter the research. These elements and my participants' nomadic relationships to them not only help to re-materialise their subjectivity differently but also help me to partially and diffractively know them through what matters to them.

Hair-ing the space of the bedroom

Tooba (S2, Y12) is British-Bangladeshi; she wears hijab and studies BTEC at A-level. I met her once during a face-to-face interview at school and then over a long Skype intra-view in her bedroom. Tooba lives with her half-sister's family of six. Once, she calls her half-sister a carer, then a guardian. She has moved schools and houses several times as her guardianship changes. It is impossible to look deeply at Tooba's experiences of self and body without considering her family situation. Tooba kept cancelling our Skype interview schedules and we were unable to complete the other research stages, photo-diary and outside walking intra-view. It seems my questions did not interest

her, because during our face-to-face interview I had to repeat them several times. Finally, we conducted all our Skype intra-views over one day in her bedroom, and despite a faulty connection she was eager to speak, wanting to continue talking and sharing what she didn't believe she'd achieved. This encounter emerged as part of Tooba's affective and material senses of herself as 'got in' and powerful.

Before I asked my first question, she opened our conversation with this sudden affective cut de/re-territorialising the flow of my interview questions in different directions: *'Today was my last day of training and guess what? I have got in'*. She 'got in' to a part-time job, *'going to be paid from next week'* and I 'got in' to her world:

There were 7 trainees and I got in. They only get two. I am really happy. I needed a part-time job. It is making cakes job. I just cut my hair so short I look different.

Tooba doesn't wait for me to 'guess' and quickly says 'I have got in' as if it is impossible for me to guess and her to get in to what she 'got in', the normalised guess of the lived experiences of not 'get in' for some people. 'Got in' for Tooba is related to complex affective assemblages of her subjectivity-becoming; a vital relational materiality with her family life, the ambiguous affective experiences of got-in/not got-in to a family for a guardianship. She does not live with her parents. 'Got in' or not got in mattered and matters for Tooba. To 'get in' to a paid cake-making job was the affective entry to another one; cutting her hair short and looking different. Tooba jumps from 'got in' to a job to another 'got in' that has made her happy: her hair. 'Got in' materialises Tooba's hair. It de-territorialises Tooba-veiled-body-space and re-territorialises it into Tooba-hair-ed-space. Suddenly her hair is there, visible and material. She shows me that it matters for her. Its there-ness or not-there-ness matters. The materialisation of 'got in' to the paid job and her hair as affective pressure points glow, folding their intensities in her body, space and me; we all 'got in'. The happiness of 'got in' finds materiality, a material form; hair. Her hair is all around the camera, she shakes it, plays with it, throws it from side to side; it moves and extends with her happiness. She seems amused to see her new

haircut and to talk to a stranger without her hijab, which would be impossible if we were outside. A stranger is in her room listening and seeing another side of her, her 'got in' story and a look she relates to, as '*I like myself like this*' (Figure 15). The researcher's post-human eye/I become an affective channel for Tooba's 'Got in' story, it conditions different Tooba to emerge, a powerful assemblage of her de/re-territorialised happy body without hijab and with hair, her story of success and my body immersed into all of these.

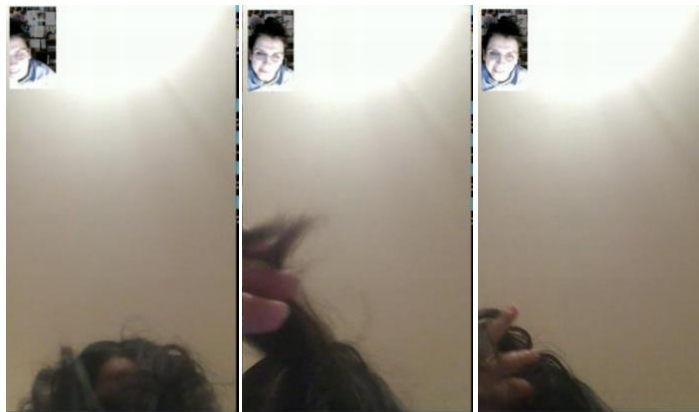


Figure 15: Hair-ing the room

Few minutes after we started conversation, suddenly someone who Tooba calls her auntie and her child, enter the room, they are playing so loud, their presence ruptures the flow of questions. I feel uncomfortable, thinking about my ethical responsibilities for Tooba's privacy who lives under guardianship in this house. Tooba tries to keep looking at the camera, whilst talking to me and to auntie at the same time. Suddenly Tooba turns the camera to her auntie showing me to her. I say hi, she says hi, the guardianship is in the room, regardless of the reasons for her not living with her parents, I felt that the permission for her guardian to this Skype intra-view could be a reward for her success in 'got in' a paid job. Another sudden rupture in the flow of talk, when auntie left when Tooba opens up about the challenges with her guardianship, and their religiosity and her future plans for going to boxing classes without her guardian knowing...

Tooba and her guardian-family had a '*family eating gathering... because I got the job my family are happy, and they got Turkish food, they treated me*'. They don't have family gatherings very often; as Tooba says, '*It is like once in a while, like Christmas in a Muslim way*'. 'Got in' affectively de-territorialises and re-territorialises Tooba's relations to her body-family-me-research-encounter, differently:

Tooba is happy
hair is cut short
family gathers
interview happens

I ask Tooba if there is anything interesting in her room to show me? Silently, she looks around, looks at her hair, plays with her hair, doesn't look into the camera, as if it doesn't exist and I am not there. I feel that I don't have her full attention; in these moments she becomes her new self, one that is said and seen, she becomes her hair: 'Got in'. She hairs³⁶ the room and our spacetime mattering. After a while she replies, '*There is nothing special in my room*'. She pauses and continues, '*My hair was this long*'. Hair matters for her, she shows me how long it was before (Figure 16), '*I look nice with long hair, but I cut it yesterday really short. You know I look so different from school*'. In these moments Tooba's hair becomes an 'organ without body' (Braidotti 1994), de/re-territorialising Tooba-body-space-hijab through its affective presence. It does things to Tooba's body and its relation to her and others when she says, '*You know I look so different from school*', de/re-territorialised by the affective presence of hair. These moments of 'intense affective otherness' as the way the body screams a longing to be otherwise (Ivinson and Renold 2013, 372) are when Tooba's 'body without organs' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 166) emerges, a body that becomes other, more-than itself; hair. Not only does her body become other but her hair becomes an organ *without* body, affective and intensified. Ringrose (2015) drawing on Braidotti (1994, 2011), de-territorialises this concept as 'organs without body' to discuss the over-investment in body parts, breasts and penises in social media that she terms commodified 'intensive body parts', reterritorialising Oedipal, phallic-oriented desire (403). Tooba's hair, an intensive body part, becomes the 'only thing in her room' (Figure 16).

³⁶ I consider hair as a doing and becoming, not a noun representing a fixed known body part.

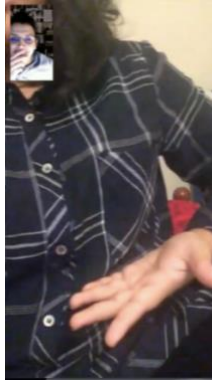


Figure 16: My hair was this long

Tooba's hair gives her a different look, one she can't have at school wearing hijab. She creates a boundary between her look with hair and without hair in hijab. Coleman (2009, 136-138) states 'affective intensities and experiences are extensively organised to mean particular things'. For Tooba, the affective intra-actions of hair and hijab, the absence of hair and presence of hijab at school and the absence of hijab and presence of hair at home, collectively mean to look different, nice or not-nice.

I ask which Tooba she prefers, this one or the school one? She laughs and replies, '*Um, I like myself like this*' (with hair, not hijab). Her hair becomes a 'got in', an affective relationship with her different de/re-territorialised body-semblage. Tooba 'got in' to a paid job that she needed and we 'got in' to our first Skype intra-view. This would likely have happened again if Tooba had had another happy 'got in' experience.

Similarly, Maha (S1, Y12) unintentionally plans one of our walking intra-views on a day when she isn't wearing hijab, whilst attending a workshop at UCL. She makes this affective assemblage of Maha-non-veiled-body. The call lasts less than 3 minutes as the connection is weak. There were many relational materialities that could be made and asked but are left unactualised that day. However, in that short period of time, affect happened. I did not expect to see her without hijab. Amongst all participants, Maha is the most nomadic one; her actual body has not been framed in any structures, femininity, religion, family, home. As she lives between two over-crowded households, it's an actual material impossibility for us to discuss intimately her hair in her room. I never

see her in her room as she says there is nothing important there to show me. She prefers to spend time outside, outside the house, school and area where she lives, to actualise her hair, to rupture the normative self and my normalised seeing of her in hijab. Her hair, black leather jacket and headphones are all set, she is flying the lines, de-territorialising the norms of a Muslim woman.

Apart from hair, UCL is another buzz word and an affective matter in our walking intra-view with Maha. All my participants who come from low socio-economic backgrounds, geographical areas and study BTEC as A-level subjects have highly gendered and class patterns, so admission to Russell Group Universities, like UCL, is an impossible dream for them as they describe. The assemblage of Maha-outside-hair-UCL is therefore a different affective material moment, a potential virtual 'more-than' (Manning 2013, 17) of her body that sometimes can be actualised, takes form, escapes the norms and becomes what she likes to be (Figure 17).

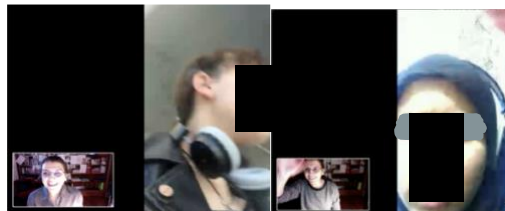


Figure 17: Actual-virtual Maha

Hair, an organ without body

It is impossible to materialise veil/veiling without mattering with hair as its obvious function is to cover hair. The intra-actions of hair-hijab-body in different spacetime-matterings affect the relations of my participants to their bodies and other human and more-than-human bodies. There is an affective entanglement between hair-hijab-Muslimness-femininity in a way that absence/presence of any of these agential actants enable or constrain different capacities, therefore it matters. According to Sharia law, women have

to cover their hair from *non-mahrams*³⁷ (men other than their father, brothers and uncles) and in public. The agency and affective materiality of hijab is historically and discursively intertwined with hair and both relate to many more human and more-than-human spatial and temporal actants including family, feelings, friends, media, beauty industry. According to Islamic teachings (Mernissi 1975 and 1991) and my personal experiences of schooling under an Islamic regime, modesty represents one reason why Muslim women have to wear hijab, which for some can be a political choice (Alam in Afshar 2008). Hijab has been a controversial topic between [Muslim] feminists, Muslims and non-Muslims. What makes hair interesting for me is its relational materialities with hijab, body and space. Regardless of wearing hijab or not, hair has agency in their relations to their bodies and the relations of their bodies to other bodies and spaces. At some point in their lives all Muslim women encounter the questions of how, where and when to start covering their hair, if they live in a religious family, country or have/have-not belief in wearing hijab (Appendix K). My entry point to the analysis of hair is not through critiquing the Islamic interpretation of a woman's body and hair as the locus for the emergence of sin, invoking men to commit sin, look and become sexually aroused, but rather through the affective and material relationalities and potentialities it enables or constrains.

The methodological affordances of my research enabled me to 'see' my participants' different relations to their bodies in different spaces; public, bus, roads, parks and their bedrooms. Tooba and Maha agentially plan our intra-views in places and on occasions where they are not wearing hijab, enabling a different her-self to be seen and said 'lines of flight' that move beyond the normative self to the one that they like to be, by showing their hair. The absence of hair in the representation of Muslim women in public as a material agential force can render an incomplete non-sexualised and non-desirable subjectivity akin to lesbian un-sexy feminine (Ringrose and Rawlings [2015](#),

³⁷ It is permissible for a woman to take off her hijab only in front of her mahrams who are male close relatives by ties of blood such as father, grandfather, great-grandfather, son, grandson, great-grandson, paternal and maternal uncles, brother, brother's son (Islamweb.net retrieved 2019) <https://www.islamweb.net/en/article/177237/who-are-the-mahrams-of-a-woman>

21). Having 'particular' curly, non-normative, unruly Afro-hair (Bordo 2008), short lesbian un-sexy feminine hair (Ringrose and Rawlings [2015](#)), no hair less-masculine boys (21) and covered oppressed non-sexualised Muslim woman hair are vital forces in affecting experiences of body and other more-than-human bodies, space and time.

Those of my participants who contemplate their hair never mention anything about sin, modesty or anything else in relation to their hair; instead they describe how they feel about their hair, how they like it, relating their hair to their beauty and looks (Fayrooz, Fateena, Amani) and gendered senses of self (Tooba) and absence of it when wearing hijab as de/re-territorialisation of their relations to their hair-body-beauty.

Amani (S1, Y9) is an Afghani girl, who wears hijab, with whom I had only one face-to-face interview at school; she had both family and financial difficulties in doing Skype intra-views and/or walking interviews with me. Amani lives in a family of six in temporary two-bedroom accommodation. Their housing situation, being on the Council waiting list for two years re/appears in various contexts in our interview. Whilst on the waiting list, Amani says they have moved their house three times in two years which she says this makes it very hard to adjust. She feels 'frustration' over this, they can't decorate their house, have no table, chairs or couches, they study and sit on the floor. Amani is upset, yesterday her parents sold her pet bird because their house is too small, and her younger sister is allergic to feathers. These affective intensities add to Amani's difficult experiences over their housing situation and our interview.

Amani makes the relational materiality between hijab, hair and beauty; she has been bullied in school for not looking nice in hijab:

I hear once or twice a month some silly things about me, people say I look silly wearing hijab and don't look nice because hijab is covering my hair and I should wear make-up, they say things because I'm a Muslim and I look too young in hijab, I am in Year 9 but in hijab I look like I'm in Year 7.

As Amani says hijab affectively adds more intensity to her petite and skinny body to being bullied, for appearing younger than she actually is. Not/Looking nice and looking silly as an affective 'embodied assemblage of meaning and experience constitute affective relations between bodies and the idealised versions of girl and boy bodies' (Ringrose and Coleman 2013). For Ringrose and Coleman, looking is an affective capacity extending or fixing the ways in which bodies become. Amani relates 'not looking nice' and 'looking silly' to her hijab that covers her hair. Like Tooba, for Amani the absence/presence of hijab-hair produces different 'intensive affects as looks' (Coleman 2009, 138). According to Islamic rules, Muslim girls have to both wear hijab at puberty and start religious practices because they are considered mature enough, even in some cultures to marry let alone praying, fasting and covering. 'Not-looking-nice in hijab' affects Amani, intensifies her relation to hijab, hair, body and others. She says she doubts her decision to wear hijab. For her, not-looking-nice-in-hijab is related to her looking-nice-with-hair. For Amani, the maturity that hijab takes from her can be de/re-territorialised by uncovering her hair. It seems what matters for Amani is not that she does not find herself sexually mature, because according to Islamic rules she is sexually mature and must wear hijab, but rather the matter of seeing her hijab as a constraint not only covering her body but bringing with it various body politics such as not wearing make-up and keeping modesty but also making her look small, immature, silly and not nice.

'Not-looking-nice in hijab' affectively enters her house, intensifying the relation between her hijab, hair, body and parents. She challenges her family who encourage her to wear hijab. Her religious uncle becomes involved, giving her Islamic advice: *'He gave me like a really long talk about how I should be wearing my hijab, how good it is because I'll get lots of blessings from God'*. Our interview happened just after Amani had that 'really long talk' with her uncle when she changed her style of wearing hijab (which must be black as part of the school uniform) from a very tight covering³⁸ of her face to a less tight style of wearing hijab using pins under chin (Appendix K). After Amani

³⁸ See these images of types of hijab that covers the chin and forehead:
https://efafeirani.com/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=54

opted out of the next stages of my study, I encountered her accidentally later on in school when I was conducting photo-diary with other participants. She was not wearing hijab. Her long black hair was in a ponytail. There was no chance to speak, but she smiled at me and I saw a little blink of her eyes. It seems by removing her hijab, Amani de-territorialised her body, hijab and not-looking-nice and re-territorialised it to how she thinks it looks nicer in showing her hair and not wearing hijab as she described in the interview.

Fayrooz (S2, Y12), like Amani making the affective assemblage of hair-hijab-beauty, introduces it as a reason to go to 'on-and-off' mode or completely reject wearing hijab:

I wore it because before I used to think about religion, I still do but I used to think about that and to just be modest and then I took it off, like partly because I like showing off my hair and I like dressing the type of wear I can't dress like that if I do wear a headscarf. It just looks wrong. And partly because you know the things that happened to my sister and my mum, it just scares me.

Fayrooz not only relates the reason for not wearing hijab to her fear of becoming a target of racial harassment like her mother (who was called 'fucking terrorist' on London's underground) and sister (whose hijab was pulled from her head by some white boys on the Tube), but also to how she likes to show off her hair. For Fayrooz, the affective relationship over fear of wider racialising assemblages de-territorialises her relations to her body-hijab-others in deciding not to wear hijab and re-territorialises her body into new relations. With de-territorialisation of hijab, Fayrooz not only finds 'elbow room' (Massumi 2011) to show off her hair and dress as she likes but also not to become a target of racial harassment.

For Muslim women hair matters, as they always face the why-when-how questions of covering it or not (when they reach a certain age) and accordingly being judged as good or bad Muslims. Hair is not the same *thing* for Muslim women compared to non-Muslims. The vital materiality of hair as having 'thing-power' (Bennett 2010,2) affectively does things to my participants' bodies and senses of self and others, making or unmaking the relations.

There is a vast amount of literature around the political significance of black female hair and how it has been intertwined with the colonial and historical construction of bodily norms. In the same way that hair and the knowledge around it associated with black women's hair, it has no place in the body of Muslim women and the literature around it, Muslimness becomes the whole body, a body without organ. In UK society hair, particularly blonde, shiny, straight, bouncy and long, has a dominant presence in public adverts and billboards, and bodies should be of hair-less women with adverts particularly targeted at dark, racialised bodies (Ringrose and Regehr, 2018). A Muslim woman's hair is as much absent for the public as it is present for religion. As Najmabadi suggests, the veil in Muslim societies works as a mechanism for containing and controlling active female sexuality for fear of the threat that it would pose to men's civic and religious lives (2006, 247). Hair and hijab for Muslim women as gendered sexualising and racialising partners of their lived experiences affect their relations to their body and other human and more-than-human bodies. Muslim women's hair is as political as black women's hair; one is curly, puffy, unruly, visible (Bordo 2008) and the other is flat, ruled, covered, invisible.

Unlike other female body hair that has to be normatively shaved, cut, waxed, lasered and invisibilised, head hair has to be normatively visible, seen, shaped and made. Not only has it been socially constructed as an aspect of beauty through its shape, size and colour, but also as a basis for discrimination, marginalisation, sexism and racism. Head hair not only has vast political, economic, colonial history and religious connotations behind it but as an agential factor also enables or constrains affective entanglements and relational materialities. The absence of hair when wearing hijab in public not only ruptures normalised womanhood and normative looks in the public eye (the UK context) but also mingles affectively with racialising assemblages of counterterrorism, re-positioning Muslim women's bodies as threatening and risky.

The affective connection of Fayrooz to body-hijab-others de-territorialises her thinking about religion and modesty as only achievable through wearing hijab and re-territorialises it into thinking that there is no distinction between thinking-about-religion and being in hijab-off state. Fayrooz's de/re-territorialisation journey from wearing hijab to not wearing it suggests the affective and material play of hijab and hair with her body, her relationship to her body and other more-than-human bodies.

Fayrooz's desire to show off her hair and dress differently, not only suggests how the absence/presence of (girly) hair as a 'material object' (Ringrose and Rawlings [2015](#), 21) affects the production of heterosexual desirable femininity but in the context of my study for Fayrooz, Amani and Tooba the absence of hair and its intra-actions with wider terrorism and counter-terrorism racialising assemblages de/re-territorialises them as non-sexualised, non-feminine-enough, and not looking nice. In another affective connection with terrorism that is normatively associated with men, Muslim-woman-veiled-body becomes de-feminised, absent-hair, neutral, rough, men-like and even 'hypermonstrous' (Third 2014, 1), a female threat to social order that is not feminine because she is threatening and not proper terrorist because she is a woman. This resonates with Butler's 'male-identified' or 'unenlightened' women whose sexuality fails to be constructed as written in phallic economy (1990, 39-40). The vital materiality of hair and its intra-action with normative Western standards of feminised beauty; a white, young, slim, blond (straight) hair, tall, and upper class woman (Patton 2006, 30) de/re-territorialises the veiled-body as no-body, not having hair and body; a not-looking-nice-body.

On and/or off-hijab experiences have another agential actant in the assemblage of hair, hijab, body and space; the parents, who I connect with through my participants' experiences and stories. Most parents whose daughters are in 'on and off' stages encourage them to wear hijab. Some of my participants (Maha, Tooba, Fazilah) are on-hijab 'just because they are being told to' or are 'in constant battle' (Maha) to go to off-hijab. Fayrooz, who is off-hijab now, describes the agency of her parents and herself in her on-and-off journey:

My parents would never force me to wear it, but they tell me things like 'you should wear it because there are positive things about it', the religious things like the afterlife and men not staring at me in a certain negative way.

It seems Fayrooz's 'positive things' about not wearing hijab differ from her parents' 'positive things'. She focuses on 'showing off her hair' and 'dressing the way she likes', in her actual present life rather than the afterlife positive things. She makes ruptures in her corporeal presence and position in her familial relations. Her hair and body materially and affectively become a distinctive agential actant in affecting her relation to her parents and others.

Affective assemblages of looking nice-hijab-hair

Fateena (S2, Y12) is in on-and-off state. Like Tooba, she does not live with her parents. I meet her once for a face-to-face interview in School 2. She does not wear hijab at school, and describes her nomadic relationship with hijab:

It was quite abnormal because all my friends started wearing it when they hit Year 7, their mums just told them to wear it and then they just wore it, they didn't really think much of it. But I don't have a mum, so no-one was really there to tell me don't wear hijab, do this do that, it was all myself. So, I was watching my friends always wearing hijab, asking my cousins about it, and when they told me why in our religion, we wear hijab, so I really want to wear hijab. And I wore it. And none of my friends really used to wear hijab properly, like they'd wear it but then they'd take it off in PE or they'd take it off some days and I believe that's not how you should wear hijab; if you should wear it, you should always wear it.

Fateena depicts how not wearing hijab for a Muslim girl is understood as 'abnormal' and how mothers are agential actants in 'telling' their daughters to wear hijab. Some of my other participants raised the same point as Fateena that those who wear hijab at a young age do it because they are being told to do so without thinking much about it. However, Fateena, who has no mother, followed her friends into wearing hijab. Her experience suggests how Muslim girls' becoming is associated with gendered, sexualised and racialised hegemonic norms around hijab. Wearing hijab/not wearing hijab as an agential

factor intra-acts with Muslim girls' gendered, sexualized and racialised subjectivity becoming. Even though hijab can be understood as 'the medium for gender-coding Muslim women's bodies forming a cultural text' (Zine [2006](#), 242) or 'a medium of non-verbal ideological communication' (Hoodfar 2003), like Fateena some of my participants agentially de/re-territorialise the normalised fixed relation of their body-hijab-assemblage in their material lived experiences into nomadic on-and-off relations. They bend the imperatives to be on either side of the binary; to wear hijab and be a good Muslim or not to wear hijab and be a bad Muslim, through moving in-between an on-and-off relationship with hijab.

Fateena makes another relational materiality between hijab and beauty. Like Amani, she understands hijab is in opposition to beauty, covering beauty, and is a reason she shifted to on-and-off hijab state:

Because our God told us we should hide our beauty. So, I didn't feel the need of hiding my beauty one day and not the other. So, I used to really wear it strictly, like in PE I wouldn't take it off. But then as I grew a bit older I kind of lost that and I feel like I'm wearing it just for the sake of it and not for my God anymore. So, I decided to take it off. And I took it off.

Fateena emphasises that when she was younger she followed her God's command to hide her beauty, wearing hijab strictly, but as she has grown older, she has started resisting her God's command. She tells me she has decided not to wear hijab for her God anymore. Tension occurs as she loses the connection with her God and eventually she decides to take it off and does so. Here, not only does Fateena de/re-territorialise her relationship to hijab, body and her God but hijab itself de/re-territorialises Fateena's relationship to God and her body. The God itself is de/re-territorialised, it is not the supreme creator for Fateena anymore as taught in religious instruction, but another lived element that can be bent and ruptured. The agency of age emerges in Fateena's affective assemblage with hijab as she followed her friends wearing of hijab in Year 7, taking it off later as she grew older and when affective materiality of beauty approached. However, like Reema and Noora who

postponed their decision to wear hijab to the future, she does not reject wearing a hijab later:

I just don't feel like I'm in the right mindset to wear hijab at the moment, maybe in the future, when I'm more mature or when I have more Islamic knowledge, I might wear it properly.

This suggests that for some of my participants their hijab is not part of a fixed religious relationship or identity; instead, it leads them to a nomadic 'on-and-off' state allowing experimentation with their body, its material and immaterial relationalities. For instance, Fateena wears hijab in front of 'certain people', like her uncle so I ask how she feels about wearing hijab 'on-and-off':

It's a bit weird, I'm always worrying, when I'm not wearing it, I feel like some people may look at me, think she was wearing hijab the other day. And when I am wearing it some people look at me and think she was not wearing hijab the other day.

For Fateena, her hijab, particularly being in an on-and-off state, does things to her body and relations of her body to others, different looks that worry her. As she says, hijab is not just about 'gendering discourses' (Hamzeh 2011, 484) but also about material and affective associations that affect her body and its relations, make her feel worried or feared. As '*in school I just wouldn't wear it*', the people who '*may look at*' her are '*usually family*' rather than people from school or the public. Even though for Fateena not wearing hijab is because, '*I like my hair*' and '*I don't feel that spiritually connected in a way*', she points out what I also heard from Rana, Fareeda, Reema and Noora who do not wear hijab:

In some areas where Muslims are a minority and not many people know who Muslims are, they might be scared of Muslims due to media, they might think anyone wearing a scarf is a terrorist for example, so they might feel wearing it puts them in harm. And our religion obviously doesn't want you to put yourself in harm, so like our God is really lenient.

As Fateena describes here, the nomadic relationship to hijab-body-semblance is affectively related to space, time and other humans and more-

than-humans. The fear of harm for some of my participants proliferated by counter-terrorism and Prevent policy racialising assemblages enables the capacity for those who don't wear hijab to resist wearing it to avoid harm, but it is also a tool through which some parents take tighter control of their daughters who wear hijab in public spaces or whilst hanging out with friends after school. Here again God appears. This time Fateena's God is a lenient one that she says, obviously, does not want to put them in harm. Her God is *becoming* with them a different God, the one that is materially embedded and embodied in what they experience now instead of the God that is normalised in religious books and narratives as their superior. Fateena's God is not above her but with her.

For Fateena, Rana, Fareeda, Reema and Noora who have nomadic relationships with hijab, their experiences contradict Mirza's (2013) notion of hijab as 'second skin' and the main part of their identity or sign of resistance to western ideological imperialism (Afshar 2008). Unlike successful entrepreneurs, academic, mature Muslim women or university students who have introduced hijab as a sign of empowerment, resistance or a part of their identity (Mirza 2010; Shain 2008; Afshar 2008), for some of my study's Muslim teenagers, Fateena, Amani, Fayrooz and Reema, wearing or not wearing hijab is an affective and material uncertain experimentation with their body. School and the school commute are the first public spaces they have experienced their bodies and relation to their bodies.

Nomadic relations to hijab de/re-territorialise hijab-age-assemblage as a tool for sexualisation of Fateena, Fayrooz and Maha's bodies. 'On-and-off' wearing hijab with queering their relationship to hijab-body-others-space, enables 'alternative modalities of belonging, connectivity and intimacy' (Puar [2007](#), 208) that troubles and extends sexuality beyond identarian frames of religion, culture, family etc. These 'queer becomings' (Renold and Ivinson 2015, 243) can connect Fateena, Fayrooz and Maha to assemblages which enable them to survive their everyday lives. Even though these expansive becomings are sometimes not fully realised, they can throw them forward into other relations of becoming and belonging (Probyn 1996, 59).

Turning to the assemblage of hair-hijab-beauty, Fateena opens up another material relationality, that of hijab, beauty, make-up:

I feel like hijab is meant to cover your beauty, right? But when I'm wearing hijab all I want to do is make my hijab look beautified, I put extra make-up on to look nicer, I feel like hijab doesn't cover my beauty. I'm not saying I want men to look at me but then I'd feel insecure about myself in a way, so I want to please myself kind of. So, what's the point really? Hair. I feel like, there's not much point in it for me.

Fateena describes the relationship between wearing hijab and putting on extra make-up. She de-territorialises the beauty that hijab covers and re-territorialises it by putting on more make-up. To her, wearing more make-up is the only way out of the normative assumption of 'not looking nice in hijab'. This resonates with Amani being bullied for 'not looking nice in hijab' and looking silly wearing no make-up. However, none of my on-hijab participants in School 1 (Peckham), which comprises predominantly black-African students, wear make-up to school, whereas in School 2 (Bethnal Green) with a primarily Muslim population and just a few non-Muslim students, most sixth form Muslim girls wear full make-up. Like Amani and Fayrooz, Fateena not only doesn't understand veiling as a 'protest against the objectification of the female body and the tyranny of beauty that has been further intensified by the commodification of women for the edification of patriarchal capitalist values' (Zine [2006](#), 243), but with putting extra make-up to 'beautify' herself. On one side Fateena de/re-territorialises a new materiality of beauty which is different to normative Islamic narratives: 'modesty as beauty for Muslim woman' or 'beauty is in the heart of Muslim woman and not in her physical appearance'. On the other side she resists being marginalised as a Muslim hijab-wearing woman because of deviating from the hegemonic European beauty norms (Patton 2006, 39) by re-territorialising her beauty through make-up. What marginalises Fateena from being seen as beautiful is not because of having 'not-beautiful' curly hair, the violent journey of Black women (Oyedemi 2016, 537), but because of its absence. As hair for Black women 'is not just hair rather contains emotive qualities that are linked to one's lived experience'

(Thompson 2009, 831), for the Muslim girls in my study hair, and its association with hijab, beauty and make-up, matters. There is a vast amount of marketing around hijab and make-up on social media. As part of the neoliberal marketing 'diversity' narratives and discourse of empowering women, they promote the idea that Muslim girls can be unapologetic about their hijab by buying beauty products and learning to apply make-up³⁹.

Becoming-shark: 'the more-than' with Maha

In this section, I explore nomadic subjectivity becoming with Maha through affective connections with some of the 'more-thans' that emerged in data. I travel affectively with Maha across the rhizomatic lines of 'actuality and virtuality' (Deleuze 1994 [1968]), 'moving in and out of gender categories' (Bragg et al. 2018, 4).

Maha is a tall, white, Algerian-British girl who does not wear hijab in a fashionable way like some other Muslim girls⁴⁰ wrapping it around the head⁴¹. She just ties 'it' (hijab) under her chin using a pin, and nor does she wear/like make-up. She lives between two crowded parental homes, being the eldest in her mother's home and the third child in her father's home. She has only one fully-related brother with the rest half-siblings: 'It's just a lot of us'. Nomadically, she moves between two houses and two different Mahas, wearing 'it' (hijab) in one house but not in the other. She says she wears 'it' (hijab) '*just because my mum told me to do so*'. She says she is '*in an ongoing battle with my mum to not wear it*'. I saw her several times hanging around with boys mostly near the only small corner shop next to the school.

³⁹ Shahd Batal, hijabi beauty bloggers Beauty Test: 3 Hijab-Makeup Pairings That Have Us Dreaming of Spring; <https://www.byrdie.com/hijab-makeup> How 16 Hijabi Women Use Makeup To Express Themselves; <https://www.bustle.com/p/how-16-hijabi-women-use-makeup-to-express-themselves-39355>

⁴⁰ Wrapping Hijab without pins: <https://www.brandedgirls.com/Hijab-without-cap-tutorial-wear-Hijab-without-undercap/>

⁴¹ For More information see '20 Simple Hijab Styles!' Tutorial: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E-XRGlcID08>

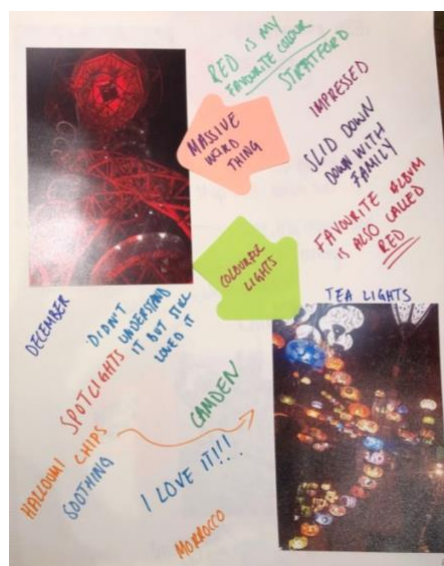
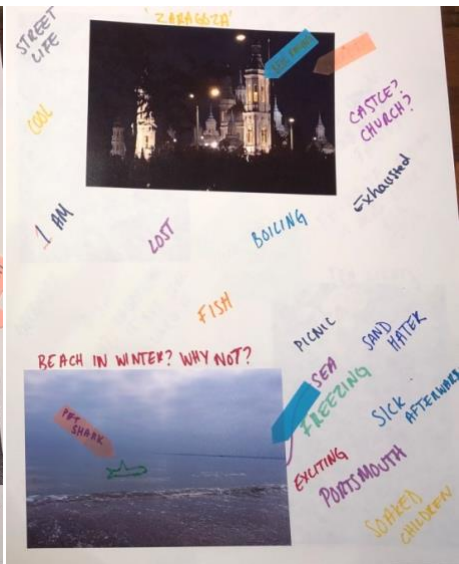
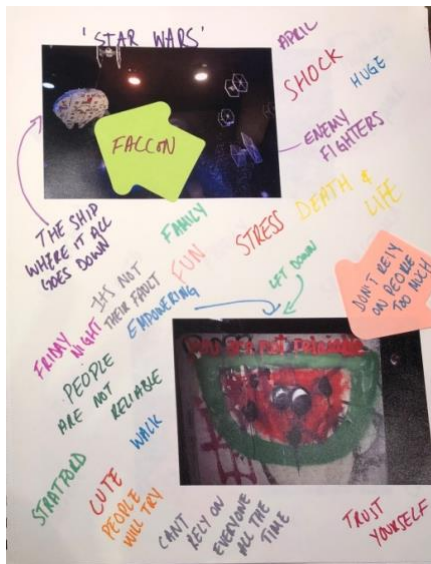
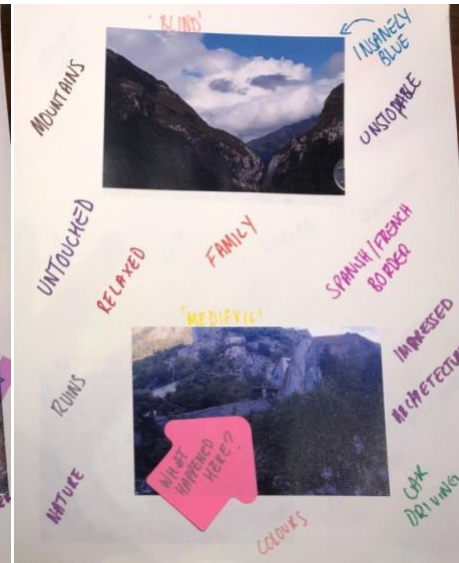


Figure 18: Maha-assemblage

Maha's pictures begin with rainbow smoke at Pride in London, sea, mountain, tunnel, sky, a watermelon graffiti finishing with a colourful Camden Moroccan light shop (Figure 18). The queer non-normative sexualised Maha's body actualises with the extension of her body not only with words but with colours. Unlike my other participants' pictures, no-thing that 'actually' relates to her body, her room or any objects in her room, can be seen in her photo-diary pictures. In replying to my text explaining that photos for the photo-diary can be anything in their room, she sent me this text message, '*There isn't really anything in my room to show you 😊 thanks for understanding though 😊*'. The laughing and smiling emojis reminded me of her 'laughing so hard' and falling off her chair when she encountered baffling racialised questions of '*Do you shower with that on?*' (see Chapter 4: Re-mattering racialising assemblages). Affected by this text message, I asked myself whether my request 'to take a picture of something important in her room' is another baffling question that Maha tries to ignore with a laughing emoji? Is this laughing emoji materialising another laugh at 'what's difficult than funny' (Stengel [2014](#), 200). Living in crowded circumstances with four younger siblings on her mother's side and six siblings on her father's, Maha shares a room with her siblings in both parents' homes; their toys and presence are part of Maha's becoming. Babysitting is one of the components of Maha's subjectivity formation. However, neither of these crowds is where 'unapologetically' she can 'be herself', as her crowd is Pride in London, sea, sky, tunnel and colourful lights which she photographed for her photo-diary (Figure 18):

These are all things that actually mean something to me, they have memories attached...my house is just my house, nothing really to say about it, that might be different for some people, they might like their house, but I rather be outside.

Maha has nomadic relations to 'out'-side, it is both affectively constraining and enabling. In one place, her father's area, it is intertwined with fear of harassment for not wearing hijab and in another place, her mother's area, there's a sense of not being herself because she wears 'it'. Yet in relation to both houses 'out-side' seems to provide a space out of those houses. 'Out'-

side enables the potentialities to remove self from her parents' homes when she says she prefers outside.

With Maha particularly I feel there are so many things for her to say which haven't been actualised. I feel, think and know something, perhaps a 'not-finding' or a 'not-data' about her which might be difficult to put into words but can be materialised through entanglement with the more-than of human body. I am affected by something that hasn't been captured in the audio, in the form of voice, words or narration but in the absence of her body in the pictures, as if the captured data are not about her at all, the graffiti, sky, sea and mountain without single reference to a human (Figure 18). The data that 'wondered' (Maclure 2013) me and I wandered with throughout my research encounters with Maha were not said or captured in present but *felt* and materialised otherwise. The 'more-than' are the potentialities to make relations with what have not been said, seen and felt. For Renold and Ivinson (2019, 1) the 'more than' of young people's beingness in their art-based praxis with young people living in a post-industrial community is a kind of buried, unknown-known anticipation. The 'more-than' extends the data, body, space and me across the boundaries of subjectivity formations. What I am going to 'know' about Maha is not bound to what she says, sees and feels but the potentialities of Maha and her living environments that might/might-not emerge in the spacetime mattering of our encounter.

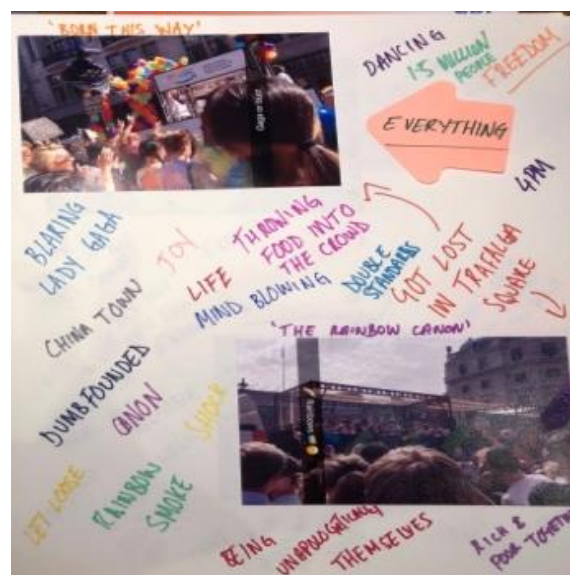


Figure 19: Born this way

Maha starts her photo-diary with her pictures of Pride in London calling it 'Born this way',⁴² the affective presence of this image as a 'relay and return' (Haraway 2017) travelling with us during our research encounters when Maha keeps referring to it. Her 'actual' body is not here in the Dark Room (the school 1 interview room) or there in the pictures, rather her non-bounded fluid being and becoming, virtual flights with pictures of blue sky, snowy mountains, sea waves, rainbow smoke, Lady Gaga and Pride. Amongst colourful words she writes in capital letters, underlining two words, EVERYTHING and FREEDOM (Figure 19). It is impossible to matter with Maha without considering her as an assemblage. Her subjectivity (becoming) emerges in-between intra-actions of the actual experiences of Pride, pet shark, babysitting, Stratford (her father's house), Peckham (school and her mother's house) and the virtual becomings with sea, tunnel, shark, watermelon graffiti and others. As a 'non-totalizable sum' (Bennett 2010, 12) Maha becomes a component of an affective array of bodies and vital materialities. Other than her Pride's picture showing people and movement, at first glance her other pictures seem static, empty, motionless, but in virtuality stretching and entangling with Maha's body, the crowd in Pride, sea, shark, tunnel, mountain and watermelon graffiti become an unseen and unsaid component of Maha's subjectivity assemblage, the materiality of her family life, her becoming in and out of veiling and her desires to 'be unapologetically herself'. These 'things' make Maha's actual-virtual self, feel actualised via their persistent appearance across photo-diary (Allen 2015, 944). For Allen attending to the vital materiality of objects and non-human matters in a photo-diary picture can reveal how sexuality emerges via the intra-active mixture of human and non-human bodies (615). Making new relations, Maha actualises her virtual potentialities (Colebrook 2006, 7) that gendered, sexualised and religious normative structures constrain. Maha is not what I see in her actual 'being' here anymore but that sea, shark, Pride in London and tunnel that her virtual potentialities open up to become with.

⁴² American singer [Lady Gaga](#), song lyrics discuss the self-empowerment of minorities including LGBTQ community and racial minorities: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wV1FrqwZyKw>

By re-materialising herself with Pride, sea, tunnels and blue sky she actualises the potential virtual Maha, a nomadic body with subjectivity that does not end in any frame, skin, structure, gender, sexuality, family, school, religion or veil, but instead extends to the more-than. Maha's nomadic becoming or 'nomadic subjectivity' (Braidotti 2011, 289) is always in and of the relational, material and affective processes, intertwined in multiple, dynamic webs of complexity. Maha materialises her virtual-actual body that does not belong to any of these fixed positions. Her pictures, Pride, sea, mountain, shark, rainbow, glitter and graffiti become Maha's virtual-actual body, a body that never 'is' a present body but becomes an actual-virtual one.

Maha calls her hijab 'it', something that is displaced, having no subject or object, unknown, not from her body and not in-place: 'it is my mum not much about me'. Later in our walking intra-view, discussing harassment from a Muslim shopkeeper for not wearing hijab, she strongly rejects that hijab describes her personality. Her actual self is the virtual one, the one that she is not, but that she becomes. Her actual-self is 'actually' closer to her virtual body-self than the supposedly actual 'body-"it"(hijab)' that I see:

If you put it [hijab] to describe me it's so sad actually, why would you use a piece of material to describe you? That is like using a tissue as that's my entire personality.

This 'it' can be a reason that Maha's body does not appear in the pictures, as if for Maha, the only way to materialise the actual/virtual body, the one that she likes to become, is to 'remove' this body-'it' from the pictures.

To Maha, hijab is not a sign of empowerment for everyone, as she describes during our face-to-face interview:

I think society has it a little bit wrong, they see it as female empowerment, to some people it is, but they also forget the millions of girls force to wear it and don't have much choice [in loud voice] they completely ignoring the fact that in some cases it is not, it is de-humanisation, so they have an idea of Islam and Muslim, specially Muslim women in their head but it is not necessarily a right idea.

It seems that for Maha, this 'piece of material' not only hinders her desire to be 'normatively' recognised as white normal British but also to be non-normatively queer, not captured in the white/skin/Muslim/feminine/veiled/body. Maha's white skin creates the material conditions for her to feel having more relations and interests in Lady Gaga's 'born this way' and Taylor Swift as white blonde celebrities. Lady Gaga appeared in her *Pride*'s picture and Taylor Swift at the very beginning of our face-to-face interview when I asked her to tell me about herself:

[laughing and deep, long breathing]...*all right, you know how is it when someone asks you who you are and you don't know you just have that moment that who am I* [laughing, then she clears her voice and continues] *I am Maha, I take biology, chemistry, psychology as A-levels, and hoping to...who am I, omg I love Taylor Swift.*

Maha's laugh again agentially materialises another difficult circumstance, the question of 'who you are'. Taylor Swift cuts the linearity of Maha's becoming with her A-level subjects, makes a buzz in the room, Maha's voice becomes louder, more energetic, her body swinging on the chair, making a squeaking noise. The emergence of Taylor Swift suggests how Maha's subjectivity-becomings happen across the continuum of various affective and material experiences, discourses, school, classmates, and popular culture. This resonates with McRobbie's (1994) accounts of political usefulness of popular culture as 'site of resistance' and 'site of struggle' (66). For McRobbie 'the locus of construction of identity shifted from traditional categories of class, work and community to 'other constellations of strong cultural meaning: the body, sexuality, or ethnicity, for example: nationality, style, image, even subculture' (5). I extend this reading of popular culture beyond the site of resistance or struggle, to consider Taylor Swift in Maha's 'who you are' story as an affective channel to her new becoming, a capacity for her to become other than her previous self.

She does not finish her sentence by saying something about her hopes and interests for university subjects, instead what she hopes is *somehow* related to Taylor Swift:

I love her maybe in the sense that she is weirder than I am, I am weird, but she is weirder, she is just funny, she makes me laugh.

What is weird in Maha being weird? Here again the laugh comes in, when being weird materialises. Maha's being weird sits with other affective, material and immaterial components of her becoming-assemblages, suggests how she de/re-territorialises the location of her sexuality and gender away from normalised bodies and pre-inscribed categories (Fox and Alldred 2013, 769). I read this weird-ness as queering that is not the promise of 'consistency, stability and normalization' requiring inclusion and tolerance (Renold and Ivinson 2015, 252) but becoming undone, not-fitting-in in any normative structures, practices of undoing to dislodge 'sex/uality from its normative function as the mechanism of emotional cohesion that sustains aggressive heteronormativity'.

We Shark, We Sea, We Swim

Queering has the job of undoing 'normal' categories, and none is more critical than the human/nonhuman sorting operation.

(Haraway 2008, xxiv)

It is a wintry cold day, Maha, her mother and four younger siblings are at the beach. She describes the day as stressful and writes FREEZING, SICK AFTERWARDS, SOAKED CHILDREN. None of these can be seen in the picture as well as another Maha that sea and pet shark enable, the one who can swim far as a shark, become a dot in the sea, unapologetically herself, a non-human, a more-than-human her. In the space-timed of the dark room and photo-diary session, another Maha slides and sticks on the picture, the non-actualised impossible body to the possibility of her immaterial becoming. She de/re-territorialises her body, space and others, differently: shark.

Sea enables me to feel with Maha, her stressful babysitting responsibilities in both her parents' homes, the unseen and immaterialised part of her picture. The picture is saturated with sea, even the dark wintry clouds have the same sea colour, no-thing is in the picture except sea, no waves, sand or beach (Figure 20). The angle of the picture reveals Maha standing very close to or in the water. We start with an abstract, blank and empty 'picture of nothing' (Allen

2016) and later Maha's pet shark in green becomes materialised as one of those many unseen hidden things under the sea, 'not scary' just 'an innocent' pet shark that perhaps you can 'want', 'like', 'understand' and 'respect'⁴³ like Maha herself.



Figure 20: Beach in winter? Why not?

I ask Maha, exactly what is in this picture?

Sea, I like sea, but we explore only one percent of the sea, no one knows what's in there, and that's crazy exciting.

Is Maha the sea, that 'only one percent' of her that I, we and her parents know? I ask about her excitement over things that are hidden or uncertain, such as tunnels (Figure 18) that 'You just can't see what's in the other end and you just go like blind'. She replies:

You are like, what is in there, what is hiding, what is going on, I think it might scare many people because they don't know what's in the sea, but I find that cool. I am just that one person that go really far out to the point that I am a dot in a distance.

Maha does 'swim far out to become a dot in distance' to hide herself, not to be seen, to become 'untouchable and unstoppable' (her materialised words for the picture of blue sky) but also to become-sea, explore her potentialities, 'be unapologetically herself', changing her crowds from human to non-humans, changing where she walks to where she swims and changing what her body

⁴³ The words used in quotation marks in this sentence are the words Maha used in the interview.

cannot do to what her body can do. Becoming untouchable, unstoppable and unapologetically herself are the longing for weirdness, for becoming otherwise and not apologetic. The hidden and unseen things under the sea akin to differences that become invisible in the Pride in London crowd for Maha, imply potentialities that her body cannot find in other relations, family, school, female veiled body and religion:

They [her parents] don't like it [swimming], was it on purpose [to swim far out in the sea]? It was on purpose, and I just come back and then I go in later because they know I am a strong swimmer and I am not stupid, and I am not gonna go to a point where I can't get back.

But how does swimming come in? Maha purposefully swims far out to become a dot in distance, to resist her parents who do not like swimming. Swimming and 'water-body talk' (Renold and Ivinson 2015, 249) materialise with her description of the sea as hidden and scary for some including her parents, but cool for her. She is a strong swimmer as she says. She agentially queers the land with her body, becoming a 'water-body assemblage' (250) swimming far in the sea, against her parents' will. De/re-territorialisation of swimming '*really far out to the point that I am a dot in a distance*', enables Maha in those moments of swimming and this photo-diary session a transcendence or singularity (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) when Maha becomes 'what she can do'. Sea and swimming appear in our face-to-face interview as well when she explains why she is not interested in joining school clubs (such as feminist): '*I just like trying new things, like I am gonna try cold water swimming in Dec, I like weird things that catch your eyes, debate clubs they are everywhere*'. Another time in photo-diary session, she refers to Burkini [swimming costume for Muslim women who cover] and how she finds it 'ridiculous'. The vital materiality of swimming and sea with Maha, not only enables the emergence of becoming otherwise but also as Probyn says 'materialises desire as that productive force which compels a theory of belonging' (Probyn 1996, 41). Sea, like Pride in London for Maha, is where she can experience her post-human queering body going far and becoming unapologetically herself, what her body cannot easily do in other contexts as a Muslim-veiled-woman:

...It's [the sea] not shark-infested or anything, they're scared of sharks, instead give the sharks the respect they deserve.

The shark suddenly makes a buzz in the room, Maha starts laughing; 'Let's draw a shark, I love shark' (Figure 21).

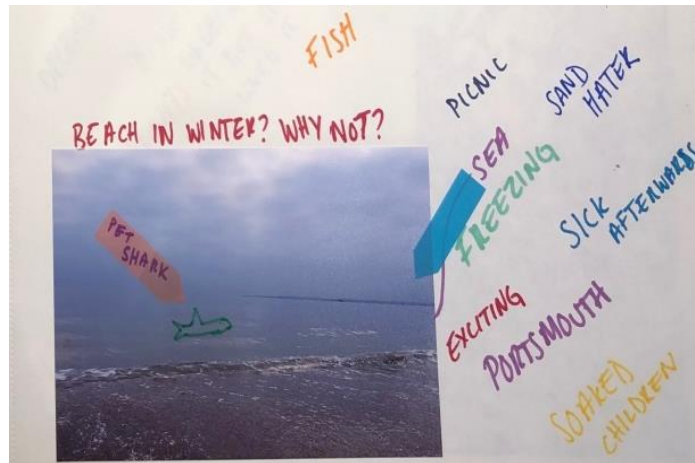


Figure 21: Becoming-shark

She searches for a sharpie and a colour to add a shark to the picture, sharpies suddenly move unapologetically fast, words were faded away for moments, the only sound is the sound of sharpies, a zigzag like sound, the sound of affect, of being unapologetically herself; fast, fluid and not linear. Momentarily I feel I am pulled into a sound-event, haptically touched by the sounds of sharpies, of the shark in Maha...

She materialises what has been hidden in the sea, in her:

I don't know why people get scared of sharks, they are just trying to live their life, they just exist and don't do anything to you.

Then she draws a shark in green, with just a dot for an eye:

Um, just pretend that it's a shark. It's a whale but it's a shark too.

She laughs and stares at the picture:

It's my pet shark. I have decided this is my pet shark.

Shark and sea are doings and becoming-with, not nouns that are already known, named and signified. Shark and sea become part of the actualisation of virtual-actual body of Maha. They make new connections and relations between Maha's body and other more-than-human bodies. Maha's shark, shark Maha just wants to live her life and be unapologetically herself.

Sensing the world with ears

Humanity and non-humanity have always performed an intricate dance with each other. There was never a time when human agency was anything other than an interfolding network of humanity and nonhumanity

(Bennett 2010, 31)

Outside is a vital place for my participants where most racial and sexual harassment happens. For most of my participants, outside intertwines with fear. Contingency of fear sticks to every moment of my participants' mundane practices outside. Instead of public I use the notion of 'outside' to explore its material and immaterial inseparability of the body through affect analysis and to move away from public and its positive connotations as a place of whiteness.

I explore how for my participants, public has little association with shared, open, free, communal but more conditional, risk and fear. I mainly focus on one of my walking intra-view experiences with Maha and how she de/re-territorialises her relationship with space and body in the fear-full outside, using headphones. Walking outside with Maha becomes an affective channel to associate with her everyday subjectivity-becoming. Walking to school for Maha, who wears hijab, brings her visible Muslim identity to the fore. The vital materiality of hijab becomes an affective and material mark on the body materialising difference and 'radically striate[s]' the margin (Minh-Ha 1991, 14) of bodies, matter, space, to the extent that 'it felt as though the scarf took the walk' (Salem et al. [2019](#), 243), not Maha. As we walked from her house to

school, we experienced varying states of wonder and wander, enabling intersecting bodies, objects, space and feelings shifting with each step in and out of centres and margins (242) or what Minh-Ha terms as 'horizontal vertigos' (cited in Salem et al. [2019](#)). These frictional movements between assemblages foreground the mutually co-constitutive forces of race, class, sex, gender, and nation (Puar 2012, 49).

All my participants are aware of racialised and sexualised intolerance towards Muslims, most of them or their family members have had such experiences; even if they haven't, they feel that being in public is not always safe for them. Public is outside for them, a place that belonging to it, is conditional and uncertain. Their share of public spaces is heavier with carrying fear most of the time, more than any other intensity. However, through the affective premise of this study, out-side is not a space out of the body, rather a tangible component of the body-spacetime-mattering. Terrorism, counter-terrorism and must security culture as one of the new components of the racialised affective atmosphere which targets Muslims' bodies in schools, tubes, roads, hospitals, nurseries and so on, has affectively changed the materiality of public spaces for some people, from a communal place to an out-side, a non-place, an unknown place which they should quickly, hesitantly and fearfully pass by. When public becomes an 'out-side' void of commonality, then each participant's body 'outside' becomes an 'affect alien' (Ahmed 2010, 37), a stranger and a 'queer unhappy [threatening] object' (42). The anxious experiences of self-doubting and self-questioning (Muna, Farah) and feeling paranoid (Inas) are part of the affective enactments of alien-ness in outside. Outside is not a place for them to stay long, especially when they are alone. In this situation walking outside, as Springgay and Truman (2018) say, is never neutral. For Muslim-non/veiled-schoolgirls what it means to walk is not the same as 'celebrating the white male flâneur, who strolls leisurely through the city' (14). Springgay and Truman (2018, 54) problematise the idealised flâneur emerging as a distinctive elite figure in early 19th-century Paris wandering the streets with no purpose or destination in mind. The flâneur then became a methodology used by urban ethnographers for understanding themes of urban embodiment however, according to Coates (2017), then became an alienated

figure who is both part of the city but detached from it (31). I moved beyond the flâneur, to different conceptualisations of walking that are attentive to the affective and materiality of moving in the city for Muslim schoolgirls. In *Walking while Black*, Garnette Cadogan (2016) explains how as a Black man he needs to employ a list of tactics to walk around New York City: no running, no sudden movements, no objects in hand, no hoodies, and no loitering on street corners. Cadogan's experience resonates with Ahmed's (2006b) accounts that some spaces or places, such as the city street, are barred from the experience of certain racialised bodies, even as those spaces co-produce such bodies. For Ahmed '[t]he 'matter' of race is very much about embodied reality; seeing oneself or being seen as white [or brown] or black or mixed does affect what one 'can do,' or even where one can go, which can be re-described in terms of what is and is not within reach' (2006b,112).

Some of my participants are dropped off and collected from school, mainly by parents or uncles. Most of their siblings and cousins go to the same schools and live in the same area. This allows them to commute together. This togetherness⁴⁴ as an 'active traffic' (Niccolini et al. [2018](#), 331) of racialised relations, affects and bodies like Cadogan's tactics imply a way of 'making kin' together to 'stay with the trouble' (Haraway 2016, 1). Being a Muslim in this *time of now* adds more intensities to the previous gendered parental controls on girls, materialises this together-ness as an affective assemblage of gender-sexuality-religion-community-threat-control. Fear of 'outside', as a component of control in terrorism and counter-terrorism racialising assemblages, working affectively in various contagious dimensions also activates parents to be affected and affect their daughters-body-spaced, limiting and controlling my participants from hanging out with friends outside after school.

For Maha (S1, Y12), outside materialises assemblages of fear and freedom, she prefers outside than being at home/homes. Even though she had few racial harassment's experiences from Muslim men because of not wearing

⁴⁴ We used together-ness in Medusa and her Gorgon sisters' story: 'Stheno (strength) and Euryale (wide-leaping) lived on an island together beyond the Hesperides, beyond evening, near the end or edge of the world. Together they harboured a hatred of mortal men and their patriarchal laws of the Father', as a form of feminist power (Zarabadi et al. 2019, 99).

hijab in father's area, but still, she prefers outside than her homes. Maha who has divorced parents, lives between her mother's and father's homes; she stays with her mother on weekdays and is never collected from school by her stepfather or mother; her maternal siblings are not yet of school age. To her parents, '*she is a big girl she can look after herself*' and she '*does not rely on them*' in the main. She walks alone to and from school. Unlike some other participants who wear small earbuds hidden under their headscarf, she always has big white trendy headphones on top of her headscarf, listening to music on her school commute:

It's just nice because in a way when people see your headphones on, they don't like to talk to you, they just keep walking.

It is 15:09, 20/10/2017. Maha's headphones glow in this encounter. The vital materiality of Maha's headphone is not their commodity value, price, brand or quality, but the way in which it de-territorialises Maha's body from the time-space she is walking *with* and simultaneously stitch her body into a virtual world which she likes to be *in*.

Maha's account of not having much time to spend on her phone, suggests the ways in which using phone, headphones and listening to music can be agential enactments related to 'outside':

It's not really excluding myself from the environment, it's just kind of excluding myself in general because you need a break sometimes and you don't have to worry that someone might try to talk to you, you have your headphones on and you go a bit like free I guess.

Even though for Maha who lives in two overcrowded family households, generally excluding herself, having a break, feeling worried that people might talk to her and going free, can imply using 'outside' space for being 'out' of where she is not necessarily feeling belonged to (two families), as 'outside belongings' (Probyn 1996, 7), that is the condition of possibilities for 'belonging outside of the divisiveness of categorizing' (10) but also feeling 'out' of 'outside' too, towards a virtual walking and becoming. Maha says '*I like that feeling of removing myself, it's kind of freeing*'. Springgay and Truman (2018, 14) call this a 'queer walking' whilst for Maha, walking wearing headphones, de/re-

territorialises the humanism's structuring of human and nonhuman, nature and culture.

Maha's headphones as an object having 'thing-power' (Bennett 2010,2) is not an inert, passive matter waiting to be used by humans, but rather an agential force enabling mobility, de/re-territorialisation and re-arrangement of relations of Maha to her body and other humans' and more-than-humans' bodies. For Maha headphones matter in order to virtually make possible her *actual* presence in the outside. Maha's wearing headphone resonates with Cadogan's list of tactics to walk as a Black man in New York City. It becomes an object that queers the gendered, sexualised and racialised walking in the neighbourhood. The assemblage of Maha-headphone-body-'it' (hijab)-outside bridges time, place and attachments (Thomson et al. 2018, 99). When listening to music, she de-territorialises the sounds, noises, bodies and spaces, re-attuning herself to the tones and rhythms she likes. She becomes a walking post-human. She senses the world with ears more than eyes, with music more than noise, with dreams more than racial harassment. She plugs into her body-music and plugs out of her body in outside. She becomes more ears than eyes, more in than out. She re-replaces the spaces of not-belonging and the body-outside-belonging with the spaces of virtual-becoming.

Maha's intention is to exclude herself by wearing headphones promoted by several affective experiences of racial harassment she had in relation to her body, 'it' (hijab) and space. In Stratford, when she stays at her father's at weekends, she goes 'on-and-off', occasionally not wearing hijab:

There are strangers that don't know anything about me, when I am not wearing it, they building into comment, it's not even their attitudes that just annoys me so much, it's like I wanted to go and shop and he started yelling at me...depending on my mood when they catch me, sometimes I snap and start yelling at them sometimes I just say I don't care about your opinion, so generally people nasty about me because of not wearing it.

The man who yelled at Maha for not wearing hijab was a Muslim shopkeeper:

It's always Muslims, I have never had any non-Muslim saying anything to me about wearing or not wearing hijab, they all in your face where is your hijab, you are not wearing it, you are gonna burn in hell and I am just like okay I guess I see you there.



Figure 22: Going free, battery dies

When we get to this point, Maha's phone goes on one percent battery charge; *'my phone is on 1 percent it's gonna give up any second,'* with dying battery we actually become with Maha's last words *'when you go a bit like free'*. Maha is walking faster, breathing faster, the road she walks now are not the main roads, not busy, she is 5 minutes from home, battery dies (Figure 22).

Maha encounters a form of sexual policing by a Muslim man in her father's neighbourhood in East London. A Muslim male shopkeeper as molar line seeks to aggregate, colonise, and territorialise Maha's non-veiled-body-space into a rigid representation of her veiled-body (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 219). His comment that, *'You are not wearing it, you are gonna burn in hell'* resonates with how 'the girl is a radical singularity constituted in relations of power between statements and visibility' (Driscoll 2002, 193 cited in Renold and Ringrose 2013). Maha becoming a sexualised-body is de/re-territorialised as the figure of deviated Muslim-woman-other posing a social threat through Muslim man's panic. Maha's non-veiled-sexualised-deviated-body who de/re-territorialised as a community threat by a Muslim man and his panic, in this *space*, is nomadically the one who as veiled-racialised-threatening-body de/re-territorialised as a national threat by a non-Muslim classmate when she asked her the 'weird question' of *'Do you shower with that thing on?'* (see Chapter 4)

in the other *space*. Post-human-headphoned-Maha can sometimes de/re-territorialise these normalising molar patriarchal encounters. Having headphones on queers the normalised walking-with-body-fear-space listening to music, walking to different rhythms and de/re-territorialises to actual-virtual positionalities of her body in the 'outside', a porous positionality. A body that is supposed to be 'burned in hell' is de-territorialised into a body that walks with different attunements. A body that plugs-out of things; the body-'it' (hijab) assemblage which she forcefully carries and the affective atmospheres of fear and harassment, and plugs-in to those she likes.

Continuation

In this chapter I mapped the relational materialities of the humans and more-than-human participants in my study. Through the onto-ethico-epistemological capacities that the notion of 'nomad' opened up in thinking, walking, making and writing, the participants, researcher and others move actually and virtually in-out-with spaces, bodies and things, to make and unmake relations and to re/materialise feelings, desires, memories and bodies. We became fast and slow, sometimes when walking and other times when making, removed and proximate with intra-viewing and moved back and forth with stories of past and desires to become.

As human and more-than-human agential participants, objects, hair, nature, materialised, I explored my participants' subjectivity as nomadic, always reforming in transpositions and in movements between material and immaterial, corporeal and incorporeal, actual and virtual. In these nomadic becomings, my participants had nomadic relations to hijab, community, body and sexuality. My participants diffractively re-materialised their nomadic subjectivity becomings through more-than-human things in our walking intra-views and photo-diary making. I also read diffractively my participant's nomadic subjectivity becomings through other actants; hair, headphones, looking nice, sea, Pride in London and walking, making and swimming along with human voice, words, and speaking.

Chapter 7: Spatial im/material-becoming

Introduction

Sf is a method of tracing, of following a thread in the dark, in a dangerous true tale of adventures...the string figure is not the tracking, but rather the actual thing, the pattern and assembly that solicits response, the thing that is not oneself but with which one must go on...string figuring is passing on and receiving, making and unmaking, picking up threads and dropping them. Sf is practice and process; it is becoming-with each other in surprising relays; it is a figure for ongoingness in the Chthulucene.

(Haraway 2016, 3)

In this chapter, I map the relational materialities between space and bodies and the affective capacities that are enhanced or diminished in the relationships between spaces, subjectivities, bodies, desires and feelings. Following the onto-ethico-epistemological proposition of my study that space matters (Massey 2005; Saldanha 2006; Taylor 2018; Malone 2015) I associate myself with some of the spaces that 'glow' (Maclure 2013; 2015) in my various research encounters with my participants during walking intra-views and photo-diary making. I take affective and material turns to consider space not as an inert context or background or as a total determinant of my participants' relations, but as one of the affective partners of my participants' becoming-assemblage that agentially enable or constrain different relations to their bodies and to other human and more-than-human bodies. I use the concept of 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009 and 2014; Stewart 2007 and 2011; Ringrose and Renold 2016; McCormack 2013) to combine with ontopowers (Massumi, 2015a; 2015b) in the space and to think of space as one component of processual, relational and mutual co-constitution of bodies, entities, feelings and desires rather than a socially constructed place (Cresswell 2015) having solid boundaries with bodies.

My methodology enables my participants, myself and other agential 'actants' (Latour 1992, 22) to move diffractively between spaces, bodies and more-than-human bodies. I note the *where*, *how*, *when* of the emergence of these

relational materialities that is made with space. Alongside the affective and material experiences of my participants, I consider these spaces, and the relational materialities they enable/are enabled through, as relational more-than-human findings, that can de-centre the human agency. Following this methodology, the space has a prominent agency in both the chapter's order and its organisation.

Bus 343: becoming on wheels

In this section, I explore the materiality and affectivity of 'the body-space choreographies' (Taylor 2018a) with the bus. Bus 343 is the moving space where most of my walking intra-views happened with School 1's participants. Walking intra-views enabled me to entangle with my participants' bodies in the bus's complex rhizomatic space. Part of the everyday life of most of my School 1 participants is spent on Bus 343 on which they commute daily to and from school, 40 minutes each way. I combine with the body-space choreographies of Ameera, Inas and Muna in material relations with other moving bodies on the bus, a different material positionality of their bodies in the crowd, compared to the material positionality of their bodies in their bedrooms or school rooms where face-to-face interviews happened. I explore how Ameera, Inas and Muna's subjectivity-becomings, feelings, knowing and thinking partially enabled through the everyday intra-actions with this space. To understand how gendered, racialised and sexualised bodies materialise on the bus, I move beyond the analysis of bus as an inert background or platform in which human bodies act, make meanings or travel, to a broader assemblage of vibrant matters of bodies and space (Massey 2005; McCormack 2008; Bennett 2010) that has agency in re-modulating my participants' becoming and subjectivity formation. Rather than being just a public transport vehicle, bus 343 provides a gendered and racialised 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009) traversing and re-assembling bodies, things and space. For Anderson, affective atmosphere as a shared ground not only enables subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions to emerge but also traverses distinctions between peoples, things, and spaces (2009, 77-78). Ringrose and Renold (2016, 230-232) use this concept to practice the possibility of feminist

becoming and collective engagement with feminism in their post-human feminist agenda. In their study, girls expressing their drives, energies and inspiration in their talk as affective solidarities spark revolutionary feminist atmospheres. Considering Bus 343 as an affective atmosphere not only focuses attention on ‘what is often beneath what has become normalized’ (Clough and Calderaro 2018, xii), the normative bodily performances and civilised behaviours, but also the vital materiality of the seats, doors, stopping and starting, gazing, talking and announcements, all become parts of this moving affective assemblage.

Bus 343's route is 7 miles comprising 45 stops compared to, say, bus 268's route in North London, 3 miles comprising 20 stops, or Central London's 189 with 22 stops stretched over 6 miles. It travels from the east, leaves the north, crosses the Thames and reaches south-east London (Figure 23).

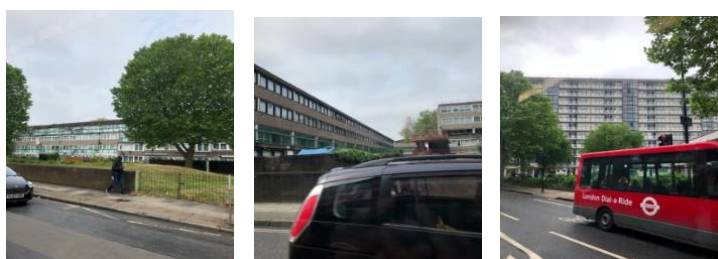


Figure 23: Bus route 343 map (TFL)

Bus 343⁴⁵ cuts through layers of social housing comprising standardised buildings (Figure 24), the density of these layered relationships of bodies,

⁴⁵ London Bus route 343 runs between New Cross Gate and Aldgate via Brockley, Peckham, Elephant & Castle and London Bridge. Its crowding levels, the local area's deprivation and need

concrete and moving space of the bus can be speculated when swarms of human bodies, mostly schoolchildren, enter the bus in the morning rush hour or suddenly all alight at school, re-territorialising the body-spaces with new and different intensities. It's not just Bus 343 stretching along the route, but the nomadic bodies in relay and return 'passing on and receiving, making and unmaking, picking up threads and dropping them' (Haraway 2016, 3), being pulled into new body-space-assemblage by this red 'string-figure' (10) route (Figure 24). Most of my School 1 participants have commuted on this route at least twice a day for 5 years, or their whole school years. Bus 343 as red string-figure re-moves and re-makes the bodies, spaces and lived experiences along this route from E1 to SE22, calling these into different ways of being and becoming. My participants relay and return with red string moving through two different territories; their Peckham and Elephant & Castle homes where over two thirds of the population belong to Black and south-east Asian communities⁴⁶ (71%), and their school in Dulwich comprising the lowest (20%⁴⁷) Black and South East Asian population. Everyday, 343's red string route stretches and weaves carrying my participants' bodies, memories, desires, materials and feelings, along the lines of deprivation and inequality⁴⁸. Throughout my year of fieldwork, I took Bus 343 at least twenty times to and from School 1, entangling with that space, bus stops, movements, sounds and bodies usually with the same people around the same time.



for better public transport links have been relevant issues for some years; Note of Transport Committee's site visit on bus route 343, 9 July 2013.

https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_migrate_files_destination/Site_visits_and_survey_results_0.pdf

⁴⁶ Even though in the official documents these statistics are shown as BAME (referring to members of non-white communities in the UK which are Black, Asian, and minority ethnic), I do not call them BAME to avoid re-construction of them as others.

⁴⁷ Nomis: Labour Market Profile: Southwark, Jan 2015–Dec 2015. New Policy Institute: Demography and deprivation in Southwark, Tower Hamlets and the City of London. A closer look at Local areas. May 2016. 2.

⁴⁸ Southwark profile. Accessed 11 December 2019. <https://www.southwark.gov.uk/health-and-wellbeing/public-health/health-and-wellbeing-in-southwark-isna/southwark-profile>



Figure 24: In-between layered concretes

Bus 343 gives and takes, receives and passes back and forth (Haraway 2016, 10), as one of the agential factors in subjectivity-becoming experiences of my participants, stitching their bodies, feelings and desires into new and different affective atmospheres between bus-area-bodies. I draw upon Stewart (2011) to blend with atmosphere as a force-field and a lived affective capacity to affect and be affected, pushing the present into a composition, an expressivity, the sense of potentiality and event rather than an effect of other forces (452).

I write in my fieldnotes:

What does bus 343 do to those living in overcrowded housing like Ameera, Muna and Inas? Can bus 343 enable the Muslim schoolgirl of my study to de/re-territorialise the crowdedness of their houses with occasional calm and quiet moments of sit/seat-ing at the back?

Ameera (S1, Y12) is a British-Bangladeshi Muslim girl wearing hijab. My intra-views with her happen either on the bus or in her room. Ameera and her family of six share her grandparents' house with fourteen other members of her extended family; twenty in total live in a six-bedroom house with just one shower. She shares a room with two siblings and a cousin, four to the room. Twenty as an affect that encourages all kinds of leakages and unwieldy transmissions elicits a 'buzz' (Niccolini [2016](#), 230-241) travelling in many ways; in Ameera's everyday ordinary relations to others and in affecting me, my relations to Ameera and her story and into our research encounters. The affective vital materiality of twenty people under the same roof often forces Ameera to do our walking intra-views on the bus and to squeeze our Skype intra-view in her house after her shower when her siblings and cousins are at school and there are fewer people queuing to take a shower. Ameera says

twenty sometimes makes the 343 journey a pleasant experience from her familial crowded space. Twenty materialises a 'more-than' of her subjectivity-becoming, 'a relational ecology in the making' (Manning 2016, 121). Renold and Ivinson (2019), building on Manning, consider 'more-than' as 'proto possibilities' (12) and capacities for rupturing the normalised beingness they show through their innovative art-based studies. The assemblage of Twenty-Ameera-body-space and relational materialities that it produced, do not necessarily alter the placements of the entities or identity categories of gender, sexuality, race, religion within the space rather the entities find new capacities through intensified relations (Puar 2012, 60-61). Therefore, what Goffman (1971) calls the 'interguises of micro-structures of everyday urban life', those normative civil bodily performances on the bus, a way of sitting, gazing, talking or moving through affective analysis of atmosphere do intensify the bodies and relations.

Ameera says she always sits on the top deck towards the back with her friends, except when with family:

Um... it's just my favourite seat, I like a specific seat because it's going to be messy there [bus], so I sit further back, also like night time like now, the top is mostly empty, I quite like the top most of the time, it's mostly empty and I feel calm [in a low voice].

Far from using bodily and spatial politics on the bus to avoid talking, gazing, keeping distance (Goffman 1971, 41; Nash 1975, 107; Jain 2009,91), as Ameera says the top-deck's emptiness brings feelings of calm as in those spatial material moments, she is not with Twenty, the affective materiality of her house. For Goffman, seat selection at the rear of the bus is typical of 'withs' (1971, 19-27), persons together. Drawing on Goffman's 'withs', Nash (1975, 110) identifies these 'withs' as 'most commonly school-aged children, male blacks, or co-workers'. Even though the 'withs' and the backseats need to be considered in relation to their historical and geographical context, for Ameera backseats on the top-deck of bus 343 are where she feels calm 'most of the time'. Contrary to the idea that non-'withs' choose the middle seats tactically to distance themselves from 'withs' or 'isolate' them (Nash 1975,

110), Ameera and her friends choose the backseat to distance themselves from 'messy middle parts'⁴⁹.

The closest train station to school 1 is half an hour to 40 minutes by bus. Taking the bus is the only possible option to commute between Peckham, Elephant & Castle and East Dulwich, which causes overcrowding, an issue that has been long debated. Like Ameera I found upper decks calmer, there is less movement, no door, no pressing stop buttons, as if you are in no-stop journey, air circulates slower, bodies are more settled, sitting/seat-ing is the dominant bodily positioning here, a fact that makes it less overcrowded, announcement is made: "No standing on the upper deck or stairs", it is the middle of the day and upper deck is not busy....

Unlike Ameera, Inas (S1, Y12) materialises 'SCARY HOURS' (Figure 25), she has a few pictures of the bus in her photo-diary, next to which she writes WINTER, DARK and PECKHAM:

It's winter days, I name this picture scary hours, because it's Peckham, and Peckham is really scary at night, it was first day and we had period 6 and every Thursday in winter is like this. It's around 5 o'clock and it's so dark and takes 35 minutes. Outside is also scary. We have to walk to bus stop from school, from Peckham basically and there is a lot of crazy people that get a little bit on high and stuff they are not in their mind. There is a lot of them near Peckham library using drugs and alcohol.

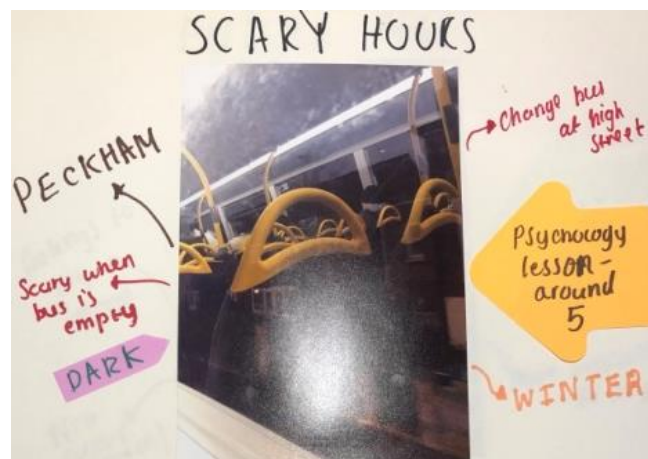


Figure 25: Scary hours

⁴⁹ See this article from MyLondon.news website that discourages sitting on the top deck of a bus: 'Why you should never sit on the top deck of a London bus'. Accessed 14 September 2020. <https://www.mylondon.news/news/news-opinion/london-bus-never-top-deck-16746828>.

'SCARY HOURS' become materialised also during our walking intra-view, where I found Inas highly 'tuned in' to the atmosphere of the bus; nervous, giving short answers and not looking at her phone while using Skype. 'SCARY HOURS' on 'public' transport for Inas and others are part of the affective and material experiences and affective history they travel with, at the age of terrorism and counter-terrorism. 'SCARY HOURS' on buses (and tubes) are Inas's and others' singular everyday qualified feelings of a wider relational affective atmosphere that emerged after the terrorist attacks on London transport⁵⁰ (July 2005), across Europe (Madrid train bombings, March 2004) and US aircraft hijacking (11 September 2001). For instance, since November 2016 *New National Rail security* has been implemented and public transport environments are saturated with continuous automatic loops of announcements and posters of: "*See It. Say It. Sorted*"⁵¹, encouraging passengers 'to report any unusual items or activity' as they introduce 'public' as a new target for terrorism (British Transport Police).

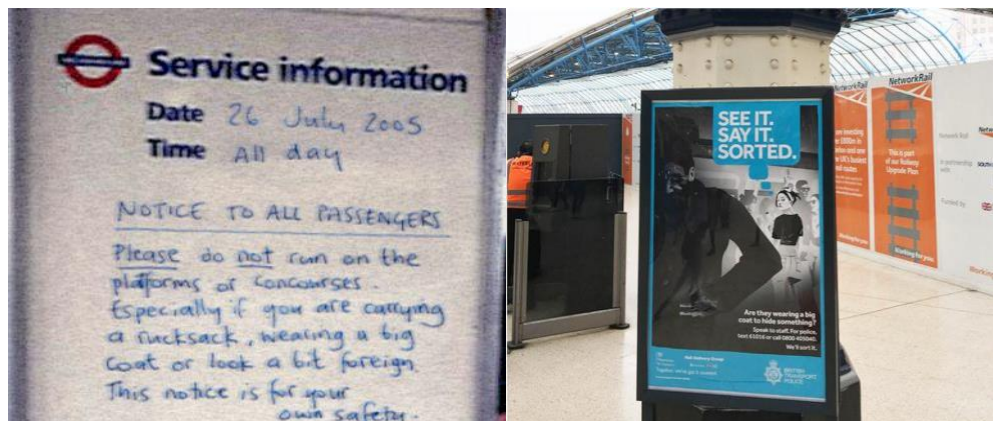


Figure 26: From left; Notting Hill station service information and 'See It. Say It. Sorted' poster⁵² (Mikkelson, 2005)

⁵⁰ On 7 July 2005, four men with rucksacks full of explosives attacked London's transport system, at the end of the morning rush hour. Four bombs went off there - three on the London underground and one on a bus, for more details see; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/33401669>.

⁵¹ New National Rail security: "See It. Say It. Sorted": https://www.btp.police.uk/latest_news/see_it_say_it_sorted_new_natio.aspx

⁵² In the weeks after the fatal shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes, a Brazilian falsely identified as a 'suicide bomber', at London Stockwell Tube station in 2005, this photo of the service information board (purportedly taken at Notting Hill tube) circulated widely on the internet. It reads: "Please do not run on the platforms or concourses. Especially if you are carrying a rucksack, wearing a big coat or look a bit foreign. This notice is for your own safety. Thank you." (Pugliese 2006; De Waal 2016)

These new affective entanglements attune the space-body of passengers to a new 'atmospheric life' (Stewart 2007) with fear as part of the everyday becomings (Figure 26). 'SCARY HOURS', intertwined in the loops of "See It. Say It. Sorted" as a type of control, works at the level of 'attunement' (Stewart 2007) to the space rather than discipline. However, I argue that relations of 'ontopower' (Massumi 2015a; 2015 b) in the affective atmosphere of 'public' transport do not attune everyone's body-space assemblage with the same intensities. The 'public' is targeted as described in British Transport statement above, but some in the 'public' are more targeted. As 'visualities of suspectness' (Heath-Kelly [2012](#), 69) Muslim women experience these 'SCARY HOURS' differently. The racialising assemblages of terrorism and counter-terrorism provide the link between the veiled-body-of-Muslim-woman and 'attunement, affordance, hearing, invitation' (Brown et al. 2019, 16). This affective atmosphere as 'the call of the whistle' (14) affords the veiled-body-of-Muslim-woman to be heard, called and invited into this 'charged atmospheres of everyday life' (Stewart 2011, 445) with fear as suspect and scary. For Inas, the bus is the 'tuned space' (Böhme 2017) to fear and her body is a *tuned body* to fear the space. Inas who had experienced racial harassment being called ISIS at school by her Muslim non-veiled classmate, has already 'got into' the 'atmospheric life' (Stewart 2007, 127) of fear; she's attuned to fear and is attentive of her risky body-space. For Stewart, attunement as the capacity for 'getting into things' is fundamental to 'atmospheric life', when every attunement as a tuning up to something is 'a labour that arrives already weighted with what it's living through. The intimacy with a world is every bit about that world's imperative; its atmospheres are always already abuzz with something pressing' (Stewart 2011, 448). For Stewart, the feeling of 'something we're in' is a serial immersion in little worlds that is neither exactly intended or unintended nor pure agency but an unravelling of states of attending to what might be happening or the sheer buzzing of atmospheric fill (2011, 449). In those 'SCARY HOURS' of bus 343, Inas's body-space-assemblage is tuned into the 'something not quite already given and yet somehow happening' (Stewart 2007, 127), into the 'what is going on' and 'ready to act if things escalate' (Brown et al. 2019, 17). This attunement to the ontopowers of bus 343's space materialises in Inas's body as nervousness,

nail-biting, giving short yes or no answers, fiddling, tightening her headscarf, not looking at her phone's camera and watching every newcomer. Passengers and Inas consciously or unconsciously are already 'got into' the affective atmospheric everyday life that "*See It. Say It. Sorted*" enables; the racialising assemblages of terrorism and counter-terrorism.

Every single moment, waiting at the bus stop, the bus stopping and starting, ringing the bell, opening and closing its doors, each becomes a new combination of different im/material assemblages. The material body positioned on the bus is not about actual *position*, but about the virtual-actual body-spaces that emerge in moving and carrying-with a memory, a feeling, a house, a body, a dream. This is how for most of them '*nothing is interesting around [them] to show me*' (Muna and Inas) when in the bus but telling the stories of what is *not* around them, not of what they *have* but of what they *cannot* have; a spacious house, hopes for their future careers, safe spaces without fear. There are no inside/outside boundaries, rather hues of intensity moving, sliding and sticking here and there with body-space. The body that is seat-ed on the bus has not done with walking and moving, and the body that exits the bus has not finished seat-ing. The body on the bus engages and extends with the processual event of becoming with others and space.

Seat-ing-body ruptured: feeling violated

Bus 343 is not separated from its surroundings. Instead, as a relational and affective materiality and moving assemblage, it carries material moments of the lived experiences of bodies, feelings, objects and spaces alongside and beyond the route. The complexity of my participants' lives cannot be understood by calling them 'withs' (Goffman 1971, 19-27) in relation to, in my study, bus 343; those 'school-aged children, male blacks, or co-workers' who sit on the backseat of the top-deck (Nash 1975, 110), make noise and seem dangerous as Nash describes.

Ameera, sitting on bus 343 during our walking intra-view encounters, re-materialises the affective moments by recalling an incident when a random boy sat on her lap:

I was just sitting there with my sister and then one of the boys that cause troubles in the bus sat on my lap, that's a thing I probably remember it for ever, I was at year 9 at the time so I kind of feel violated in a way.

For Ameera, this was not an accidental encounter. He chose to sit on her lap because, 'He was close to me and he was the type of boy who just causes troubles to girls and interrupts people'. Ameera was shocked:

I tried to push him off me, he wouldn't get up I was kind of swearing at him and he got off like 2 minutes, he was just laughing and found it funny, some people trying to help me trying to get him off me like shouting to get him off me. It was quite scary that just a random person sitting on your lap. Then you don't know what they are going to do. They find it funny, but it was kind of irritating.

For Ameera, who does not usually hang out with boys in or out of school (School 1 is single-ed till sixth form and then mixed-ed from sixth form with a male minority), the bus provides this potential affective proximity to boys. The boy sitting on Ameera's lap not only ruptures the territorial rules of the bus, 'the civil inattention' (Goffman 1971) and the normative 'doing of passengering' (Jain 2009) but also de/re-territorialises the proximity of bodies, particularly the bodies of Muslim-veiled women and a *non-mahram*⁵³ male stranger. The veiled body that is being covered to deter the male gaze, suddenly stands out and becomes visible. Ameera's body glows, becoming a 'body without organ' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 166) de/re-territorialised into other than itself, not a body that is normalised into its borders and proximities with other bodies as it is supposed to be in the bus and for a Muslim girl but a more-than-body that emerges by this affective entanglement; ruptured and ruptures, affected and

⁵³ For Muslim women all male non-relatives by blood or marriage are considered as non-Mahram. Any close contact with non-Mahram men such as touching the body or shaking hands with them are forbidden for Muslim women. Shia Muslim women must also cover their body and hair against non-mahram men.

affects the bodies of the boy, passengers and space. The boy sitting on Ameera's lap and not next to her invites more intensified body parts and more-than-body-parts to become engaged in this affective and sensual assemblage; breasts, lower body parts, eyes, hands, mouth and more; skin, weight, breath, sweat, hijab, modesty and more. For Ameera *'it was quite scary that just a random person sitting on your lap'* because she doesn't know *'what they are going to do'*. The boy does not reach Ameera's veil but her whole body. Suddenly Ameera's body that before was covered, hidden and unseen, comes to the surface, becoming transparent, seen, thick and heavy. As a post-human event of sexual bullying (Ringrose and Rawlings 2015; Renold 2017) the boy's act not only de-territorialises the sexualised, gendered and racialised body again, but also re-territorialises Ameera's non-white Muslim veiled body to become the affective point of attention. Drawing on Ringrose and Rawlings (2015), Ameera's story can be read as a post-human bullying phenomenon that emerged through the performative intra-actions between objects, bodies, discourses and other non-human material things (11); bus 343, the body politics of this public space, Ameera's veiled-body, the boy's body, the friends, laughs, shouts and push.

The shock triggered by this act affectively hooks everyone on the bus; some people shouting, trying to get him off her. This affective enactment cuts the space, Ameera pushing him and swearing at him, her friends shouting, the boy and his friends laughing. Bus 343 is de/re-territorialised, un/re-tuned for minutes. Affected by this encounter, Ameera never forgets those 'scary' moments. This affective experience changes the relationship between her body and bus 343, de/re-territorialising the commuting to school since then. As a 'refrain' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 376) the incident is always present, travelled and carried with her body in this space, 'holding together the heterogeneous elements' (376) of Ameera-veiled-body-boys-space-bus-school every time she catches the bus. As an undone relation and refrain this affective association with space stays, every time Ameera's body sits/seats on the bus, the enfolded memory becomes re-de-territorialised. The 'lap' story becomes the affective partner of Ameera's body, other bodies and the 343's assemblage. Since that affective 'lap' story, Ameera is more conscious of her

veiled material body being exposed on bus 343. However, Ameera did not position this as racial and/or sexual harassment, she does articulate that it is intentional:

It wasn't an accident, he just saw me and sat in my lap, I didn't know him, no one knew him, he just causes troubles to girls and he was dark skin, that's the one I am gonna remember it forever.

Most of my School 1 participants describe Peckham as scary, they were aware of knife-crimes, shootings and acid attacks. This is what makes the school commute, walk to/from school and the bus ride 'SCARY HOURS' as Inas and Ameera put it. Peckham, the area that most of my participants have to cross to get to Elephant & Castle, is populated predominantly by Black-Caribbean community⁵⁴. The segregation of communities of Black-Caribbean and Muslim Bangladeshi domestically and at school, makes Ameera, Inas and Muna quickly pass these 'SCARY HOURS' rather than hang out before/after school around Peckham.

The power relations between racialised bodies of a Muslim-veiled-girl and a dark-skin-boy de/re-territorialises the gender-sexuality-race-religion assemblages in and beyond the bus. The former is normatively represented as passive, asexual, unattractive, covered, threatening, not quite a woman, having no-body and the latter as troubled, wild, dangerous, knife-carrying, hypersexualised. For Ameera, the troublemaker who made her feel violated was not just a boy but a 'dark-skin' boy, and she says, '*gonna remember it for ever*'. With the dark-skin glowing for Ameera in that affective entanglement, she affectively de-territorialises the dark-skin-boy-trouble-body and re-territorialises him into other-than-other, other than her Muslim-veiled-body other. The vital materiality of dark skin enables different otherising power relations to emerge. The glow of the dark-skin for Ameera, suggests how race as a chain of contingency is the connection between different components that are not given and emerge through local attractions (Saldanha 2006, 18).

⁵⁴ See, Southwark Ward Profiles. Southwark Council: London (2017): <https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwik58vNpe3rAhUSYcAKHdZBD3cQFjAAegQIBRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.southwark.gov.uk%2Fassets%2Fattach%2F5242%2Fward-profile-peckham-nov-2017.pdf&usq=AOvVaw0daj9k9Skgi3DdWlqDF051>

Reading this encounter through Saldanha, the dark-skin boy does not have a race but becomes a racialised body through sticky connections between Ameera's paler skin, veil, Peckham and trouble that 'inheres in all the "local pulls" of its many elements in flux' (18). In this sense, the boy's dark skin is a relational affective assemblage. I think of those sticky connections through Ahmed's (2014) 'affective economies' to understand what race does in this affective event, what are the affective and material relationalities between Ameera's fear, violated veiled-body and the dark-skin boy from Peckham. For Ahmed, 'affective economies' are social, material, political and psychic effects of affective intensities and energies that constitute particular affective attachments and meanings to objects, bodies, and signs (46).

The race of the dark-skin boy and body are not materialised because of any essence in the body but because of the affective economies, fear and troubles that travel along the racialised continuum of time, space, bodies and stories and move beyond social constructions and racialised categories. Saldanha invites us to 'getting real about race' (2016) and to consider it as more than mental categories, geno-type, phenotype, or socio-economic inequality rather as everyday materialities of bodies interacting (Saldanha 2020, 199) and the bodies that thicken through intra-actions. This affective intra-action thickens the connections between the human and more-than-human bodies of dark-skin boy, Ameera, passengers, scary hours, Peckham and bus 343. In this sense, the emergence of the dark-skin-boy-trouble-body assemblage not only de/re-territorialises Ameera's gendered-sexualised-veiled-body relationship to bus 343 as troubling and irritating but also adds more intensity to the thickness of the trouble and the dark-skin-boy-body.

Becoming-Twenty: the house-body she becomes

And so it is we remain in the hold, in the break, as if entering again and again the broken world, to trace the visionary company and join it...as a poetics of lore, of abnormal articulation, where the relation between joint and flesh is the folded distance of a musical moment that is emphatically, palpably imperceptible and, therefore, difficult to describe.

(Moten and Harney 2013, 94)

Throughout our encounters, 'home' regularly appears as an agential factor in most of my participants' relationships with their bodies, space, memories and experiences. As a glowed data, it is impossible to ignore the vital materiality of my participants' housing situations, living in overcrowded households whilst on elongated waiting lists for more bedrooms, and how this relates to the co-constitution of bodies, the relation of these bodies to other bodies and spaces. For my participants' becoming, house matters, inasmuch as their response to the question of hope for change, relates to moving to more spacious housing. House is not an inert background where human bodies act or make meaning (Massey 2005; McCormack 2008; Bennett 2010) but a place where both bodies and spaces constitute broader 'vibrant material choreographies' (Taylor 2018a, 159) co-constituting each other; space-body-matter.

The housing situation emerged primarily during walking or bus intra-views. The movement of bodies, spaces, desires and feelings enabled the relations to be re-materialised. As a refrain, the movement of body-space-assemblage walking and on the bus (McCormack 2013) demarcates territories and re-constitutes the material moments of subjectivity formation; my participants' bodies in relation to other bodies and spaces, bus 343, Peckham, East Dulwich. The movement of walking intra-views on the bus with some of my participants enabled 'a relational, social and convivial embodiment' (Springgay and Truman 2018, 4); an embodied way of knowing that connects mind, body, environment and much more. Walking intra-views de/re-territorialise the combined sensations between bodies and spaces. While conducting walking intra-views sometime the more-thans could not be grasped by either participants or researcher; I could not recognise if my participants were alone or not while walking or on the bus, they could not know about my surroundings either. However, sometimes the unpredictable material moments and sudden entanglements actualise the presence of someone else; a hand or a leg ruptures a picture, an unstoppable sneeze or a shadow of someone walking nearby. When Ameera turned her camera away to show me outside and her mother's hand emerged, I became affected, shocked, quiet for several seconds, glued to the camera, then started biting my nails, thinking about my

questions. The whole intra-view assemblage de/re-territorialised our positionings, my questions and feelings (Figure 27).

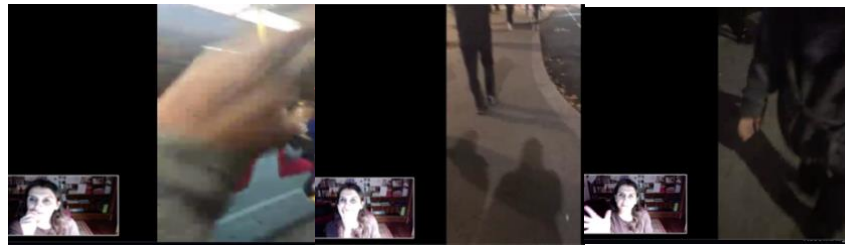


Figure 27: Rupturing the intra-viewing space with body

However, it is not always the 'seeing' that makes you sense the presence of others in intra-views, but affective relationalities that materialise in different ways; speaking more softly, a door opening and closing indicating someone entering the room, a repeatedly banging spoon on the cooking pot announcing that dinner is ready and we must finish our intra-view.

These encounters sometimes happen through 'haptic' post-human associations when bodily sensory intra-relationalities emerge through different mediums; seeing with ears, hearing with eyes, walking with house and seat-ing with moving. For Deleuze and Guattari (1987) haptic 'does not establish an opposition between two organs but rather invites the assumption that the eye itself may fulfil a non-optical function' (492). For instance, Deleuze suggests painting gives us eyes everywhere: in the ear, in the stomach, in the lungs (the painting breathes ...) (Deleuze 2002, 54). As the haptic sense liberates the eye from its belonging to an organism, I used this concept to argue how the methodological affordances of walking intra-view and making photo diary enabled forms of haptic entanglements that not only 'embodies and simultaneously embraces vision, hearing and touch, where our bodily experience can incorporate a space's textural qualities' (Karanika 2009) but more-than that to change our virtual-actual feelings and experiences of space.

It happens suddenly, like a cut, dividing inside and outside. It is dark, Ameera and her mother are returning from a parents' evening. Her mother's presence lets us have a longer intra-view starting at school, then Bus 343, walking home and into her house. The red-string bus 343 pulls me in. Unexpectedly I enter her house. Someone opens the door and quickly disappears in a room, we step in. I become with twenty that emerged through objects appearing/re-appearing in the picture; shoes, piles of clothes, colours. We become stairs and go up, first floor, doors and clothes, second floor, doors and clothes and colours, third floor, towels and colours, I am glued to the camera, she is out of breath (Figure 28).

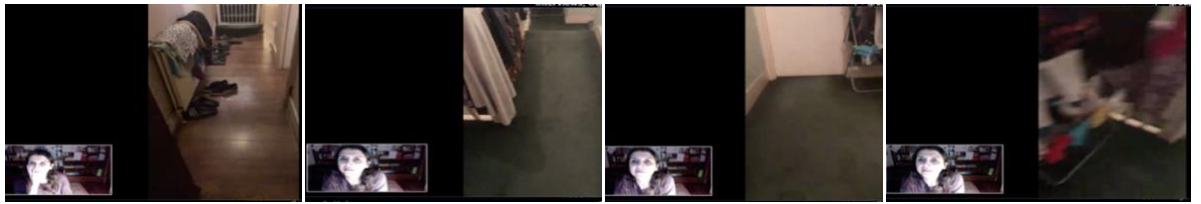


Figure 28: From right to left; the entrance to upper floors; piles of clothes, drying racks and shoes

On the third floor, quietly, she says:

We have planned to move out from this house for a very long time [in a low voice] well it just never happened. It's quite hard to not live in your own house for a long time, and I need my own space, cos A levels get harder.

She pauses a while in the corridor, continuing softly:

In this house right now it's probably like 20 of us, I have got my uncles, aunts, cousins and my grandparents, our family has two rooms, my brother has one by himself, me, my two sisters and one of my cousins share a bedroom and my mum sleeps on her own on sofa, it's kind of squashed right now, because we got stuck over to the moving.

Twenty embodies the affective and material figuration of crowdedness. Twenty as a vital materiality does things to Ameera's thinking, feeling and knowing, affectively combined with any relations, experiences, desires and feelings of Ameera. Twenty is the affective materiality of Ameera's experiences of her body to other human and more-than-human bodies. As a doing rather than a number or quantity, it agentially affects the capacity of her body to act and

enable or constrain her potentialities. Ameera is *with* and *of* the Twenty in any relations she materialises, any space she enters, any story she tells, any dream she actualises during our research encounters.

I write in my fieldnotes:

What sorts of relational materialities are enabled or constrained when a body-space-feeling is a squashed-body-space-feeling that 'got stuck over to the moving'?

I use Moten and Harney's notion of 'remaining in the hold' (2013, 94) to enter into the Twenty-Ameera-house assemblage. For Ameera, '*moving out*' that '*never happened*', the '*hard-ness* of '*not live in your own house for a long time*', '*squashed*' and '*got stuck over to the moving*', matter. Such spacetime-mattering as an agential force affects her subjectivity formation and capacity to act, think and feel. For Ameera, '*moving out*' and '*living in your own house*' becomes a 'fantasy in the hold' where 'absolute nothingness and the world of things converge' (Moten and Harney 2013, 95), this state is the hold between reality and fantasy (Halberstam 2013, 12) that Ameera experiences. Taking Moten and Harney's understanding of blackness as the shipped, the fantasy in the hold, where absolute nothingness and the world of things converge (95), I consider Twenty-Ameera-squashed-body as the body-fantasy 'in the hold'. Remaining in the hold for Ameera is similar to Moten and Harney's description of an unsettled feeling of never being on the right side of things (the Atlantic), a material feeling that if you ride with it, it 'produces a certain distance from the settled, from those who determine themselves in space and time, who locate themselves in a determined history' (97). Moten and Harney problematise the colonial situation of modernity and its policies through the context of slavery and the ways in which modern 'logistics' were born from the Atlantic slave trade and against the Atlantic slave; 'logistics was marked, branded, seared with the transportation of the commodity labor that was not, and ever after would not be, no matter who was in that hold or containerized in that ship' (92). Moten and Harney's approach to understand our contemporary fantasies in relation to slave ship logistics, inspired me to think of my participants' housing situation and prolonged waiting lists as

'logistics' for racialising assemblages to emerge, keeping some people in the hold. This is not to dismiss the importance of council housing but to attend to the everyday ordinary lived feelings that my participants experience in relation to their housing situation. The logistics of being on the Council waiting list is like being kept in the hold the bodies waiting to be shipped, to become 'the shipped' bodies and remain the shipped bodies; 'the transport of objects that is held in the movement of things. And the transport of things remains, as ever, logistics' unrealizable ambition' (92).

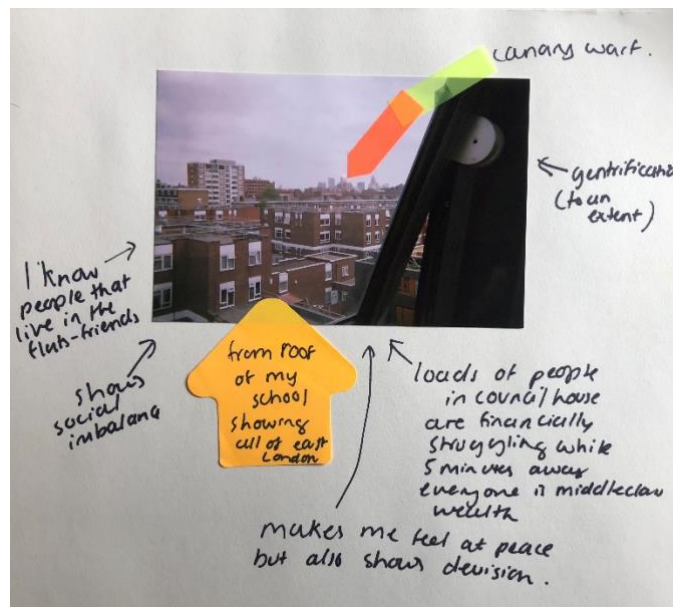
Fazilah also has the fantasy of a spacious house 'in the hold', a fantasy of a different becoming; she has lived in the same two-bedroomed flat for 16 years and shares a bedroom with her two brothers aged 10 and 13. Amani and Muna are also in the hold, each living in families of six in a 'squashed' body-space-feeling-hold. My participants' fantasies 'in the hold' imply what Berlant (2011) calls relations of cruel optimism as affective forms that emerge in response to continued fantasies of 'the good life' and 'exists when something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing' (1). My participants experience an elongated present with a fantasy that builds the affective infrastructure of their everyday ordinary life (49) and how they find themselves and feel the world day-to-day often amid conditions of cruelty. For Berlant (2011, 13) these good-life fantasies are not about 'mode of production's or ideology's damaging imprint on dignity, resilience, desire, or optimism' but more about 'sites of potential elucidation that come from the ways it registers the conditions of life moving across persons and worlds, playing out in lived time, and energizing attachments'.

Through Berlant's cruel optimism I think of the relations between fantasy, affect and ordinary and how my participants' fantasy of a bigger house, for instance Aameera's '*moving out*' that '*never happened*', allows 'the ordinariness of suffering, the violence of normativity, and the "technologies of patience" that enable a concept of the *later* to suspend questions about the cruelty of the now' (2011, 28). The strange temporalities of projection into an enabling object that is also disabling in relation to cruel optimism resonates with Puar's notion of 'debilitation' of 'remaining in the hold' i.e. twenty-Aameera-squashed-body as

affective experiences that diminish the capacity of body to act, not entirely trapped, rather perpetually debilitated but still alive and in the hold.

Farah materialises Ameera's 'squashed' body-space-feeling in the hold, in her photo-diary and later in our walking interview from Bethnal Green to Brick Lane:

It's from the roof of my school [Figure 29], the view all the way to Canary Wharf, this is like all of East London, every lunchtime when I am with my friends we come here, these are like community state council houses and over there is all the rich houses.



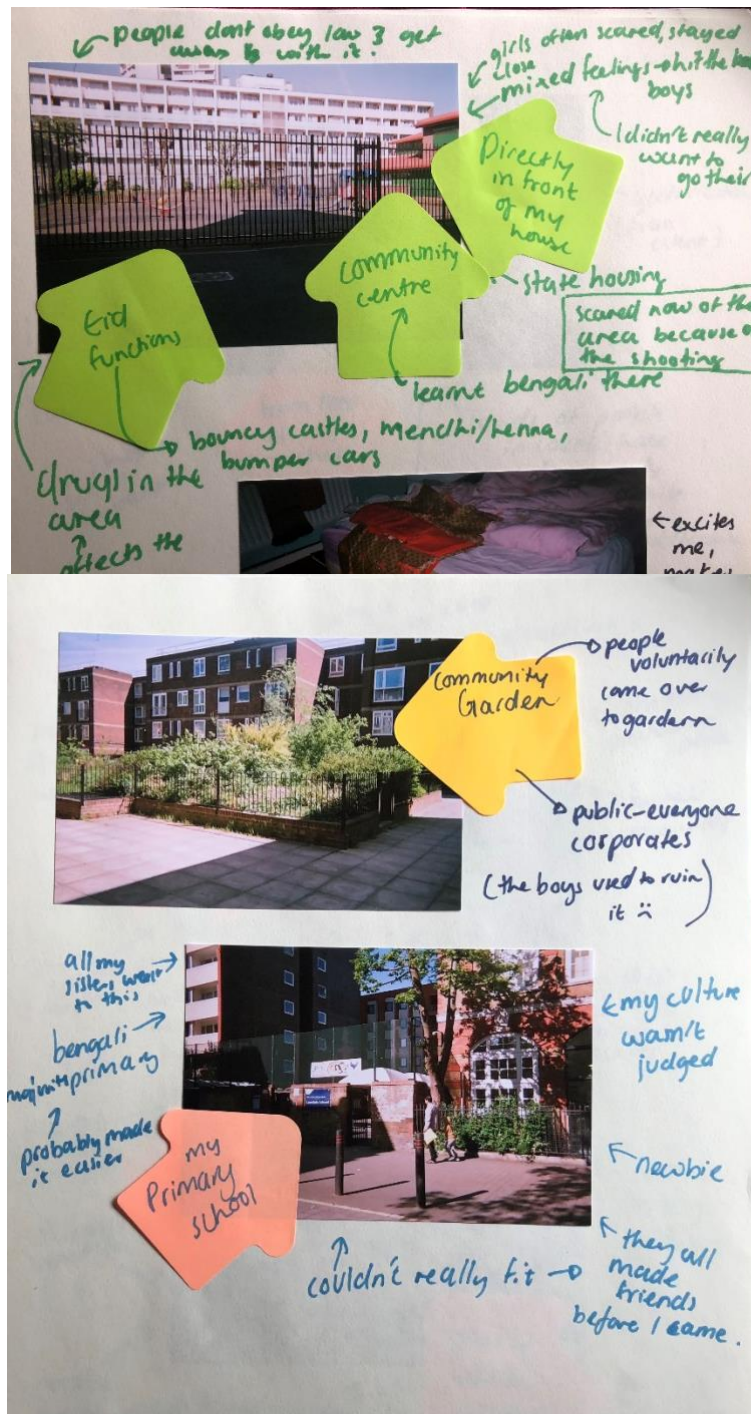


Figure 29: 'Squashed' body-spaces:
 from the top: school rooftop, community centre, community garden

The photo-diary; flipping the page, layers of social council housing glows in stories, pictures and moments even if these are not directly referred to, they are haptically there/not-there, the more-than, the im/material part of body, her, an immaterial subject for the image here but material social council housings there (Figure 29), walking and making an immaterial fantasy here but material social council housings there, we walk in-between here and there...

Every lunchtime Farah comes to the rooftop to watch, watch and watch this view as a refrain (Figure 29), each time with different intensity of her body-space, where her body spaces⁵⁵ and the space envelops and presses upon her body.

I write in my fieldnotes:

*Why did these pictures constitute something important in her life she wanted to show me? Are these buildings part of her becoming-
assemblage?*

In Chapter 5 (Figure 14) I discussed the relational materialities that Farah made between space, bodies and feelings through the school's rooftop picture. Here in Figure 29, I re-use this picture as part of a series of images that Farah produces to show the relations and experiences of her body and spaces. She uses the chunky arrows to show 'Directly in front of my house', 'community centre' and 'Eid functions'. There is an affective traffic as she materialises directly in front of her house as she maps; 'mixed feelings', 'hit the boys', 'girls often scared, stayed close', 'I didn't really want to go there'. The word 'scared' appears twice around her house. She writes 'scared now of the area because of the shooting' and draws a line around it to highlight its importance. It is as if there were things that 'girls often scared of' which made them stay close or, like Farah, not to go there, for instance in relation to boys; however the shooting affectively and materially took Farah's relationship and emotions about her living area to a different level. Community, culture, state and council housing are those affective spaces that have a powerful presence in her pictures and stories. In what Farah mapped there are both spatial affective senses of belonging and not belonging. As Clough and Willse (2010) suggest, 'belongingness or relationality is itself an effect of the mediated modulation of affectivity'. Where Farah maps⁵⁶ her house and community centre the mixed feelings of togetherness and not belonging emerge; the scary shootings and the boys who ruin the communal garden, her primary school with a majority of

⁵⁵ Here I consider space as A verb, as doing rather than an inert container or background.

⁵⁶ I use the verb 'map' here to highlight the agential layering and affective re-assembling of the events, spaces, discourses, experiences and bodies that happen in the *making* of the photo-diary.

Bengali students that she 'couldn't fit', her 'culture [that] won't be judged' but also girls who stay close and people who volunteer to keep the communal garden alive. For her, the main thing in this picture is:

I am not really agreed with the entire set out of this place, I think it's funny how these are all in one area but everyone who lives here struggles with their life and they really struggle financially and literally 5 min from them you have all these big banks, we went on a trip to Canary Wharf with school, the teacher asked the class what is here like to you? And my friend said gentrification and I agree with because in 5 minutes there are people who live in these flats and I know a lot of them. It's funny because sometimes it makes me feel like slightly at peace but then it also reminds me of how divided the places are and you know sometimes, I wish it wasn't like that.

This 'funny' difference glowed another time in our walking interview from school in Bethnal Green to Brick Lane with Farah's im/material presence in those spaces. Whilst passing in-between these layers of Council estates, Farah re-materialises the differences between these two areas, their lived experiences and her family's struggles:

Shoreditch is a really funny area to me, there are many differences between Bethnal Green and Shoreditch, in Bethnal Green you can see lot more markets, but here is lot more cleaner, less loud and with bigger buildings here, so many restaurants here which you don't have it in Bethnal Green, there are so like informal, slightly wrong-done, but you get used to it.

Walking the difference, from Bethnal Green to Brick Lane, from a predominantly Muslim community area with layers of council housing buildings, cheap mega superstores, fast food small shops and a crowded cheap market to the shiny skyscrapers, colourful graffities, stylish and cosy coffee shops and restaurants. What brought us here is not just how different it is to Bethnal Green but the difference that sewing and sewing shop in Brick lane brought to Farah's mother's life. In Brick Lane her mother learnt to sew. Farah's in Brick Lane is a different Farah, more lively and free than the one in school, more enabling than constraining, her body looks stronger, her voice is firmer, she walks and breathes faster, words don't reach her mouth fast enough, the affected body has difficulties to re-de-territorialise in the present, the body knows but words are behind. Brick Lane and a sewing machine materially and affectively enabled new capacities for Farah's mother to become differently. Walking re-materialises this more-than of Farah's mother and family. She does not speak English, but she sews as a job and teaches sewing in the community centre. They cannot afford to buy clothes so she sews their clothing. Walking in Brick Lane, the mind, body and space in new assemblage, enables the de/re-territorialisation of struggle and empowerment. The sewing machine and its vital materiality re/appears in Farah's photo-diary too. The sewing machine as another medium for empowerment, overcoming the barrier of language, matters.

I ask Farah where she prefers to hang out, she replies:

They both have their good bits and bad bits, when I hang out there [Bethnal Green] I don't feel that I have any expectations but when I hang out here I feel I need to dress nicely, pretend to be social and active like jumpy and perky but when I am over there I am just relax and chill. I can just be myself and I can make jokes but here I feel it might be a little inappropriate.

Farah materialises the relation of her body between these two different spaces, one where she feels relaxed and herself, and the other where she pretends to be active and social, the spatial experiences of self, body and others, the space that becomes the body and more-than-body, where you belong and where you pretend to belong. (Figure 29) The presence of Canary Wharf and Shoreditch area in Farah's photos and stories resonates with Gulson's analysis of Canary Wharf as 'a foreign body' (2005, 146), as both 'symbols of capital and renewal and the embodiments that reinforce the disadvantage of the adjacent areas'. Focusing on the associations of urban change and educational policies, Gulson argues how the presence of Canary Wharf for students in deprived Tower Hamlets provides the symbolic and concrete representation of worthy aspiration and achievements (151). In my study, Farah and her story takes Gulson's study of the discourses of policy, educational achievement, aspirations and places into a micro and lived embodied and embedded experience of Muslim schoolgirls in the deprived adjacent side.

The common room and the 'fav' sofa

Most of our education systems are based on starting from stillness. We learn in chairs. We associate concentration with being quiet. We discourage the movement of thought we call daydreaming, particularly in the context of "learning." We consider the immanent movements of doodling to be a distraction. We are told not to fidget.

(Manning 2016,122)

In my interviews with Rana, Ameera, Inas, Reema and Noora the school common room emerged and I explored how the vital materiality of this space, the objects, bodies and more-than-human-bodies mattered in my participants' embodied, embedded and emplaced experiences. I investigated ways in which gendered subjectivity can be re-thought as being/becoming of spacetime-mattering (Barad 2007) rather than emerging *in* space and time (Juelskjaer 2013).

I write in my fieldnotes:

What does this place do to my participants' experiences of their bodies? What sort of affective and material capacities and intensities can this space open up for my participants? What relational materialities flow into this space and into my participants' experiences of their bodies and becoming?

As part of my methodology and research into the affective and material agency of space, I asked my participants if there was any place they like/don't like at school and if they wanted to photograph it? I also asked the same question about their home and neighbourhood. In School 1, the common room is the place they like most over any classroom or playground. In School 2, which has no playground or spacious common room, the 'forest-y' bit in the park is their favourite place.

Rana (S1, Y12) was born in Nigeria and has two older sisters and one younger brother; she shares a bedroom with her brother and one sister, in Years 10 and 13. She wears hijab on and off. They live in a Council flat but own a house in Nigeria where her father lives. With Rana, the intra-view happened on Skype in her bedroom rather than outside. Like Inas (S1, Y12) Rana starts her photo-diary with pictures of the common room from different angles, showing all the material humans and non-humans of the room. She writes in capitals: HAPPINESS, COMFORT, SLEEP, FUNTIME, FOOD, FAVOURITE VIEW (Figure 30). Rana's photo-diary is only about two things: pictures of the common room, and two from a session at her voluntary work as an Arabic

language teacher in the Nigerian mosque. The common room in School 1 is a mixed-sex space for sixth form students only.

The common room is Rana's favourite place in school, which she calls 'a *chilling out zone*' describing it as:

A place you should be happy to be in, everyone is always smiling there, why shouldn't be, I would be surprised if they didn't like the common room because it's just so happy and lovely.

When I ask her if there is anything she *doesn't* like about it, she replies:

No, not really, that's where everyone meets and we all talk, everyone is happy together and have fun, we meet each other, we just appreciate each other and don't negatively treat each other, it's the place that I like to be there all the time when I am in school.

Rana associates feeling happy, having fun and chilling time with the common room's space; the assemblage of feeling, space and body. She knows and understands the common room through her feelings. Feeling happy and having fun don't emerge as just subjective, personal, self-contained and corporeal but as enabled *with* and *through* spatial and material more-than-human agential forces, suggesting the notion that our subjective experiences are tied to place (Guattari 2006; Ivinson and Renold 2013; Walkerdine 2013). Rana writes on the picture: '*You're your own person*', '*you can have a nap*' and '*make your own decisions*'. In one picture she points to the sofa where she normally sits, and writes: '*next to the dancing point, free, fav sofa, favourite side of the room*' (Figure 30). Smiling, being together, talking, dancing, being your own person are embodied spatial experiences that Rana suggests they cannot have in any other space at school.

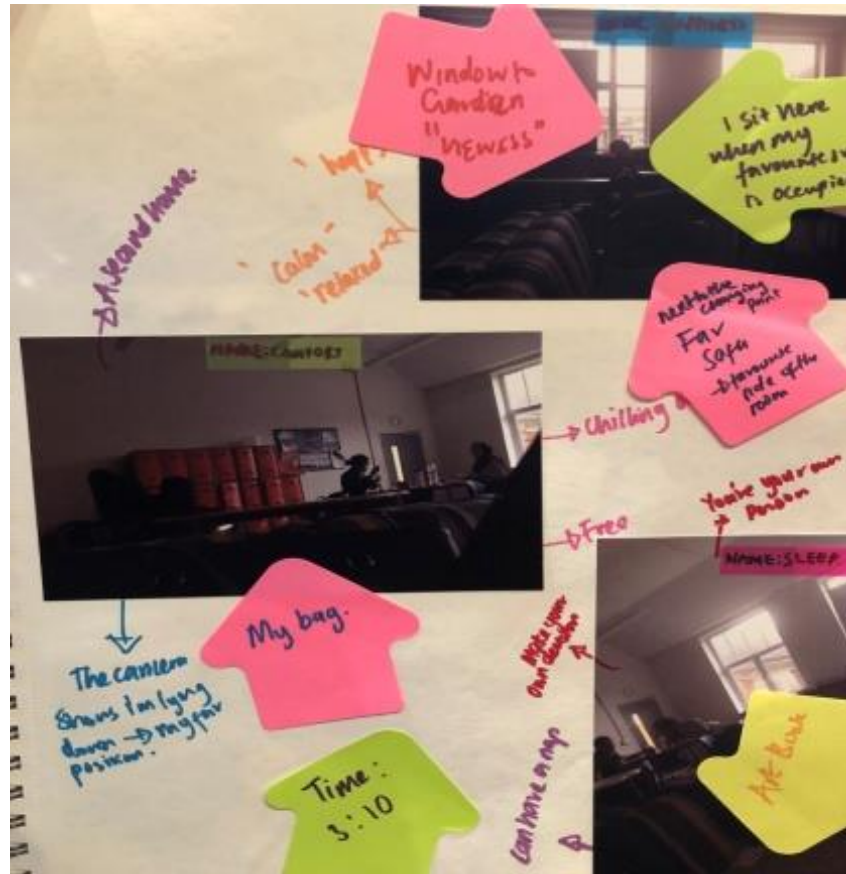


Figure 30: The common room and the 'fav' sofa

Rana, Skype Intra-view, her room, evening after school. Someone outside the room cooking, sound of spoons banging on the stewpan [implies someone is tasting or stirring the food]. Mum enters, speaks Nigerian. Banging spoon sound gets louder, more often, the food is getting ready. Brother enters, says something in Nigerian language. Rana translates. We affectively entangle with the more-than: banging spoon, food, mother, the door, brother. The common room, happiness and smile it brings and chilling times it enables to be yourself, have a nap or do whatever you want, emerge in these moments. Why here, why now...

Rana draws a blue line from the sofa in the picture onto the white sheet of the photo-diary with a blue arrow and writes: '*The camera shows I am lying down; my fav position.*' By drawing these lines out of the image on to the white sheet and then to our bodies, Rana not only materialises the flowing intensities of the common room to her body's and our photo-diary's spatial and temporal moments, but also relates these intensities to freedom, chilling, comfort, happiness, calm and relaxing. The camera's angle materialises Rana's de/re-territorialised space-body that in school normatively has to be seat-ed not lying down, alert not calm, think not feel and mind not body. She actualises the

capacities and potentialities that the common room and its sofa opens up for re-positioning bodies. The normative disciplined seat-ed straight body-in-position in the 'class' room (Cushing 2020) is de-territorialised and re-territorialised with the laid-down body-out-of-position. The sofa ruptures the segmentary hierarchal positioning of the body as chairs in the classroom do to Rana's body. 'Fav' sofa akin to Taylor's 'chair-body assemblage' is not just a piece of furniture but an object with thing-power, discursively and materially enabling gendered meanings and matterings within the school space (2013, 693). The sofa enables a student's body to break through the norms of static bodies and fixed chairs to fluid-moving bodies and spongy sofas. The sofa-Rana-body-lying forms a human/non-human assemblage, a new 'body/place identity' (Malone 2015, 52) which enables her to have different experiences of her body in relation to school and others; to have a nap, close her eyes, chill out and rupture the normative school-body-relations.

The way the room has been set up is different to classrooms and study rooms. The furniture doesn't face front towards a teacher. I ask Rana if the room's set-up has any impact on her feeling happy, smiling and free:

...Maybe the way the chairs are set up in a way that everybody sits together, not segregating people, everyone can sit together, can do whatever they want to do, they can talk to each other about everything, no one is nasty to others.

The notion that agency is not being tied exclusively to humans (Barad 2007; Malone 2015; Rautio 2013; Ringrose et al. 2019; Ringrose and Zarabadi 2018; Mazzei and Jackson 2017; Bennett 2010) enables thinking about the common room, sofa, chairs and dancing corner as 'vital materialities' (Bennett 2010, 21) that, in their own right, create potentialities for relations and co-emergences between Rana and other human and more-than-human bodies. By taking pictures of an object or a place, my participants provide stances for an image of those objects in their gaze (room, sofas, crowds) but also highlight 'the encounters of orbiting subjects' (Malone 2015, 50), when by re-materialising those affective moments and feelings and re-arranging the relationships in their photo-diary making sessions, the room, sofa and crowds become more

prominent than themselves. It is through these body-space relations and re-mattering of them that intimate layers of the complexity of my participants' subjectivity in Bethnal Green and Peckham became exposed to me.

Rana describes the room:

When you walk in, there are two tables and then there are 4 chairs around them and there is two curved sofas that everyone will sit on, and you can talk to each other from the sofas, if you backs them you can still talk to those who sit on the chairs, everyone can talk to each other, there is a microwave in there, once one of the girls brought pancakes and someone brought teabags for everybody, if someone put something in the fridge everyone takes care of it, there is lots of spaces as well, if you want to run around you can run around as well, it's quite big and enough for what we need to do or what we want to do.

The room's circular setting, diverse range of chairs, sofa, catering items (fridge, microwave, kettle) all rupture the normative linearity of a classroom setting. In Cushing's (2020) ethnographic study of a London secondary school he explores the correlation between disciplining of language and disciplining of body. He shows how sets of standardised 'body pedagogy' are deeply intertwined with neoliberal policy enactments through disciplining the body, for instance to sit up straight and track the speaker, and disciplining language and communication, such as asking and answering in full sentences, nodding your head or asking and answering questions like a scholar (11). Common room provides different body pedagogy enabling experiences and relations that are not determining, finishing and completing like the daily curriculum and classroom, rather there's the capacity to emerge flowing in various directions and forms and to remain open-ended. The rounded-ness of the objects, sofa, chairs and bodies enables togetherness as opposed to the school's aim to produce individual student subjects, individual progress assessments and categorisations, as Rana says, through segregation. She explains, '*students can listen to music, watch the movie from their phone, play cards or dance*'. In a sense, the objects and bodies in the common room don't occupy distinct and delimited spaces and entities but combine relational assemblages of human bodies and other material, social and abstract entities developing in

unpredictable ways (Fox and Alldred, 2014, 3). 'There's no teacher' and 'being free' appear repeatedly in Rana's common room narratives:

There's no teacher in there and like you can just do whatever, so it's like free, it's just yourself, that no-one is there telling you yeah, do this, sit up straight, don't sit up straight, cross your legs, don't cross your legs, it's like, it's like home. It's like a second home, I think.

Rana can be herself in the common room. Feeling free and like herself as an im/material bodily experience becomes enabled in the common room, a different configuration of bodies in relation to others. For my participants who live in overcrowded houses the common room can be an 'otherwise becoming' (Braidotti 2017) space, an extra space in the room, on the sofa, a table to study on and a corner to play music, dance, laugh and talk with friends.

It is impossible for a school not to have 'class' rooms, but possible not to have common rooms. Within the school spatial hierarchy 'common' rooms have less importance because they have fewer rules, more movement, diverse bodily enactments and no teacher compared to 'class' rooms. Common rooms are more about bodies and feelings than mind and thinking, more about talking, dancing and laughing than listening and writing, more about being together than thinking individually, more about body than brain. However, being a common space does not reduce its importance in pedagogic work; it promotes caring (of each other's food in the fridge), sharing (bringing teabags for all), appreciating each other, treating each other well, playing and having fun together, as Rana explains. These pedagogical experiences are achieved through 'dynamic and performative practices of bodily mattering' (Taylor 2018, 156; Mayes et al. [2019](#)) and 'movement and space' (see also Hirst and Cooper 2008). The hierarchal movement of the teacher as the only person who moves in the 'class' room while students sit and watch the teacher, as 'a key bodily technique in pedagogy' (Taylor 2018, 161) becomes de/re-territorialised in the common room; the patterned bodily geographies are disrupted, movements, shapes, proximities and sounds are re-assembled. The common room as 'convivial atmosphere' (Bragg and Manchester. [2017](#), 873) can not only extend the possibility of taking pleasure in each other's company and lives where

segregation and differences are normalised, hierarchised and solidified, but also 'collegiality, appreciation, moving away from learning as individual gain and advantage' (871). For Rana, the common room's convivial atmosphere enables her sense of enjoyment, happiness, being themselves, belonging, safety and caring.

For most of my participants, the common room is a safe place unlike their over-crowded households, bedroom-sharing and strict classroom rules, and as Rana suggests, it permits '*a little time for myself and do work after*' and '*like if no-one is in there then yeah because I am there by myself and I can like full relax*'. Here, Rana relates being relaxed to being alone and being by herself. The common room not only makes her feel happy and smiley but enables her to experience a different self-body; non-segregated and 'a unit', '*no-one is separated, everyone is together, unless you're revising no-one is by themselves. Everyone is sitting together and having fun*'. She differentiates between the experiences of collectiveness in common room and classroom. In the former you can '*laugh out loud*', '*talk to each other*', '*feeling as a unit*' and in the latter you have to sit straight, isolated and individual.

Crossing spaces with affect

The common room and sofa also emerged with Inas during a Skype intra-view in the bedroom shared with her sister (Y10). I consider this encounter still as a walking intra-view, though in her bedroom. Inas was babysitting her fourteen-month-old sister during the intra-view, walking from one corner of the room to the other, shaking her knee with her sister on her lap to keep her calm. Inas's sister as a more-than-agency not only ruptured our conversations a few times, trying to catch the phone, crying and making sounds but also created a different intra-viewing/ walking with different agential actants (Figure 31).

I write in my fieldnotes:

What are the relational materialities between the common room in the school and bedroom in the house? Why common room emerged in those affective and material moments in her bedroom, in a place

she has to share with her other siblings and has to babysitting during our Skype research intra-view?

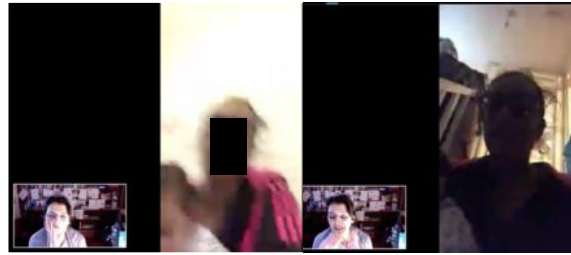


Figure 31: The moment that common room emerges

The common room and sofa also emerged in Inas's photo-diary session in school. She took a photo in the common room and in our session highlighted it as an important place for her. Like Rana, she started her photo-diary with a picture of the common room, with sofa and bodies next to each other as a main element of the image. She wrote SERENITY and SOFA in capitals on the neon arrow Post-its, and in lower case 'no arguments', 'satisfaction', 'my friend relaxing', 'tranquillity and music' (Figure 32). This material object, the sofa with its comforting spongy feeling, continually reminded Rana and Inas of the restrictions of their 'class' room, school and, probably, of their overcrowded households.



Figure 32: No argument

When I asked Inas if there is any place in school she likes, she replied:

I like the common room because you can hang out with your friends and study there, it's comfortable, there are sofas there.

Most of my participants don't usually hang out with friends outside school, in the high street, shops or parks or at home; most of their 'hanging around' happens with family or cousins. The spaces my participants spend most time in are home and school and, for some, the bus. Most don't have their parents' permission to stay out long after school and if it takes one hour to get home, particularly in winter when it gets dark early, in reality they have to go home straight after school. Inas belongs to this group. Every day she spends at least two hours on the bus to and from school, so the common room turns into a safe, hanging-out space in school.

Inas describes the common room:

There are sofas and tables, you can work there, there is just us, no teachers, I go there everyday in my free lessons, my friends play music and it emerges dances but it has to be in low volume to not disturb people, they played Indian music yesterday and even white people dance with Indian music, everyone likes each other's music choices.

I ask Inas if she listens to music and dance in any other spaces:

Sometimes with my sister in my bedroom, sometimes, but really really rarely, because at home my mum would probably tell me to turn it down.

I ask Inas what she means by 'safe place' she wrote next to the photo:

Like there is no like arguments there and everyone is happy here.

To Inas a safe place is where there are no arguments and where everyone is happy. Her image of safety suggests a relation between space, intra-actions and feelings. For Inas, and probably other participants, the common room opens up another capacity and relations that some of my participants cannot have in other times and spaces due to parental restrictions; hanging-out spaces with boys. The common room enables Inas to overcome her fear of boys:

I was a bit like scared to have lessons with boys at sixth form cos we were in girl school for 5 years but now I got used to it and it's quite nice.

Being around boys has changed Inas's feelings from 'a bit like scared' to 'it's quite nice'. I ask how:

I don't know, I was just, I don't know I didn't into that being with boys for so long, so I didn't have heart to it, I guess, we were all in girl school, so it was hard. But I kind of used to it and I am fine with that now.

The common room de/re-territorialises Inas's affective embodied relationships with her body, other bodies and objects, to go from 'hard' to be around boys and not having her 'heart' in it, to feelings of 'quite nice' and 'getting used to it'. The temporal and spatial potentialities of both common room and classroom enable Inas to connect, know, feel and think differently about being around boys. The 'material moments' (Taylor [2013](#) and 2018) emerging through the intra-actions of the material bodies, objects, space and immaterial intensities in the common room, as agential factors, affect the 'coming-into-being of spaces, affects and subjectivities' (Mayes et al. [2019](#), 503).

The proximity of bodies and togetherness, absence of teachers, affective material and immaterial capacity of the room agentially contribute to the emergence of new relations, feelings, lookings, talkings, knowings and experiences of their bodies and selves.

I ask Rana if there is any place in the school she does not like, and she makes another material relation to the canteen:

The canteen, it's for the whole school, I never been there since year 9, I only go there if I need to go there, if there is meeting or something, I don't go there to get food I don't get there to sit and have lunch, it's not the place for me I guess. It has lots of chairs and tables... I think there are too much going on there for me. You can't always do what you want. Maybe it's because there is a lot of people.

What sort of intensities and interactions flow in the canteen differently to the common room? I asked Rana how she knew it is not a place for her:

You can sit there and eat if only you have food, you cannot go there not having food not eating something, you can't take your food out, so if you buy food you have to sit and eat it in the canteen I don't like that because I don't like to be restricted for what I want, I don't like being restricted, I feel like there is too much authority there.

Rana's feelings of 'restriction' and 'too much authority' in the school canteen suggest panoptic rules and surveillance; standardised settings, chairs, tables, food, plates, normative bodies and manners in queuing, the order of process of having food, from taking a tray, cutlery and plates, then moving along the queue, having the same amount of food, the same type of food, keeping a standard pace of eating to finishing the food on time, not talking while eating, not being loud, focusing more on eating than anything else. Everything is controlled and surveilled by teachers, even the time when the canteen is used is normalised as 'the lunch break'; students have to become hungry and fed all at the same time. Apart from this, as Rana suggests, students have to buy the canteen's food if they want to eat and sit there. For Rana and most of my other participants as another agential force, the 'not good quality food' of the school canteen turns this space into a not-space. As most of my participants are in Year 12 with flexible timetables, they can eat outside. Even though in my study I do not extensively focus on the school *Free School Meal* (FSM) apparatus, I wonder whether the performance of serving food to students who are eligible for FSM has an agency in turning this space into a 'not-place for me' for Rana, Ameera and Inas. As all my participants live in over-crowded households and have been on waiting lists for new council flats for years, I imagine most of them were eligible for FSM before sixth form. I wonder too if being included in the FSM programme brought different experiences, feelings and relations that could have contributed to them considering this as a not-space and a place they don't like.

Rana describes why she doesn't like the school canteen:

I just don't like it, if I am in a room I like to see everyone is happy, I don't want people shouting, and when eating food flying of their mouth the teachers are always shout at students to be honest, I was forced to eat in the canteen and you can't take the food out of the canteen and it's so many people in there.

Rana's material and affective antipathy towards the canteen is through seeing/not seeing happiness which implies the ways in which dis/attachment to spaces emerges through our feelings rather than only rational reasoning. Now that Rana is in Year 12, she has managed to de/re-territorialise her relationship to food and the canteen:

There are blue benches outside, I just eat there 'cause I don't have the teachers rule there and I can eat what food I want to, I am not being rushed and here no people shouting, and I can eat with my friends yeah.

Rana de-territorialises the shouting teachers, forceful feeding and overcrowding, and re-territorialises it with blue benches, no-teacher, no-rushing, no-shouting, favourite-food and eating with friends.

The forest-y bit: to unleash your anger

The 'forest-y bit' in the park near School 2 in Bethnal Green is another space that matters for my participants. 'Forest-y bit' is the name that Farah gave to the small corner of a park in Bethnal Green hidden behind bushes. 'Forest-y bit' as an affective relational space 'glows' (MacLure 2013a) in different spatial temporal research encounters. The methodological affordances of my research enabled the re-materialisation of this vital space with different participants and in different contexts specifically for Reema and Farah. Even though the forest-y bit is introduced as a nature trail, I use Farah's take on this space as forest-y to link into Ivinson and Renold's (2013, 370) understanding of the notion of 'wild' (Bennett 2004 cited in Ivinson and Renold 2013). Even though this space is not mountainous and wild, as in Ivinson and Renold and Bennett, for Farah, for Bethnal Green and for School 2 with no greenery or garden, it is wild, hidden, bushy, enabling 'alternative modes of subjectivity'

(Ivinson and Renold 2013, 370) to those offered by school, home, town and local community.

Farah chose the '*forest-y bit*' for us to do our photo-diary research encounter rather than a school space. The '*forest-y bit*' has not only enabled material moments for Farah and Reema to de/re-territorialise their body-space-desires differently but also for Farah, myself and my research. What Reema describes as forest-y bit during her house intra-view, Farah re-materialises in our walking interview and during our photo-diary session in the forest-y bit (Figure 33). Forest-y bit is with them and with their lives.





Figure 33: Forest-y bit

Reema (S2, Y12) is a British-Bangladeshi girl who lives in a two-bedroom flat. '*Foresty-bit*' glowed in Reema's story as she sat in her parents' bedroom; her sibling was studying in their shared bedroom, the door was open, and I could hear clearly her parents talking and younger sibling screaming and crying. It was in these material moments that Reema de-territorialises this space-time-bodies-assemblage with that of '*foresty-bit*'. Reema describes her relationship with this space:

When we have enough and when we just can't deal with things or if we have just mental break down, we go there and soothe each other, kind of escape moments from the school. We bunk our spare times that we should work, to go there and talk, just to unleash all our angers towards the teachers or the subjects we don't like.

Forest-y bit is not just a static place, but processes, 'knots' (Ingold 2000) and 'event' (Massey 2005), a meshwork of lines, movements, affects and bodies to unleash the anger to talk and to soothe each other as Reema describes. The affective transition of nature walk to forest-y bit for Reema and Farah, a wild, hidden, safe emplaced event suggests Massey's (2005, 9) notion of space as contingent, in flux, the product of interrelation and always under construction or, drawing upon Deleuze, what Saldanha calls the 'eventfulness of place'

(2017, 105). Unleashing anger does not only happen through human agencies; rather as a material event it needs space to enable this transition from one affective assemblage to another. Unleashing anger as one of the 'modes of engaging with emplaced atmospheres' (Brown et al. 2019, 13) happens in the mutual intra-actions of humans and more-than-humans, bodies, nature, walk, hidden, bush, space, spare times, affects and desire:

It's the biggest and closest park to our school and because it's a park many people will go there and people [Someone shouting in the back ground, her little brother crying]... people are confused with other people so nobody really knows you any more...[Her brother crying louder, it is very noisy and busy in the back ground]... inside school, you never say things and it's different but when you're outside you're much more secure to say whatever you like.

Reema differentiates between the two locations; the forest-y bit is close but not in school, busy but having the potentiality to stay unknown, outside school but more secure to talk (Figure 34). For Reema, school and park as two contrasting places accompanied by constraining and liberating feelings suggest the vitality of these 'escaping moments' and spaces in their well-being. For Reema, the space-body-material (escaping) moments in forest-y bit open up 'proto possibilities' (Ivinson and Renold 2013) to becoming other, to do things differently (371); enhancing or diminishing her capacity to act, decide, think or feel, re-assembling new relations and realizations after they unleash their anger. For Farah, the proto possibilities of forest-y bit, are in its 'calming' potentialities and 'no parents' zone. Forest-y bit and what it does to Reema and Farah not only reinforces the notion that subjective experiences are often tied to place (Guattari 2006; Walkerdine 2013; Ivinson and Renold 2013) but also a sense of who they become, materialising in that movement from school to park.

Forest-y bit as agential force plays an important role in allowing Reema and Farah to manage their school life where they feel restricted and insecure, to voicing their opinions. This suggests that not only are subjective experiences spatial, happening somewhere or in relation to somewhere, but the feelings are too.



Figure 34: Be-hind-the-bush

Continuation

In this chapter, drawing upon some spaces that mattered for my participants, I considered the vital materiality of space in my participants' subjectivity-becoming, relations to their body, other human and more-than-human bodies. These spaces emerged during our walking intra/inter-views and photo-diary making sessions. Through stories, images and walks I found that my participants' experiences, feelings and desires that happen in everyday intra-actions with these spaces matter including the bus, their walking route to/from school, house, school and park. These spaces are agential 'actants' (Latour 1992, 22) in my participants' decisions, perceptions, feelings and knowings about themselves and others.

One of the recurring relational spaces in the data that matter with most of my participants was their house and housing situation. All of my participants live in overcrowded households and have been on Council waiting lists for a long time. I showed how affective and material entanglement with their housing situation affects them and how they know themselves and the world. The onto-ethico-epistemological affordances of my study enabled us to make the relational materialities between overcrowded houses, 'fav' sofa in the school common room, 'SCARY HOURS' on the bus and 'escape moments' of 'forest-y bit' through diffractive back-forth movements in-between spaces, bodies, time and feelings.

For most of the participants in School 1, the common room as their favourite place mattered, as it enables different de/re-territorialisations of their relations to their own body, other bodies and school space. School 2 does not have a common room, not even a garden, however a hidden 'forest-y bit' of the park nearby enables my participants to de/re-territorialise their anger 'when they are fed up with things'.

Bus route 343 was another space that matters for my participants in School 1, the affective atmosphere of the bus, the affective combination of bodies with other bodies and space and the specificity of this long route to school, for some of my participants a 45 minute journey, the string-like movement of the bus in between two polarised spaces, one affluent area where the school is located and one deprived covered with layers of homogenised blocks of Council flats. Bus route 343 not only enabled me to connect with the most ordinary everyday journey of my participants but also to map the neighbourhood in a relational, affective and moving manner.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

The vagueness or the unfinished quality of the ordinary is not so much a deficiency as a resource, like a fog of immanent forces still moving even though so much has already happened and there seems to be plenty that's set in stone.

This is no utopia. Not a challenge to be achieved or an ideal to be realised, but a mode of attunement, a continuous responding to something not quite already given and yet somehow happening.

(Stewart 2007, 127)

What is/was this thesis?

This thesis has been a journey of entanglements and of movements, matter, bodies, space, time and policy; an emergence of individuals through their entangled intra-relations. The entangled world I sought to explore was that of Muslim schoolgirls, the relations and experiences between their bodies and other human and more-than-human bodies multiple forms. Towards the end of this journey, as I wrote my final chapters, the Covid-19 pandemic put the world into lockdown and became a new component of this material and affective worldly assemblage. These entangled becomings of the world made 'environmental racism'⁵⁷ intelligible. UK studies showed the Black and Asian ethnic population, particularly Bangladeshi communities, were most hit by Covid-19. Through this pandemic, one of the more-than-human agential actants of my study emerged; *where* you live matters and *how* you live matters. My participants knew this long before Covid-19. It was not an easy task though, to write these concluding thoughts knowing that the participants of my study were living alongside the risk of Covid-19 as well as all the other risks analysed throughout this thesis.

The Conclusion was an opportunity to rethink, relay and return to the research project, to material moments, relationships, connections and experiences. My

⁵⁷ See also: <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamo-sociology/chapter/reading-environmental-racism/> Accessed 6 July 2020.
'How environmental racism is fuelling the coronavirus pandemic' (Washington, 19 May 2020) <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-020-01453-y> Accessed 6 July 2020.

aim was to map new ethical and political entanglements with the everyday, ordinary experiences of Muslim schoolgirls through the capacities that affective and material relationalities might afford me. This study was developed through combining a series of relational materialities. I did not claim that I knew the 'absolute truth' surrounding my participants' experiences. My aim was more to map new relationalities that could actualise the plurality of Muslim schoolgirl relations-in-the-world. In this way, I hoped to provide a counter-production to racialised, gendered and hegemonic views of Muslim schoolgirls as risky, threatening and with a potential to radicalisation. This thesis was guided by the following questions:

1. How Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity-becomings emerge in the interactions between humans and more-than-human in their everyday ordinary practices?
2. What are the agential human and more-than-human actants in the subjectivity-becomings of Muslim schoolgirls and how they matter with my participants?
3. How can creative, visual, digital, art-based and walking methodologies enable different ways of thinking and doings, theorising and practising in research on Muslim schoolgirls subjectivity-becoming?
4. How can multi-sensory participatory approaches open up new capacities for different data to emerge?

This research drew upon data gathered from a phEmaterialist study of Muslim schoolgirls in two secondary schools in south-east London. Using walking intra-view, photo-diary making and face-to-face interview as phEmaterialist modes of research assemblage in various spaces and times, I explored the subjectivity formations of Muslim schoolgirls of my study in-between affective and relational assemblages of humans and more-than-humans. I paid attention to their attention, the relational materialities that those Muslim schoolgirls made and the human and more-than-human elements that had agency in their experiences, feelings, knowings and relations to their bodies and others' bodies. The affective moments and material relations and experiences that

matter for my participants re-materialised through narratives, walkings and images.

Turning to affect and material helped me to map what mattered with my participants was nothing near an intention to become radicalised. Rather what matter for them was to be themselves without fear of encountering racial harassment in or out of school, or being silenced, or being singled out because of what they said; they simply wanted proper housing and safe spaces to practice happiness and joy. My study with Muslim schoolgirls has allowed me to push the boundaries of human subjectivity and move to associations of situated subjectivities extended to broader human and more-than-human relational affective materialities and assemblages. However, I am mindful that these assemblages are growing and extending to forge and link new relations, but are never finalised and always in flux.

To connect with their everyday experiences, I walked with some participants, virtually, using Skype; with others, actually, with my body-assemblage. Using pictures that they took, we made a photo-diary and mapped things that matter for them. Face-to-face interviews in schools re-located our bodies, feelings and thinkings in relation to other assemblages. The matters that pulled me into this entangled journey were the gendering and racialisation of threat in education and in everyday ordinary experiences, when the body of a woman is represented as threatening, i.e. the threatening body/mind of Iranian schoolgirls ruled to be veiled, silenced, unseen and the threatening body of British Muslim women pre-empted to be unveiled, silenced and seen. The former is implied as an eroticising essentialised immoral threat that makes men commit the sin of sexual arousal, and the latter is seen as a potential risky mortal terrorist that threatens the security of others. Being a good/bad Muslim matters through being veiled/non-veiled.

My phEmaterialist multi-sensory methodological assemblage showed that fear, threat and racial harassment that affected their bodies would stick, slide and stay with them across time and space, enhancing or diminishing their bodies' capacity to act. I argued throughout that everyday ordinary practices as

affective entanglements matter as they act on the body and conditions the relations of the body. Space as affective atmosphere and as one agential component of threat-assemblages, also matters. Most of my participants' racial harassment experiences were emerged in relation to the affective and material capacities of that space. I showed that the subjectivity formations happen not only through normalising discursive power of discourse but also through affective modulations that happen in material and affective relations with other humans and more-than-humans, i.e. the working of affect to enhance or diminish the capacities and intensities of their bodies to act, think, feel and know.

This thesis showed that some of the agential actants for these young Muslim schoolgirls were threat of terrorism and counter-terrorism proliferated by Prevent policy in schools and media loops; fear and racial harassment in schools, in public and the wider community; their housing situations; veil as a vital materiality that affects their relations to space, time and bodies. I also argued that these agential factors cannot be related to just one category of gender, sexuality, religion or race rather to complex agential assemblages.

The temporal context of this thesis was significant, as it showed the everyday lives of groups of young Muslim students existing in conditions that could make them, potentially, vulnerable to radicalisation or terrorism. Countering the homogenising and normalising approaches of Prevent policy and wider political and securitised strategies towards Muslims and particularly Muslim women, this study showed that what mattered to my Muslim participants was to live safe ordinary lives rather than lives of radicalisation or extremism. What they need to be protected from is racial harassment. They need to enable access to equal opportunities, live with basic standards in safe housing, attending safe schools, and using safe public facilities. However, through mapping some of the affective and material relationalities in their everyday experiences, my participants showed that sometimes they can de/re-territorialise some of those affective (racialised) encounters through using human and more-than-human 'proto-possibilities' (Ivinson and Renold 2019 and 2013); laughing, making fun of the harasser, leaving the room, passing by,

drawing the missing desires through different mediums; natures, animals, images, colours, crowds, objects and re-telling stories differently.

This thesis also helped me to see how knowledge happens using other agential actants; when you connect to material moments through other sensory channels, not just thought and rational reasoning, i.e. sea, shark, wall, shower, hijab, hair, walking, making, colours and more. This understanding of knowledge production also brings different approaches to ethics where ethico-socio-technical everyday assemblages are approached at the level of the unexceptional everyday. It leads to ‘the emergence of new social forms rather than for promoting a particular ethical (or political) obligation according to a “normative” stance on moral subjects facing grand Ethical dilemmas’ (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 138).

I walked around parts of south-east London for a total of, at least, 14 hours. For School 1, I boarded the 343 bus at least 20 times, entangling with its space, bus stops, movements, sounds and bodies, usually with the same people around the same time as my participants. For School 2, we walked 15 minutes from the tube to/from school for about a year. I inhaled the same atmosphere that my participants breathed around school; the smell of cannabis, the sight of colourful graffiti and layers of Council blocks. I showed how spaces, schools, bodies, feelings, times do not start and end at their borders; walls, gates, doors, skins, imaginations but extends, grows and enfolds to everything we smell, pass, hear and carry with them. These walkings and makings initially drew me into Deleuze’s idea of ‘a plurality of centers’, perhaps because of my own experiences as a secular person living her life under a totalitarian Islamic regime, experiencing at a very young age the fear of being on the wrong side of the Islamic regime's gendered representational binaries.

Micro material possibilities with phEmaterialisms

PhEmaterialisms (Strom et al. [2019](#); Ringrose and Niccolini 2020) material and affective turns in education as components of new materialist and post-humanist approaches, are currently employed in many fields of social inquiry. The implications of feminist new materialist and post-humanist theories in this study emerged through multiple ways of thinking, doing and entangling with the *things that matter to Muslim schoolgirls* in my study. PhEmaterialisms helped me to reconfigure a methodology which I felt would enable potential for both human and more-than-human participation in the inquiry. In the light of emerging scientific, technological advances, global warming, human-induced environmental crises and terrorism, turning to affect and material not only re-locates the social critical inquiry in the broader ethical and political frameworks (Coole and Frost 2010) but also forces us to widen the educational focus from human-centred to more-than-human entanglements (Taylor et al. 2013). According to Coole and Frost, we need to re-think some of our fundamental beliefs and everyday underlying ontological assumptions as a result of existential implications of these conditions. This also shifts the nature of social inquiry and the aims of research/researchers towards a focus on relations, processes and in-between spaces and change rather than the stable entities (Braidotti 2002).

This study suggests that phEmaterialist approaches can disrupt how we think of Muslim schoolgirls as political beings and of everyday ordinary interactions that may seem nothing as 'proto possibilities' (Renold and Ivinson [2019](#) and 2013) and micro capacities for resisting normalised structures. This study shows that political issues are not always raised by those able to name, speak up and participate in societal structures but sometimes happen in different kinds of power imbalances, complex webs of relations, ordinary, everyday material and affective moments and encounters. These matters matter, as politics of 'tinythings' (Myers 2015), from pieces of 'Lego characters, dust, missing teeth' to, in my research, a sewing machine, veil, abaya, common room or sofa. In this way, phEmaterialism embraces society and subjectivity as materially real, socially and discursively constructed and affectively flowing and not trapped in any one side of categories and in process.

Applying phEmaterialist approaches to the available literature offers a post-human Muslim subjectivity enacted within/between fluid positionalities of Muslimness, femininity, terrorism and threat. Webs of entangled capacities that race, gender, sexuality, religion, space, time, objects and affect are enabled. Relations between virtual-actual, corporal-trans-corporeal, past-present-future and material-immaterial are enabled through movements inside and outside spaces, time and bodies, bounded structures, norms, de/re-forming subjectivity through the relational, affective, material and discursive assemblage-becomings. These rhizomatic movements, tentacular thinking, feeling and becoming happened throughout research and, by focusing on how these relational materialities were made, we cut across boundaries of thinking and doing in normalised space and time.

These new materialist and post-humanist concepts enabled an enquiry in my study into the complexities of my participants' relational, affective and material lives. At a theoretical level, inspired by concepts derived from philosophers in various fields of study, I avoid claims of being simply Deleuzo-Guattarian or Baradian or Harawayian by working with them as components of thinking-doing-feeling assemblages having porous boundaries. It also enabled the ontological re-thinking of some concepts, such as subjectivity, space, school experiences and relations, to endorse our ethical response-ability towards social issues.

On an empirical level, rather than utilising one method of data gathering or one-off interviews, this study stretched across time and space in walking body-assemblages, re-making images, memories and feelings and re-telling stories in different temporal and spatial research encounters, helping to achieve a form of slow release understanding through staying there to take another attentive stroll and think again on our feet (Back 2017, 35). This form of 'staying there' can be considered as Barad's (2007) 'onto-epistemology', i.e. 'the study of practices of knowing in being' where knowledge is not produced '...by standing outside the world: we know because we are *of* the world' (185).

As an early researcher, who used ethnographic methodology in my BSc and MSc Sociology theses, near the end of my PhD journey I would like to say to my fellow ethnographers that extending ethnography to onto-ethico-epistemological capacities of assemblage thinking and practising, that underlines ‘the fleeting, viscous, lively, embodied, material, more-than-human, precognitive, non-discursive’ (Vannini 2015a, 317) enables a different capacity for the analysis of events, practices, assemblages, feelings, and the backgrounds of everyday experiences against which relations unfold in their myriad potentials.

Is pre-emption of radicalisation a safeguarding strategy for all?

My study examines the argument against securitising educational environments and practices and in favour of revising or removing Prevent policy and practices of anti-radicalisation in schools. Whilst existing research points to the negative impacts of securitisation in education that lead to stereotyping and silencing of some students, through entangling with things that matter for these Muslim schoolgirls, my study shows how their lives intertwine with some other material and affective experiences. Mattering with everyday ordinary experiences, this study calls for the relocation of safeguarding policies in relation to Muslim students in education from threats of being radicalised to threats of being racially harassed. I take an oppositional stand against Prevent policy and through mapping the relational materialities in my participants' everyday ordinary experiences, I argue that what matters to my participants is not radicalisation or extremism but to have access to equal opportunities and a right to an educational system that does not make them doubt themselves. What matters is not their potential to radicalisation but their experiences of racial harassment, currently and in the past, some from as young as six years old. The threat that flows is not of them becoming radicalised but of them being seen as the threat, transposing fear into their ordinary everyday practices, going to school, attending a class, using public transport and living in an overcrowded household. Threat lies in what matters to them in the present and not with the not-yet-happened. The complex materiality and reality of their lives is what matters more than their supposed

potential to radicalisation and I immersed myself in it, not through complaining discursive narratives and language of policy or media but through re-materialising affective entanglements in their everyday ordinary practices.

Prevent policy and counter-terrorism in/outside schools, modulates the educational atmosphere discriminately silencing and excluding Muslim pupils through the fear of being singled out within school boundaries. These paranoid relations lead to feelings of self-doubt and a sense of not belonging, for some of my participants. However, occasionally, with a micro action they have ruptured the affective and material moments they have met. This new affective atmosphere enables the educational environment to become a territory for racist acts, exclusion, ignorance and silencing. Intertwining with my participants' everyday ordinary lives, and showing their various levels of fear in public or their local community, I have argued how school and the schooling environment need to relocate their safeguarding plans and provide spaces such as a common room for them to stay away, even momentarily, from either crowded households or strangers in public. Even though I am attentive to the structural, institutional racism of the school system, as Mirza, Meetoo and Shain show in their studies, my participants mapped some proto-possibilities and tiny material moments in an impossible system, that they experienced even momentarily. For instance, in the school common room or in the forest-y bit in the park near school, so I would argue that school and its relational materialities matter.

My study drew upon everyday experiences, stories, feelings and desires that implied what Muslim students need to safeguard against is not radicalisation or extremism but inequality, racism and discrimination, not an anti-radicalisation strategy but an anti-racism, anti-inequality and anti-discrimination scheme. Working with the connective concepts of assemblage, de/re-territorialisation and affect, further allowed me to go beyond considering racism only as an institutional and policy issue but also as an affective and material assemblage in everyday environments which require a focus on safeguarding children as an expanded ethical and political responsibility.

Mattering with subjectivity-becoming assemblages

Even though I built upon Mirza and Meeto, Shain, Sian, O'Donnell and Heath-Kelly to suggest an intensity in Muslim students' experiences of fear and racial harassment in school since 9/11, as emerged in the data of my study, there were also apparent experiences of de/re-territorialised material moments traversing space, body, feeling and time. This study's contribution to the literature is also an onto-ethico-epistemological one. Taking the phEmaterialist approach as a relational onto-ethico-epistemology and a multi-disciplinary assemblage, this thesis sought to explore various human and more-than-human elements in my participants' experiences and becomings. I moved beyond the established debates concerning Muslim subjectivities and used the positions of 'subjectivity-assemblages' and 'becoming-subjectivity' to map these relationships with the material world. I applied vital and dynamic new materialist and post-human theorising to the becoming subjectivity of Muslim schoolgirls in relation to Prevent and counter-terrorism's affective atmosphere to argue that materiality and affect is present and surrounds Muslim schoolgirls' experiences. Working through texts, images, bodies, voices, stories, colours enabled this study to see the affective and materiality of these experiences of fear, racial harassment and Muslimness. This decentred its focus towards assemblages of all agential actants that matter, instead of exploring only the policy and its normalising discourses or only their physical experiences. I showed how they matter with fear, and with the new climate of Prevent and counter-terrorism in and out of school. Extending existing studies on securitisation of schools, targeting and monitoring Muslim students as impacts of Prevent policy in and beyond schools, by re-materialising their everyday ordinary practices, moments and objects, this study considered more than their narratives. It showed how threat and fear affects body, space, time, relationships, feelings and desires. Matters, tiny ordinary interactions or a memory that emerges, showed how vital materiality of objects, moments, spaces, feelings can affectively pull my participants into new relational assemblages.

By extending the scope of association, I examined the ontological and epistemological inseparability of the field of education from other disciplines

such as philosophy, quantum physics, critical terrorism studies, feminist new materialism, post-humanism and cultural geography. This study helped to re-think the concept of education, subjectivity, vulnerability, radicalisation and Prevent policy as complex webs of affective, material and relational processes moving in and beyond the established boundaries of school walls, human bodies, space and time. However, it cannot claim to have overcome the representational understanding of Muslim schoolgirls, or that the researcher knows all agential actants in subjectivity formations of the Muslim schoolgirls or how to generalise my participants' experiences to cover all Muslim schoolgirls. Instead, I consider my work to be a series of attempts, openings, movements, entanglements and instances of thinking and doing differently. Throughout the study I also attempted to resist my own 'I/eye' and human-centred educational/researcher gaze - the automatic ways to centre human agencies when entangling with participants' stories and experiences. In some material moments, I even managed to dismiss some habitual ways of thinking-doings momentarily; the persistent 'why' questions to ask for reasons and explanations; the researcher's voice to lead the flow of entanglements, and in some cases removing my physical presence. Not only did I move towards seeing my participants as in-entanglement with humans and more-than-human agential actors in their subjectivity experiences but also myself as many entangled-I; the tentacular fragmented 'I', the 'I' that has some parts here in the UK, others in Iran, the 'I' that has the body, human and more-than-human body everywhere, the 'I' that becomes in-between these extensions, never fixed, moving but entangled. I also tried to avoid classifying my participants' experiences under themes such as resistance, empowerment, belonging, etc., instead thinking of them as singular, unique experiences of those material moments.

What Muslim schoolgirls matter and think other matters with?

To entangle with my participants' subjectivity-becoming experiences, I mapped the affective and relational materialities and moments that emerged during our research encounters, when walking, making photo-diaries and narrating their stories, then, later when I interpreted the data. To see how body, space, time,

objects, discourses matter *with* my participants, I paid attention to the entangled human and more-than-human agencies involved in the emergence of a particular experience and story. As Barad suggests, 'Knowing does not require intellection in the humanist sense...rather knowing is a matter of differential responsiveness to what matters' (Barad 2007, 149). They knew themselves and the world through what matters with them; racial harassment, fear, hijab and living in crowded conditions.

Racial harassment emerged in various research contexts. Most schoolgirls in my study had experiences of racial harassment, either direct or indirect involving family. In Chapter 4, I argued that racial harassment matters for my Muslim participants; these experiences happened at various times in school or street, on public transport, through different *affective channels*; racist jokes, weird comments, blunt staring and baffling questions which agentially changed their relations to their own bodies, other bodies, space and time. Most participants expressed a sense of fear in relation to their body, their veiling/not-veiling, whether they fit into the everyday ordinary spaces they use, or not. I argued that these racial harassment interactions having ontopower (Massumi 2017) generate different kinds of power, agency and control rather than disciplinary and discursive; they affectively modulate the body, enhance or diminish its capacity to act, feel, think and desire. I borrowed the concept of 'debilitation' (Puar 2017) to argue that these new power exercises which proliferated through the expansion of media, technology and policies, such as Prevent, rather than ideologically oppress them or discursively discipline their body, debilitate their abilities. Some of my participants hesitated to call these incidents racial harassment, but they recognised that these incidents happened to them physically, they changed something in them which extended into our research encounter. I argued that affective atmospheres territorialised these normalising and racialising enactments as simply joke/weird/baffling questions and not as racial.

The turn to affective and material approaches helped to explore these vital relational materialities as agential entanglements; even though sometimes they stay beneath the normalised, unknown and vague, they do things to my

participants relations. Like the ocean's ebb and flow, these racialised affective entanglements suggest 'the everyday movements in which outside influences enter bodies, infuse and confuse their organization, and then exit, themselves having been transformed into something new' (Bennett 2020b). PhEmaterialism helped me to understand how racial harassment flows through these affective modulations and atmospheres, refrain-ing the racialising assemblages of colonial past and connecting the bodies of these Muslim schoolgirls to those assemblages.

In Chapter 5, drawing upon the data from walkings, videos, texts, images, voices and stories gathered in walking intra-views and photo-diaries, I explored the relational materialities between my participants' experiences of shame and fear in relation to their bodies, veil, space and time. I mapped fear and shame as a more-than-human agency in my participants' subjectivity-becomings and explored some of the material moments and affective channels of my participants entering shame-events. Focusing on what the shame and fear do, rather than their meaning, I argued shame and fear as 'political affect' (Protevi 2009) not only affect my participants' capacity to act rupturing the relations with their own body, other bodies and space but constantly make new links between the wider 'atmospheric attunement' (Christiansen [2018](#)) of terrorism/counter-terrorism and Prevent policy 'racializing assemblages' (Weheliye 2014) and my participants' relationships, experiences, senses of self and the world. Most participants were aware, to a certain extent, of the necessity to be more careful of what they say due to Prevent policy in school, however participants in School 2 (Bethnal Green), comprising predominantly Muslim students in a Muslim neighbourhood where the Jihadi brides had gone to school, had different kinds of entanglement with this new situation following Prevent's instigation. They said the atmosphere intensified for weeks after the news broke; the incident was addressed a few times in assembly and, in some cases, teachers began advising students to be more careful. Even though all my participants had varying awareness of being cautious of what they could say or do they weren't sure what *not* to say or what *not* to do.

I showed that the fear, 'not-in-place feelings' and vagueness matter, as they agentially open up capacities for affective modulations and control, ontopowers to flow. The vague feelings of their body fitting/not-fitting in spaces, produced a kind of fear whose agency lies in controlling the racialised, gendered, sexualized body of a Muslim schoolgirl. Vagueness and, as some of them said, 'feeling paranoid', has helped to create fear as a form of pre-emptive state control. The affective and material turns with phEmaterialism and diffractive readings of data, enabled mapping of the movement of fear and shame in and out of human and more-than-human bodies, spaces and time.

In entanglement with the particular political temporality of *now*, the age of terrorism, counter-terrorism and Prevent, I argued that veil/veiling not only becomes an affective and material partner of wider terrorism and counter-terrorism threat-assemblages, but also affectively modulates my participants' relations to their bodies, other bodies and space. Here, human beings are only one element within the complex ecology of human and ordinary more-than-human assemblages and processes in which we live and think. For these Muslim schoolgirls, it mattered if they wore a veil outside their community or did not wear it within their community. For those who wore hijab, racial harassment was conducted by non-Muslims outside their community, in the street or on public transport (mostly the tube), and in school by other Muslim and non-Muslim schoolmates, whereas for those who did not wear it or wore it 'on and off' harassment was enacted by Muslims in their own community. I argued that the materiality of veil/veiling becomes more vital when entangled with space. Its vital materiality constantly re-locates Muslim schoolgirls' relationships to their own and other bodies in various spatial and temporal contexts. Veil/veiling as affective points of connection between bodies, space, time, Muslimness and feelings re-territorialise and de-territorialise boundaries, making Muslim women not wearing hijab into both a Muslim-woman-other in the eyes of non-Muslims and a Muslim-other or a not-good-Muslim-woman-other for some Muslims. Those who wear veil then become threatening and risky-others for non-Muslims and traditional backward-other-Muslims for some Muslims and those who wear not veil become deviant sinful not-good-Muslim-women and risky-others for Muslim community and neighbourhood.

In the latter section of this chapter, I argued how feelings as an affective way of knowing, matter and agentially transform the capacity of body to act. Particularly, I argued 'fucking feelings' as those affective entanglements qualified as feelings, whilst being called 'fucking terrorist' and 'fucking Muslims' have a socio-cultural importance (Ngai 2004). Fucking feelings are more than an individual feeling once it has been felt it is over and done with rather they enable affective attachments to the wider society's threat, terrorism and counter-terrorism assemblages. I showed that these racialised 'fucking feelings' as one of the key components of terrorism/counter-terrorism racialising assemblages matter because they affect, modulate and re-modulate my participants' capacities, in relation to their everyday lives, whether on public transport, in class, commuting to school, visiting a relative or on a family holiday. The 'fucking feelings' not only affect the capacity of what their bodies can do and cannot do but is also integral to the mechanisms of how colonial and racialising assemblages sustain and move.

In Chapter 6 I mapped a series of material and immaterial entanglements and movements with some of the human and more-than-human participants of my study. I explored how my participants' 'nomadic subjectivity' (Braidotti [2013](#) and 2011) emerges through intra-actions with things that matter for them and in transpositions and movements between material and immaterial, corporeal and incorporeal, actual and virtual. Through some of the more-than-human participants that emerged in walking intra-views and photo-diary sessions, my human participant's nomadic subjectivity-becomings re-materialised. I entangled with things that mattered for them, moving in and out the rhizomatic lines of 'actuality and virtuality' (Deleuze 1994 [1968]) materialising the fluidity, nomadic, affective and relational materialities of subjectivity.

Hair as an affective actant emerged in the data. I argued that hair, as a vital materiality in the relational and affective assemblages of veil/veiling and the religionised, racialised and sexualised bodies of my participants, matters. Drawing upon the empirical data, I considered hair as a doing and affective material channel that agentially is affected and affects my participants'

relationships and feelings towards their bodies and the relations and feelings of their bodies towards others' bodies and spaces. For Muslim women, covering/not covering the hair matters in varying contexts. The affective entanglement of hair and hijab for my participants opened up different enabling or constraining of capacities that put their bodies into different assemblages with space, time and other bodies. I argued that unlike previous studies of mature Muslim women, who might be successful entrepreneurs, academics or university students (Mirza 2010; Shain 2008; Afshar 2008) who introduce hijab as a sign of empowerment and resistance or a main part of their identity, for the Muslim teenagers in my study, covering hair or not is an affective and material uncertain experimentation with their bodies. Some of them who wore veil agentically planned our intra-views in certain places and on occasions when they were not wearing hijab, in their bedrooms or places away from their neighbourhood, thus enabling a different self to materialise. They created a boundary between their look with hair, and without hair in hijab. My methodology enabled me to entangle with the de/re-territorialised and nomadic capacity of their subjectivity-becoming, the one with hair that 'gave her a different look', one that she couldn't experience at school or in public because of her hijab. Some of my participants materialised affective entanglements between hair, hijab and beauty. Some who wore hijab de/re-territorialised their beauty through wearing extra make-up, a strategy that some said they cannot do because they are too young to wear extra make-up.

PhEmaterialism affective and material turns that enabled in my study through participatory multi method-assemblage of walking, photo diary and face-to-face intra-views allowed me not only to be attentive to the vital materiality of things that might not be counted as data, but also to entangle with them haptically through other senses other than seeing and knowing; of Pride in London, sea, the tunnel, the shark. The affective and material moments emerged in the data through this methodology enabled my participants to re-materialise aspects of their subjectivity, desires, feelings and their relation to their hijab, their own body and sexuality differently.

Drawing upon spaces that emerged in the data, in chapter 7 I entangled with space as the vital materiality in my participants' subjectivity-becoming, relations to their bodies and other humans and more-than-human bodies. Through their stories and images, I argued that my participants' everyday entanglement with ordinary spaces matters. My participants' experiences, feelings and desires happened in relation to space in various contexts, not just in relation to each other but as a more-than-human agency that contributed to their decisions, feelings, knowings and doings. One of the recurring relational spaces in the data that mattered to most of my participants was their home and housing situation. All of them lived in overcrowded households and had been on Council waiting lists for a long time. I argued that their housing situation was an affective and material partner of their becomings, with agency in their relations, how they know themselves and the world. In the same way that the over crowdedness of home life mattered for some of my participants in School 1, the calm, joyful gathering of bodies, dancing and listening to music mattered in their school common room. For most School 1 participants, the common room held importance as their favourite place, re-emerging constantly in our walks and photo diaries and in relation to different matters. I argued how this relational materiality they made, mattered. School 1's common room mattered as it enabled different de/re-territorialities of their bodies to relate to school spaces and other bodies. School 2 has neither a common room nor a garden. Instead, what grasped me from School 2, were the images and affective material moments when they go to the rooftop to view Shoreditch and the city's skyscrapers from a small window. Through images from the window, the affective and material differences between these two proximate areas, here where they live and there where they watch, are actualised. I mapped the thread of happiness and calm from the common room in School 1 to the hidden forest-y bit of park near School 2, where some of them went 'to unleash their anger' or 'when they are fed up with things'. Bus 343 was another matter that mattered for my School 1 pupils, the affective atmosphere of the bus, the affective entanglements of bodies with other bodies and space and the specificity of this long route to school, for some of my participants a 45-minute journey, the string-like movement of the bus in between two polarised spaces, the affluent area of the school's location and the deprived area covered with

layers of homogenised Council flat tenements. Bus 343 not only enabled me to entangle with their most ordinary everyday journey but also to map their neighbourhood in a relational, affective and moving manner.

Using the notion of 'space matters' (Massey 2005) as an entry point, I took an affective turn to argue that these everyday ordinary spaces are not only a passive container containing repeated habitual activities and relationalities, but are an 'affective atmosphere' (Anderson 2009 and 2013, McCormack 2013). They can modulate the body's capacity to act. Here, the disciplinary, normative and discursive power relations are not the only agency, rather those embodied and embedded but unconscious, bodily apersonal ontopowers, the intensities in the space and their relations that do not qualify as feelings in words but the body that is hit with that ontopower. I argued that my participants know their bodies and their positionality through the relations that emerge in these affective atmospheres. For this type of knowing through affect, body and feelings, rational reasoning is not necessarily needed. Rather racial harassment, racist jokes and comments, blatant stares weird and baffling questions happen in the affective atmospheres attuned to racism and sexism, affecting the bodies in a different unseen and unsaid way. Even though sometimes they might not be taken as racist jokes or harassment but they stay with 'the body-space choreographies' (Taylor 2018a) being carried onwards. This suggests that racism not only exists institutionally but also flows affectively virtually, actually, materially and immaterially, corporeally and transcorporeally.

Working with/as/of the limits

The actualisation of pHEmaterialism thinking and theorising was a challenge to making this journey and complete my PhD, with continuous questioning and problematising of the anthropocentric human exceptionalism thinking to entangle with more-than-human matters whilst still staying attentive to the vital materiality of human educational experiences, practices and environments. The troubling questions of how to ethically enable human and more-than-human agencies and entanglements to become materialised, re-thinking

methods, research questions, reading and analysing data and writing, were always present. Whilst I did not try to generalise or suggest a grand narrative for the everyday lives of ordinary Muslim schoolgirls, it was a challenge to explore and find new entanglements and possibilities that existed in their lives and at the limit of conventional models of subjectivity formation. Even though I worked with a sample of 15 human participants, my study entangled with much larger agential webs and relations at work, from policy to space, to various human and more-than-human actants. As practice embodied and embedded in wider networks, my research entangled not only with my own practices, but also the wider scholarly research community and my supervisors.

Thinking and practicing through the notion of emergence, not only de-centred my researcher's absolute agency to control research processes and encounters, but also the emergence of various sudden unintentional ruptures and moments. In the same vein, re-thinking the human as not the only agential subject or object of research but one component of material and relational assemblages, turned the research study into a wealth of different data and relational materialities.

Whilst enhancing capacities to more relational materiality with my participants' everyday spatial temporal and embodied experiences, the post-human agency of technology in this study brought some limitations; however, I analysed these agential rupturing moments as glowing data. For instance, 3G/4G Wi-Fi connections, lack of mobile phone data or batteries, glitched faces on the screen, calls dropping out, empty void-like moments, a crammed bus with bodies, sudden pouring rain, a gurgling sound of a fasting stomach, a knock on the door, all ruptured the flow of stories. Enabling post-human agency to emerge and de-centre the human researcher, suggested a challenge in less control and more uncertainty of the researcher and research which needed instant and continuous modulations of decisions and ethical considerations. The post-human absence/presence of the researcher enabled through mobile digital technology, the virtual presence of the researcher, both constrained and enabled implications in this thesis. For instance, in one of the walking intra-views with Ameera, her mother's hands appeared, revealing that she was

sitting next to her daughter on the bus. This material moment not only affected the flow of our interview until I saw her mother walking a distance ahead of Ameera, but also the material relations between us, my tone and questions. The methodological affordances of technology enabled me to stay with them in their daily encounters but at the same time I was limited in knowing who else was around my participants. However, by reconfiguring these limitations as new capacities, they enabled new relations to emerge.

Towards the end of the new beginning

These concluding thoughts are the new beginning for other entanglements to emerge. As my research is an onto-ethico-epistemological experience, it enables me to have a wide range of possibilities to think through for further research focusing on ontological and epistemological shifts in thinking and further researching any of the entangled components of my study; space, time, matter, body, feeling, walking and making, though not as isolated units of research but as material assemblages.

Working in the momentum of innovative 'post-qualitative research' (Lather and St. Pierre [2013](#)) on humans and more-than-humans, my thesis aims to contribute to various academic arguments and further research possibilities. Walking, art-based and multi-sensory participatory methodologies whilst expanding the qualitative thinking and doing in education, made possible thinking through other ways of knowing. Practising movement and emergence through walking and photo-diarying, my study shows how bodies, space and time move beyond their skins, borders, structures to make things mean something and matter. One onto-ethico-epistemological approach that can enable destabilisation of 'the existing hierarchies of knowledge production and perceptions of pedagogical practice through recognising the vitality of matter' (Charteris and Nye 2019, 329). I showed how attending to the vitality of matter can expand our understanding of subjectivity-formations not as one fixed constructed human identity category but as fluid extended entities that emerge through material, affective and discursive co-constitution of bodies, objects, affect and space. My study also contributes to the ontological shifts in our

understanding of time and space as relational, material and immaterial. I have used affect theories and material turn to analyse the relational materialities that Prevent policy in UK schools puts in motion.

Two spaces emerged in my study that I consider to have significant potential for further extended research. The school canteen, and its complex vital materiality in my participants' everyday experiences of schooling, was one of School 1's spaces they introduced as their least favourite place. The assemblages of bodies, space and food worth further entanglements through affective and material turns, the question of how food and space as post-human agencies become affective partners of students' experiences, how bodies are modulated in the 'affective atmospheres' of a school canteen (Anderson 2009) and through the materiality of food. Springgay and Zaliwska (2017) conducted the 'Soup kitchen' artist's performative project to devise a procedure extracting the affects of bodies. For them this anticipatory experience provides pedagogical capacities through politics of attunement in the space. With a slightly different entry point, my proposed further research would not be through establishing an artist project using food and space, but through material and lived experiences, lived feelings and lived tastings of the food and how it agentially modulates students' knowing, thinking, feelings about themselves and others. Focusing on the school canteen and how the doing-feelings-becomings with FSM discursive, material and affective 'ontopowers' (Massumi 2015a) work I pay attention to relational materialities between food, bodies, space, performances and feelings. While I was writing this section during the Covid-19 lockdown, *Free School Meals* emerged this time through its affective entanglement with Covid-19⁵⁸, when Boris Johnson's government ruled against FSM vouchers during holidays. This also confirmed how wider politics and the more-than-human agency of Covid-19, for instance, can affect these embedded and embodied material relations.

⁵⁸ School meals: Boris Johnson refuses to move on school meal vouchers (27 Oct 2020) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-54692880> and School meals: Pressure mounts on government to reverse decision (25 Oct 2020) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-54678082>

Another entanglement that emerged in my study and could be extended to further research was the physicality of school as an important aspect in schooling experiences. Many of my School 1 participants introduced their school common room and its physical settings as their most favourite and calming space. I argued that these spaces are essential for students who live in overcrowded housing, mostly sharing rooms with younger siblings and having baby-sitting responsibilities. Some of my participants found it difficult to access quiet spaces at home to study. For School 2 students with no common room and no green space outside, this became even more crucial. It is proved that these spaces in schools creating a 'convivial atmosphere' (Bragg and Manchester [2017](#)) enable knowing and learning through joy and happiness. Taylor (2018) suggests how pedagogical experiences are dynamic bodily practices in relation to space. Green spaces matter enormously in schools in deprived neighbourhoods. All my participants live in small council flats, mostly without outdoor space, and were scared to use any communal gardens that they might have had access to alongside other blocks, as they knew of or had witnessed knife crime or shootings near communal gardens and play areas. For the same reason most of my participants avoided staying out after school. As a recommendation it matters therefore that schools should provide green facilities and spaces for pupils to spend time with each other. Taylor, Blaise and Giugni (2013), drawing on Haraway's notion of 'post-human landscape' (2004), call for educational approaches to 'relocate childhood within a world that is much bigger than us [humans] and about more than our [human] concerns' instead of considering an individual child's developing and learning only within his/her [exclusively human] sociocultural context (48).

I began this thesis with my own entangled story, growing up in-between assemblages of my body, other bodies, fear, religion and exclusions and I extended these nomadic experiences with my participants' stories of growing up amidst a journey of threat and fear. I believe what they mapped as things that matter for them, make their point and draw together a history of past and present still in existence. I am mindful that there may be a risk running through this research project that telling these stories just reinforces stereotypes about Muslims, name-calling like ISIS, fucking terrorist, fucking Muslims, Paki.

However, this is not enough reason to ignore the everyday experiences of an ordinary Muslim schoolgirl, and it sums up the focus of my research.

My participants' walkings and stories show that safeguarding students against racial harassment is important. Securitisation of education has lured threat and fear into schools. Amidst the rise of new forms of racism, such as Islamophobia and hate crimes, whilst Muslim students do not feel confident in public, schools can play a vital role in safeguarding them, countering the argument and view that sees them as a potential threat instead of reinforcing, accepting and respecting their differences, and doing justice to schooling. Schooling is not just about literacy in the same way that a student's subjectivity is not about the grade they achieve. It is also about everyday ordinary encounters that agentially add up to their subjectivity.

It is to that partial mapping of what matters with Muslim schoolgirls in their material and affective everyday relations that, perhaps, I can claim to have made some contribution that, I hope, matters.

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Appendix A

Table 1 Summary of participant involvement

Name of Girl	Nationality	School 1 or 2	Informal biog data capture, school life, jobs etc	Family life / number of siblings	Hijab / non-Hijab / on-off Hijab	Home life and location
FAZILAH	British-Bangladeshi	2	Part-time job in MacDonald's at Till. Failed Maths, wants to do Law.	2 younger brothers	Wears hijab in a stylish way. Wears full make-up.	2 bedroom flat, shares bedroom with brothers. Lives 10 mins by bus from school
TOOBA	British-Bangladeshi	2	Studies health and social care. Hopes to be a nurse. Training to make cakes in a shop.	5 brothers, 2 sisters (1 brother is a full brother).	Sister's family is religious, is told to wear hijab but it is not her choice.	Lives with her half-sister (carer). Guardianship changes.
FAYROOZ	British-Bangladeshi	2	Studies Health and Social care (BTEC). Likes working with children in primary school setting. Stressed due to lots of work.	3 siblings, 2 of them (elder brother and younger sister) are at the same school.	Non-hijab currently, used to wear it a few years ago. Younger sister wears hijab. Scared for her during school commute. Fear of public transport. Feels hijab wearing is dangerous for her as a young girl, feels nervous and scared.	Lives 1 hour by train from school, in a predominantly Muslim Bangladeshi community.

FATEENA	British-Bangladeshi	2	A level subjects: Psychology, Geography, Gov. Politics.	2 older brothers, 1 older sister. Doesn't live with parents.		Lives 5 mins walk from school in Bethnal Green. Feels safe there as most people are Muslim.
NOORA	British-Bangladeshi	2	A levels: Chemistry, Biology, Maths. Wants to do Medicine.	2 younger siblings.	Non-hijab wearing. Experienced wearing hijab in Yr 7 but stopped as wasn't comfortable. Doesn't feel ready to wear it. Thinks wearing hijab is dangerous for her as a young girl, feels nervous and scared going alone from school to house. Likes to wear plain, simple clothes, and no make-up.	Details unknown. Feels nervous/scared of going alone from school to house, as she lives in an isolated quiet area, that is like a maze.
REEMA	British-Bangladeshi	2	A levels: Maths, Chemistry, Biology. Wants to do medicine.		Non-hijab wearing. Sister wears hijab. Wore hijab in Yr 9 for 3 days (max), then went on/off. After 3 weeks completed stopped. Feels unwell and hot in a hijab. Gets more pressure to wear hijab from mother more than father.	In Bethnal Green, feels she belongs and fits in. Feels fear and has concerns about places she goes where there aren't many Asians. Feels uncomfortable anywhere that doesn't have many Asians.

FARAH	British-Bangladeshi	2	A levels: English Lit, History, Gov and Politics. Wants to study Languages.	2 siblings. 5 in the family in a 1 bedroom flat.	Wears Hijab and feels comfortable wearing it. Started wearing full hijab when 11 yrs old starting a new school. Has had lots of racial harassment experiences in and out of school and feels judged because of her clothes.	Lives 5 mins walk from school (Bethnal Green). Has lived in same house since 3 years old. Says BG is a close-knit community.
AMANI	Afghani	1		4 siblings. 5 in the family in temporary accommodation. Says it is hard to adjust, has been waiting for 2 years to move. Sense of frustration - can't decorate room. Shares room with sister. No couches, have to sit on floor in lounge.	Wears hijab at start of project. Some months later, she is no longer wearing hijab at school.	Lives far from school and is dropped and collected at school by mother, with her siblings.

FAREEDA	Sierra Leone (born in Netherlands)	1	Year 11.	3 younger siblings.	Non-hijab. Says she likes to wear hijab but nobody wears it in her family except grandmother. Scared of wearing hijab because of stories she hears and way veiled Muslim women are treated. Wore hijab for 1 year in Yr 7. Does not feel comfortable wearing headscarf.	
RANA	Nigerian	1	Year 12. A levels: Chemistry, Biology, Pyschology, Maths. Wants to do Medicine. Education very important in their family.	2 older sisters, 1 younger brother.	Non-hijab. Wore for 1 day in Year 9. Wears hijab flexibly when she goes to Mosque. Wants to wear hijab again at the right time.	Lives in a council flat but family own a house in Nigeria.
MAHA	British-Algerian	1	A levels: Biology, Chemistry, Psychology. Wants to study forensic psychology or pscyhology.	1 younger full brother, 4 half siblings in her mother's household. 6 half siblings in her father's household.	Wears hijab because her mother told her to. Mother and step-father are religiously very strict. She describes herself as only about 20% religious. Her headscarf is more about her mother than herself. Doesn't like abaya.	Moves between 2 houses. Can't study at mother's as she has childcare responsibilities. Can only study at school in common room. Feels more comfortable at her father's house.

INAS	British-Bangladeshi	1	A levels: English Lit, History, Psychology. Wants to study English or Law.	2 younger sisters.	Yr 5 - started hijab 'on/off'. Yr 6 - wore hijab fully. Says she is religious but has questions and curiosity.	Lives 40 minutes from school by bus. Has lived in the same house since she was born.
AMEERA	British-Bangladeshi	1	Year 12. A levels: Biology, Chemistry, Psychology. Wants to do forensic sciences and pharmacology.	2 younger sisters, 1 older brother.	Religious family. Goes to Islamic school every Saturday, sometimes to mosque with parents on Fridays. Enjoys Islamic teachings.	Lives with 19 other family members in 1 house. Takes bus to school, 5 minute walk from bus stop to home.
MUNA	British-Bangladeshi	1	A levels: Chemistry, Business Studies, Maths. Wants to do accountancy and finance. Feels confident and thinks school helped.	3 younger sisters, 1 younger brother.	Wears hijab. Is proud of her religion and abaya. Has attended Islamic school on Saturdays with cousins for 5 years. Likes the feeling of being Muslim. Constantly being questions about her hijab and religion.	On waiting list to change house, need more rooms.
JANAN	Nigerian	1		Youngest sibling.	Non-hijab wearing. Mother does not wear hijab. When she talks about her identity she identifies as black but not Muslim, and not British as she wasn't born in Britain.	

Appendix B

Table 2 Summary of data produced in each stage

Data Mapping Table

Date: October 2018

School 1 (S1) East Dulwich

Description of interview technique	Participants (number/names)	Method of technique + Duration
Individual face-to-face interviews	8 participants Ameera, Muna, Maha, Inas Rana, Fareeda, Janan, Amani	Voice recordings Time: Approx. 8 hours
Innovative Group interview: Walking, listening, talking, mapping	5 participants: in 1 group interview	Voice recordings + 1 long walk Map Time: Approx. 1.5 hours
Skype intra-views	7 participants: Ameera: 22, 9 ,2, 50, 15 m Fareeda: 22, 17m Janan: 30, 20, 40, 5, 5 m Muna: 32, 13 m Maha: 22, 2, 32s, 29s, 4, 1, 3, 16, 20m Inas: 15, 3, 15, 58s ,21m Rana: 5, 2, 3, 2, 2, 4, 12, 1m	7 participants Video recorded Time: 2686 mins in total Approx. 7 hours (each between 30 - 70 mins)
Photo diary (individual sessions)	5 participants: Ameera Muna Maha Inas Rana	One single photo-diary + 5 separate audio recordings Total: 5 x 1 hours = 5 hours

School 2 (S2) Tower Hamlets

Individual face-to-face interview	7 participants Fazilah, Tooba, Noora, Reema, Farah, Fayrooz, Fateena	Voice recordings Time: Approx. 7 hours
Skype intra-views and walking inter-views	Tooba: 19, 5m, 3s, 8, 6s Noora: 20, 11, self 13s, self 1m, self 7m Farah: 12, 33, 21 Reema : 32, 13m, 7s, self 8, self 3, self 5 Fazilah : 6m	Video and voice recordings Total = 203 hours Time: Approx. 4 hours

Photo diary (individual session)	3 participants + 1 participant engaged with photo-diary - Farah	1 single photo-diary 3 separate voice recordings Time: Total = 1 hour
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Research overview:

- To look at Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity formation (becoming) in relation to Prevent Policy (anti-radicalisation)
- Use posthuman and new materialist methodology to think through humans and more-than-human agentic actors, discourse, affect, time and space
- Use multi-sensory and participatory method of data collection to capture different types of data i.e. face-to-face interview, group interview, group walking map, walking interview/intra-view, photo-diary making
- The idea of feeling, thinking, making and movement in different temporalities and spatialities
- Example 1: In walking intra-view, the researcher and participants experience being and becoming in two different spaces, the researcher in the office in front of the computer using Skype, the participants walking from school to home, talking to the researcher on the phone via Skype, taking the lead by showing their surroundings to the researcher. The participant crosses different spatial boundaries, passes the park, crosses the road, shows the area while talking about themselves, both researcher and participant singularly think-feel-walk(move)-make in each of these encounter episodes
- Example 2: In photo-diary I argue the entanglement of time-image-body-affect-matter, participant re-connects with the photos they captured from an object, a moment, a place, tell the story behind the photo and stick it to the scrapbook, here I look at the idea of affective sticky-ness of the past moment to the present one, analysing the 're' in re-connection beyond a repetitive making rather a unique re-entanglement with these humans and more-than-human images as a new becoming different

Data Analysis strategies:

- Analyse the participation of each of the girls
- Start with those who complete the research
- Start with those who affected you
- Start with the part of data that glows for you, the images within photo-diary books, the passageway in the videos, the shared terror map
- Transcribe the resultant 6 students' data
- Make the assemblage for each girl
- School 1: all photo-diary making happens in the assigned school room
- School 2: all photo-diary making happens in a corner of a park

- Note: the flow of intensities for School 1 still happens, with walking intra-views as interview in-flow
- Write a piece on these flows and ebbs + fieldnotes. Methodological observations / glowing / buzzes / findings
- Methodology: Question School 1 participants' dissatisfaction with Skype walking intra-views. Possible drawing of attention to them in public (on top of attention from wearing Hijab)
- Methodology: at same time Skype enables Interviewer to feel and see where participants live, i.e. domestic physicality, their room, study table, home interior + home life, sounds around them, families, their hair, the different sides/components of their identity/makeup (if we can say this?!))
- Write a piece on the demographic and geographical characteristics of these 2 areas - Peckham and Tower Hamlet - + images of the area, sounds, smells, housing conditions - differentiate
- School 1: On the border of affluent and 'poor' areas of Peckham; the school gates opposite to a huge park; some details of the park
- School 2: Surrounded by council flats, area of social housing, all within walking distance of the affluent Shoreditch and City of London; the apparent border between different types of shops, fast food halal shops in one side and on the other new trendy generations of bars and restaurants, the area clearly the target of gentrification, the café next to school, artistic, healthy food, different type of people going there, the smell of weed

To take into consideration:

- Think about impact of your project (problematizing Prevent Policy through empirical data, methodological impacts, for girls another type of participatory engagement rather than face to face interview)
- Methodological deprivation, not only arborescent thinking but researching when some particular groups of population being researched and studied in a colonial arborescent research type that reproduce the same narrations is race, gender, sexuality seeing and knowing and researching these people with a particular methodological lenses, the indigenous methodologies
- Muslims have never been researched with posthumanism and NM but only discourses, we need to entangle to more than of it, more of their lived experiences, more of their situated-ness
- Participants as researchers, they took lead to show me different places, they took the video and pictures
- Difference between interview inside school, the same room the same seats with walking the different places, get into bus, get off the bus, passing the park, the shops, other students' bodies and voices in the background
- Map and skin, surface, walking map as your skinencounters touches other humans and more than humans, skinned map, mapped skin

Appendix C

Application for Ethical Approval

Ethics Application Form: Student Research

Institute of Education



Anyone conducting research under the auspices of the Institute (staff, students or visitors) where the research involves human participants or the use of data collected from human participants, is required to gain ethical approval before starting. This includes preliminary and pilot studies. Please answer all relevant questions in terms that can be understood by a lay person and note that your form may be returned if incomplete.

For further support and guidance please see accompanying guidelines and the Ethics Review Procedures for Student Research <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/research-ethics-committee/ioe> or contact your supervisor or IOE.researchethics@ucl.ac.uk.

Before completing this form you will need to discuss your proposal fully with your supervisor(s).

Please attach all supporting documents and letters.

For all Psychology students, this form should be completed with reference to the British Psychological Society (BPS) Code of Human Research Ethics and Code of Ethics and Conduct.

Section 1 Project details

a.	Project title	British Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity formation and their schooling experiences			
b.	Student name	Shiva H. Zarabadi			
c.	Supervisor/Personal Tutor	Professor Jessica Ringrose and Dr. Claire Maxwell			
d.	Department	Education, Practice and Society			
e.	Course category (Tick one)	PhD/MPhil	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	EdD	<input type="checkbox"/>
		MRes	<input type="checkbox"/>	DEdPsy	<input type="checkbox"/>
		MTeach	<input type="checkbox"/>	MA/MSc	<input type="checkbox"/>
		ITE	<input type="checkbox"/>		
		Diploma (state which)	<input type="checkbox"/>		

	Other (state which) <input type="checkbox"/>	
f.	Course/module title	Education
g.	If applicable , state who the funder is and if funding has been confirmed.	Self-funded
h.	Intended research start date	September 2015
i.	Intended research end date	September 2019
j.	Country fieldwork will be conducted in <i>If research to be conducted abroad please ensure travel insurance is obtained through UCL</i> http://www.ucl.ac.uk/finance/insurance/travel	United Kingdom
k.	Has this project been considered by another (external) Research Ethics Committee?	
	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	External Committee Name:
	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ⇒ go to Section 2	Date of Approval:
<p>If yes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Submit a copy of the approval letter with this application. – Proceed to Section 10 Attachments. <p>Note: Ensure that you check the guidelines carefully as research with some participants will require ethical approval from a different ethics committee such as the National Research Ethics Service (NRES) or Social Care Research Ethics Committee (SCREC). In addition, if your research is based in another institution then you may be required to apply to their research ethics committee.</p>		

Section 2 Project summary

Research methods (tick all that apply)

Please attach questionnaires, visual methods and schedules for interviews (even in draft form).

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Interviews <input type="checkbox"/> Focus Groups <input type="checkbox"/> Questionnaires <input type="checkbox"/> Action research <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Observation <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Literature review	<input type="checkbox"/> Controlled trial/other intervention study <input type="checkbox"/> Use of personal records <input type="checkbox"/> Systematic review ⇒ <i>if only method used go to Section 5.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary data analysis ⇒ <i>if secondary analysis used go to Section 6.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Advisory/consultation/collaborative groups <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other, give details: Walking intra-view, photo diary, videos, and photos
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Please provide an overview of your research. This should include some or all of the following: purpose of the research, aims, main research questions, research design,

participants, sampling, your method of data collection (e.g., observations, interviews, questionnaires, etc.) and kind of questions that will be asked, reporting and dissemination (typically 300-500 words).

Purpose of the research

The purpose of the proposed research is to explore the schooling experiences and identity formations of Muslim girls.

Aims

The aim of my research is to investigate the emergence of participants' identity and experience, in relation to other humans, more-than –humans, material, discursive, embodied and embedded forces.

Main research questions

- *How do British-Muslim schoolgirls experience their subjectivities, sense of belonging, and citizenship, within a context where their religious, ethnic and cultural location positions them as vulnerable?*
- *How do British-Muslim schoolgirls feel and think about their spatial, temporal, embodied and embedded being-in-the-world (Del Busso 2011, 43)?*
- *How the more-than-human discursive and material agencies such as veil, media news and images, environment and school, home and public spaces co-constitute Muslim girls' experiences and senses of self?*

Research design

My research has been designed to facilitate relationalities between places, photos, imaginings, feelings and experiences. My participants will film their habitual walking environment (with their choice of place, time, object) to and/or from school, their bedroom, the family dining table, the classroom, the bus stop and a café while being interviewed through Skype as well as making a photo diary through photo-production or photo elicitation (using some of their already taken pictures). With this multi-modal creative design both researcher and participants will engage in the processes of data collection using range of conventional multiphase individual and group interviews and field notes as well as walking intra-view and making photo diary. Multi-modal research enables me to capture diverse materials as potential data including: visual, digital, virtual, touch, sound, art, text and language as multiple forms of meaning-making beyond the text-only transcripts of spoken data.

Participants

12 Muslim girls, 6 in each of the two participating schools, who are in year 9 and/or year 10.

Sampling

The two school settings in which I plan to conduct my research are in East Dulwich and Tottenham. In the sampling of settings I considered three aspects: choosing schools that are actively participating in Prevent; schools where Muslim girls are minorities; and areas with diverse population. I will sample girls from year 9 and 10 to maximise participation as they are not at GCSE or A level exam stages so will,

hopefully, have more time and energy to commit to the activities.

Method of data collection

Data gathering methods will include qualitative individual and group interviews, innovative walking intra-views and data recording strategies such as photography, digital audio and video recordings alongside 'conventional' ethnographic field notes and interview notations.

Kind of questions that will be asked in walking intra-view

As my participants film their habitual walking environment (with their choice of place, time, object) to and/or from school, their bedroom, the family dining table, the classroom, the bus stop and a café while being interviewed, kinds of my questions I might ask are as follows:

- Where are we walking today⁵⁹?
- Why have you chosen this place/object to show?
- How do you feel about this place/object?
- How do you feel about walking, filming and talking?
- Would you like this place/object to be different in any way? How and why?
- How could you change this place/object, so it's more as you wish it was⁶⁰?
- Questions about walking, the speed of walking, weather, shoes, body, clothes, school curriculum on the day and if they have different on different days
- Walking with friends/ alone, how does that feel?
- Walking to/from school different to walking to/from somewhere else?
- Any different feelings between walking to and walking from this place?
- Questions about videoing, how does it feel?

Kind of questions that will be asked in relation to photo diary

- Questions about the story of their photo, why they took a picture of that place/object?
- How do they feel about that place/object?
- Have you ever before taken a picture of that place/ object? If yes has something changed since then?
- Questions about the order of photo diary
- Paying attention to their feelings during photo production experience and then in re-narrating the story of the photo during the interviews

Reporting and dissemination (analysis)

Data drawn from the multi-modal methods will include:

- Approximately 2 hours of individual face-to-face semi-structured interviews for each of the 12 participants, totalling 24 hours;

⁵⁹ I have accepted the comment on the question, 'what are you going to show me?' that is a complex question so I deleted it as I realized the following questions are all covering some aspects of this general question that better not to be asked at the beginning of the interview

⁶⁰ I have also revised these questions – *Does the place/object makes you happy, angry, included/excluded and etc... how? If you could, how would you change this place/object so that you might experience different feelings* – to avoid asking leading questions as commented.

- 1 hour of walking intra-view for each participant totalling 12 hours (each participant will produce a collection of 3 x 20 minute or 6 x 10 minute intra-views);
- 2 x 1 hour of group interviews and discussion totalling 2 hours;
- 12 photo dairies;
- Field notes.

The data will be stored in digital form, analysed and (re)presented using digital technologies. This has meant exploring and exploiting various technological solutions for working with and across a range of different media and data types. The data from face-to-face individual and group interviews in schools will be audio-recorded with the consent of participants. The data from walking intra-views will be digitally recorded using Ecamm which is a call recorded (audio and video) application for Skype. Skype is a free downloadable application for online face-to-face interviewing which can be used by most smartphones. The photos that participants produce will be taken using their mobile phones and will be A4 paper-printed by the researcher. To address security concerns, data will be kept in encrypted, password-protected folders in the UCL Research Log system and via my personal cloud storage⁶¹. The issue of ownership of the videos produced by participants but recorded by me during walking intra-views will be resolved by gaining participants' consent to shared ownership, use and possible dissemination. I will securely keep the recordings and will ensure ownership, use and dissemination of the information for academic purposes do not cause any substantial harms or damages to my participants. However my participants have the rights to gain access to the information about them and also the right to correct the inaccurate data about them⁶².

Section 3 Participants

Please answer the following questions giving full details where necessary. Text boxes will expand for your responses.

a.	Will your research involve human participants?	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/> ⇒ go to Section 4
b.	Who are the participants (i.e. what sorts of people will be involved)? Tick all that apply.		
	My participants are Muslim schoolgirls in secondary school.		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Early years/pre-school <input type="checkbox"/> Ages 5-11 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ages 12-16 <input type="checkbox"/> Young people aged 17-18	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown – specify below <input type="checkbox"/> Adults <i>please specify below</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Other – specify below	
NB: Ensure that you check the guidelines (Section 1) carefully as research with			

⁶¹ I have more clearly specified the type of data storage I use as commented

⁶² Here I have expanded more on the issue of rights as commented

	<p>some participants will require ethical approval from a different ethics committee such as the National Research Ethics Service (NRES).</p>
<p>c.</p>	<p>If participants are under the responsibility of others (such as parents, teachers or medical staff) how do you intend to obtain permission to approach the participants to take part in the study?</p> <p>(Please attach approach letters or details of permission procedures – see Section 9 Attachments.)</p> <p>To gain the permission of gatekeepers I use both an information letter and consent form which I will attach to this application. I will also provide my contact details to parents and participants in case they need more details of the research.</p>
<p>d.</p>	<p>How will participants be recruited (identified and approached)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access <p>I follow the ethical principle that participation in research should be free from any coercion and engaged with in a voluntary way (The Research Ethics Guidebook) and informed consent is one of the fundamental strategy during processes of my research. The main source of access to both of my sampling schools are teachers. I have connections in both schools a head of art in one school and a teacher in another. I have already meet the head of art in first school, she showed me the school environment and we discussed about the introductory session. I have sent my research overview and information sheet to her which she has forwarded these details to headmistress. I am in the same process with the teacher in second school, sending my research overview and information sheet.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants <p>I will set up an introductory session for all girls in year 9 and 10 with the help of teachers to introduce my project and inviting those who interested to register their names and contact details. I will send information and consent sheets to students who initially signed up and showed interest and also to their parents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consent <p>Due to the multi-modal methods, I will need to gain parental and participants' consent for using the content obtained through the different modes of research including interview, video, photo-production and dissemination of photos and videos. I will liaise with the head of year through my teachers' connections to see if they can set up an initial informal talk with potential participants, those who return the consent sheets. However, I consider participation as an ongoing and open-ended process which is not simply resolved through the formal signing of a consent document at the start of research. Instead it will be continually open to revision and questioning (Renold <i>et al</i> 2008, 433). Particularly I will discuss the participants' continued voluntarily participation in not only the study, but in the various multi-modal activities that constitute the methodology chosen for the study . If at any point a participant no longer wishes to take part in one or more</p>

	<p>of the activities, this will be acknowledged and the subsequent research activities with that participants limited to those she feels comfortable with/interested in⁶³. As this is processual participatory method I am in close interaction with my participants over a period of time therefore I listen to their emergent concerns and take ethical appropriate decision. If more than 6 girls in each school where volunteered to participate depending on their numbers, my own time schedule and feasibility, I invite them to only take part in one stage of research for instance in group interview. I make myself prepared to take ethical, situated, responsive and directive decisions for variety of possibilities and issues that might emerge while engaging with schools and participants. During these processes, I will continually discuss with my supervisors the development of my study and seek advice for any emerged ethical concern.</p>
<p>e.</p>	<p>Describe the process you will use to inform participants about what you are doing.</p> <p>I have designed an introductory informal session with all schoolgirls explaining the aims of my research, the participatory activities, ethical considerations (anonymity and confidentiality), procedures of consent and voluntary participation and their right to withdraw at any stage of the research. The purpose of this introductory session is to invite young women who are interested to involve in my study to get in touch with me and fill in the consent form. I also distribute an information sheet with my contact numbers in case my participants or their parents/carer had any inquiry before/ during/after study. I make myself available to negotiate with my participants or their parents/carer regarding any inquiry they had.</p>
<p>f.</p>	<p>How will you obtain the consent of participants? Will this be written? How will it be made clear to participants that they may withdraw consent to participate at any time?</p> <p><i>See the guidelines for information on opt-in and opt-out procedures. Please note that the method of consent should be appropriate to the research and fully explained.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I use the opt-in sampling method in asking them to voluntarily participate in my research using written consent form for voluntary participation, however as stated in earlier section I will continuously make sure my participants are interested to take part in research and are aware of having the option to withdraw at any point. • I will obtain the consent from parents by providing them a consent form and information sheet while I reassure them that they can always have access to me for any further enquiry or concern they might find throughout the research process. • I will obtain the consent from participants by providing them a consent form and information sheet. During the research processes as I am in an

⁶³

I have rewritten this section to resolve the issue of poor wording and misinterpretation as commented.

	<p>on-going relationship with the participants for nearly three months I will provide a safe space for them to communicate more easily if any difficulties or concerns emerge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within the consent form and during our negotiations I clearly define the right for participants to withdraw at any stages of the study, and guarantee their anonymity and confidentiality. However, in my innovative methodology as the participants and researcher are both engaged in various types of close interaction inside and outside school, during the face-to-face interviews and walking intra-views over a period of time I will pay careful attention to my participants and their parents possible emerging concerns and processual consent. • In terms of parental access to their child's co-constructed data, considering situated ethical measurements and avoidance of any type of harm, I follow the guidance of UCL Research Ethics Committee that suggests: 'Young people aged 16-18 with sufficient understanding are able to give their full consent to participate in research independently of their parents and guardians. Children under 16 are able to give their full consent providing they have been counselled and do not wish to involve their parents and they have sufficient maturity to understand the nature, purpose and likely outcome of the proposed research'⁶⁴.
g.	<p>Studies involving questionnaires: Will participants be given the option of omitting questions they do not wish to answer?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
	<p>If NO please explain why below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8.</p>
h.	<p>Studies involving observation: Confirm whether participants will be asked for their informed consent to be observed.</p> <p>Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
	<p>If NO read the guidelines (Ethical Issues section) and explain why below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8.</p>
i.	<p>Might participants experience anxiety, discomfort or embarrassment as a result of your study?</p> <p>Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
	<p>If yes what steps will you take to explain and minimise this?</p> <p>I am aware that the participation in my study about issues of girlhood and</p>

⁶⁴ I have added this section to clarify the issue raised in the comment about the right of the parents to access their children's research material.

	<p>identity might bring anxiety and discomfort about a range of issues and within different stages of this participatory field work. My participants might feel discomfort or anxious to re-narrate their stories and connections to some particular spaces and objects they are showing me in their videos and photo dairies, if this happened I assure my participants that feeling upset or struggling to explain their memories and experiences is normal and there is no right or wrong answer. However, I ensure they are still interested in pursuing that particular topic, opting out the questions, to pause the video/audio before continuing, asking about the purpose of the questions or asking me for my answers to my own questions (Frankenburg 1993, 30). Following Hollway and Jefferson (2000,99) heightened affect and even discomfort is not synonymous with harm, rather the ethical principles of honesty, sympathy and respect will be adhered to (Hollway and Jefferson 2000, 20). Small changes in the wordings of my questions might help for the sensitive topics, therefore I carefully design my questions and conduct probing. At the stages of videoing through walking intra-view or taking pictures for making the photo diary I pay attention to their worries and concerns and take the appropriate ethical steps to resolve these concerns or even change/ remove questions or topic. If any issues of genuine harm do arise I will make sure that school staff are aware of and safeguarding policies are followed carefully. All research will be carried out in careful dialogue with the school and safeguarding staff including meeting with school safeguarding officer prior to field work to reassure I am familiar with school's safeguarding and children protection policy. Moreover, I will be in constant negotiations with my supervisors to seek advice for any unprecedented issue and to discuss the development of study.</p> <p>If not, explain how you can be sure that no discomfort or embarrassment will arise?</p>
j.	<p>Will your project involve deliberately misleading participants (deception) in any way?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>
	<p>If YES please provide further details below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8.</p>
k.	<p>Will you debrief participants at the end of their participation (i.e. give them a brief explanation of the study)?</p> <p>Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
	<p>If NO please explain why below and ensure that you cover any ethical issues arising from this in section 8.</p>
l.	<p>Will participants be given information about the findings of your study? (This could be a brief summary of your findings in general; it is not the same as an individual debriefing.)</p> <p>Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>

	If no , why not?
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Section 4 Security-sensitive material

Only complete if applicable

Security sensitive research includes: commissioned by the military; commissioned under an EU security call; involves the acquisition of security clearances; concerns terrorist or extreme groups.

a.	Will your project consider or encounter security-sensitive material?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
b.	Will you be visiting websites associated with extreme or terrorist organisations?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
c.	Will you be storing or transmitting any materials that could be interpreted as promoting or endorsing terrorist acts?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

* Give further details in **Section 8 Ethical Issues**

Section 5 Systematic review of research

Only complete if applicable

a.	Will you be collecting any new data from participants?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Will you be analysing any secondary data?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

* Give further details in **Section 8 Ethical Issues**

*If your methods do not involve engagement with participants (e.g. systematic review, literature review) and if you have answered **No** to both questions, please go to **Section 10 Attachments**.*

Section 6 Secondary data analysis Complete for all secondary analysis

a.	Name of dataset/s			
b.	Owner of dataset/s			
c.	Are the data in the public domain?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	
		<i>If no, do you have the owner's permission/license?</i> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/>		
d.	Are the data anonymised?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	
		<i>Do you plan to anonymise the data?</i> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No* <input type="checkbox"/>		
		<i>Do you plan to use individual level data?</i> Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		

		Will you be linking data to individuals? Yes* <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
e.	Are the data sensitive (DPA 1998 definition)?	Yes* <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
f.	Will you be conducting analysis within the remit it was originally collected for?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No* <input type="checkbox"/>
g.	If no , was consent gained from participants for subsequent/future analysis?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No* <input type="checkbox"/>
h.	If no , was data collected prior to ethics approval process?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No* <input type="checkbox"/>
<p>* Give further details in <i>Section 8 Ethical Issues</i></p> <p><i>If secondary analysis is only method used and no answers with asterisks are ticked, go to Section 9 Attachments.</i></p>			

Section 7 Data Storage and Security

Please ensure that you include all hard and electronic data when completing this section.

a.	Confirm that all personal data will be stored and processed in compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998 (DPA 1998). (<i>See the Guidelines and the Institute's Data Protection & Records Management Policy for more detail.</i>)	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
b.	Will personal data be processed or be sent outside the European Economic Area?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> * No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<p>* If yes, please confirm that there are adequate levels of protections in compliance with the DPA 1998 and state what these arrangements are below.</p>		
<p>Who will have access to the data and personal information, including advisory/consultation groups and during transcription?</p>		
c.	I am aware of the UCL data protection policies and I will take appropriate measures to protect data from unauthorised access disclosure and loss. I will carry out all transcription.	
<p>During the research</p>		
<p>Where will the data be stored?</p>		
d.	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> I will use my notebooks, voice recorder and Laptops to store the data and I keep them secured and password locked from third party access, disclosure and loss. Most of the data will be stored in digital format, analysed and (re)presented using digital technologies. This has meant exploring and exploiting various technological solutions for working with and across a range of different media and data types. The data from face-to-face individual and group interviews in schools will be audio-recorded with the consent of participants. The data from</p>	

walking intra-views will be digitally recorded using Ecamm which is a call recorded (audio and video) application for Skype. Skype is a free downloadable application for online face-to-face interviewing which can be used by most smartphones. The photos that participants produce will be taken using their mobile phones and will be A4 paper-printed by the researcher. To address security concerns, data will be kept in encrypted, password-protected folders in both offline and cloud storage. The issue of ownership of the videos produced by participants but recorded by me during walking intra-views will be resolved by gaining participants' consent to shared ownership, use and possible dissemination. I follow the principles laid out in *The Data Protection Act 1998*. My participants have the right to gain access to the information held about them; the right to prevent their data being used in a way which causes them substantial damage or distress; and the right to have inaccurate data corrected. However according to this Act this right is limited if the data is anonymised and it does not cause damage or distress. Therefore, while I will seek to reach a consensus with my participants about the use of the data that is generated, where they are resistant to its wider use – for analysis and dissemination purposes – I will show them how anonymised sections of data can be used without causing them any harm⁶⁵.

Will mobile devices such as USB storage and laptops be used?

Yes * No

i * If yes, state what mobile devices: USB, laptop and voice recorder.

* If yes, will they be encrypted? The mobile devices for data storage will be encrypted.

After the research

f. Where will the data be stored?

I will securely store the data in my hard disk drive with the password locked, which I keep it locked and out of third party access, however I am aware of the fifth data protection principal that suggests the secure dispose of data in accordance with UCL's Records Management Policy.

g. How long will the data and records be kept for and in what format?

I will keep securely the data in the format of mobile hard disk for specific amount of time and for academic use with respect to the data security principle.

h. Will data be archived for use by other researchers?

Yes * No

⁶⁵ I have added some more details on the issue of rights of storage, use and dissemination of data as commented.

* If yes, please provide details.

Section 8 Ethical issues

Are there particular features of the proposed work which may raise ethical concerns or add to the complexity of ethical decision making? If so, please outline how you will deal with these.

It is important that you demonstrate your awareness of potential risks or harm that may arise as a result of your research. You should then demonstrate that you have considered ways to minimise the likelihood and impact of each potential harm that you have identified. Please be as specific as possible in describing the ethical issues you will have to address. Please consider / address ALL issues that may apply.

Ethical concerns may include, but not be limited to, the following areas:

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Methods- Sampling- Recruitment- Gatekeepers- Informed consent- Potentially vulnerable participants- Safeguarding/child protection- Sensitive topics | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- International research- Risks to participants and/or researchers- Confidentiality/Anonymity- Disclosures/limits to confidentiality- Data storage and security both during and after the research (including transfer, sharing, encryption, protection)- Reporting- Dissemination and use of findings |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The document has been attached.

Section 9 Further information

Outline any other information you feel relevant to this submission, using a separate sheet or attachments if necessary.

Section 10 Attachments Please attach the following items to this form, or explain if not attached

a.	Information sheets and other materials to be used to inform potential participants about the research, including approach letters	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Consent form	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>If applicable:</i>			
c.	The proposal for the project	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Approval letter from external Research Ethics Committee	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Full risk assessment	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

Section 11 Declaration

I have read, understood and will abide by the following set of guidelines.

Yes No

BPS <input type="checkbox"/>	BSA <input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please state) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BERA <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The Research Ethics Guidebook	
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UCL Code of conduct for Research	

I have discussed the ethical issues relating to my research with my supervisor.

I have attended the appropriate ethics training provided by my course.

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge:

The above information is correct and that this is a full description of the ethics issues that may arise in the course of this project.

Name	Shiva H. Zarabadi
Date	09/ 08/2017

Please submit your completed ethics forms to your supervisor.

Notes and references

Professional code of ethics

You should read and understand relevant ethics guidelines, for example:

[British Psychological Society](#) (2009) *Code of Ethics and Conduct*, and (2014) *Code of Human Research Ethics*

or

[British Educational Research Association](#) (2011) *Ethical Guidelines*

or

[British Sociological Association](#) (2002) *Statement of Ethical Practice*

Disclosure and Barring Service checks

If you are planning to carry out research in regulated Education environments such as Schools, or if your research will bring you into contact with children and young people (under the age of 18), you will need to have a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) CHECK, before you start. The DBS was previously known as the Criminal Records Bureau (CRB)). If you do not already hold a current DBS check, and have not registered with the DBS update service, you will need to obtain one through UCL.

Ensure that you apply for the DBS check in plenty of time as will take around 4 weeks, though can take longer depending on the circumstances.

Further references

The www.ethicsguidebook.ac.uk website is very useful for assisting you to think through the ethical issues arising from your project.

Robson, Colin (2011). *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers* (3rd edition). Oxford: Blackwell.

This text has a helpful section on ethical considerations.

Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (2011) *The Ethics of Research with Children and Young People: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage.

This text has useful suggestions if you are conducting research with children and young people.

Wiles, R. (2013) *What are Qualitative Research Ethics?* Bloomsbury.

A useful and short text covering areas including informed consent, approaches to research ethics including examples of ethical dilemmas.

Departmental use

If a project raises particularly challenging ethics issues, or a more detailed review would be appropriate, you may refer the application to the Research Ethics and Governance Administrator (via IOE.researchethics@ucl.ac.uk) so that it can be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee for consideration. A Research Ethics Committee Chair, ethics representatives in your department and the research ethics coordinator can advise you, either to support your review process, or help decide whether an application should be referred to the Research Ethics Committee.

Reviewer 1

Supervisor name	Professor Jessica Ringrose	
Supervisor comments	This application has carefully considered issues of consent, anonymity, harm, safeguarding and protection of research participants	
Supervisor signature		
Reviewer 2		
Advisory committee/course team member name	Tom Woodin	
Advisory committee/course team member comments	Shiva has taken on board my comments and thought through the main questions raised.	
Advisory committee/course team member signature		
Decision		
Date decision was made		
Decision	Approved	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Referred back to applicant and supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Referred to REC for review	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recording	Recorded in the student information system	<input type="checkbox"/>

Once completed and approved, please send this form and associated documents to the relevant programme administrator to record on the student information system and to securely store. Further guidance on ethical issues can be found on the IOE website at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/research-ethics-committee/ioe> and www.ethicsguidebook.ac.uk

Appendix D

Parental consent form

Institute of Education



Information Sheet for parents/carer

Title of research project: **British-Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity formation in and around school environment (September-December 2017)**

My name is Shiva Zarabadi and I am inviting your daughter to take part in a study I am conducting for a PhD research at the UCL Institute of Education. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your child's involvement would entail if you decide to grant them permission to take part.

I am looking at the experiences of British-Muslim schoolgirls in relation to school polices around diversity and behaviour. Your daughter's participation in this study help to understand the everyday experiences of Muslim pupils in the school and in their everyday travel to/from school. The findings of this study will develop suggestions and feedback to school for more safety, well-being and empowerment of Muslim schoolgirls. I would like to speak to a focus group of 5 to 6 students as well as individual interviews with the focus group's participants about their experiences and understanding of their identity. Your daughter also participates in two activities; walking interview and making a photo diary. Please see further details on this in the attached leaflet.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It would involve an audio recording (if agreed) that would take place during the individual and group discussion interviews with 5-6 of the members and take place at lunch time or after school. The video recordings from walking interview shows the everyday habitual routes to/ from and around school and not the face of your daughter. Students may decline to discuss a topic and can withdraw from the discussion entirely at any time. With your permission, the interview will be audio/ video (not capturing the face) recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. I may also return to the school a few more times in the year for follow up interviews. All information provided is considered completely confidential; both students and the school will remain completely anonymous. Your child's name or any other personal identifying information will not appear in the course project paper resulting from this study; however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Even though I may present the study findings, only my supervisors at the UCL Institute of Education, Professor Jessica Ringrose and Dr. Claire Maxwell and I will have access to the data. If you

have any question at any point about this then they can be contacted at:
Professor Jessica Ringrose / Dr. Claire Maxwell.

Yours Sincerely,

Shiva Zarabadi
PhD Candidate UCL Institute of Education

Appendix E

Participants' consent form

Institute of Education



Information Sheet for participants

Title of my research project:

British-Muslim schoolgirls' subjectivity formation in and around school environment (September-December 2017)

My name is Shiva Zarabadi and I am inviting you to take part in a study I am conducting for a PhD research at the UCL Institute of Education. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

I am looking at the experiences of British-Muslim schoolgirls in relation to school policies around diversity and behaviour. Your participation in this study help to understand the everyday experiences of Muslim pupils in the school and during everyday travel to/from school. The findings of this study will develop suggestions and feedback to school for more safety, well-being and empowerment of Muslim schoolgirls. I would like to speak to a focus group of 5 to 6 students as well as individual interviews with the focus group's participants about their experiences and understanding of their identity. You also participate in two activities; walking interview and making a photo diary.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It would involve an audio recording (if agreed) that would take place during the individual and group discussion interviews with 5-6 of the members and take place at lunch time or after school. The video recordings from walking interview shows the everyday habitual routes to/ from and around school and not the face of your daughter. Students may decline to discuss a topic and can withdraw from the discussion entirely at any time. With your consent, the interview will be audio/ video (not capturing the face) recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. I may also return to the school a few more times in the year for follow up interviews. All information provided is considered completely confidential; both students and the school will remain completely anonymous. Your name or any other personal identifying information will not appear in the course project paper resulting from this study; however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Even though I may present the study findings, only my supervisors at the UCL Institute of Education, Professor Jessica Ringrose and Dr. Claire Maxwell and I will have access to the data. If you have any question at any point about this then they can be contacted at: Professor Jessica Ringrose / Dr. Claire Maxwell.

I very much hope that you would like to take part. This information sheet will try and answer any questions you might have about the project, but please don't hesitate to contact me if there is anything else you would like to know. Please contact me by e-mail at - or on my mobile-.

I would like to assure you that this study has passed Ethical Review at the UCL Institute of Education; however, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact me on the email address as set out above or on my mobile.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return to - by

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committee of UCL Institute of Education.

Yours Sincerely,

Shiva Zarabadi
PhD Candidate UCL Institute of Education

Consent form

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Shiva Zarabadi for a PhD course project at UCL Institute of Education. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have the student group discussion audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to have a further individual discussion audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to have walking interview video recorded.

YES NO

I agree to participation but to have a flexible use of audio/video recording.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any writing produced about this research.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous photos/videos in any writings or presentations about this research.

YES NO

Your name (**please print**) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix F

Motivation letter for schools

Institute of Education



Dear Madam/ Sir,

I am a PhD student at UCL Institute of Education. My study sets out to explore and make sense of the everyday experiences of Muslim female pupils and their education experiences. My research uses individual and group interviews, focusing on 5-6 Muslim schoolgirls who are in year 9 and/or year 10 in two schools in London.

My research objectives are to explore how young British-Muslim schoolgirls articulate and practise their 'being Muslim' and 'being female' and to understand further how their gendered, classed, racial and religious identities are formed within and beyond the school environment.

Too little research to date has focused on the experiences of Muslim school girls – and my study seeks to address this critical gap. My research is intended to be participatory project between myself, the young female participants and hopefully also the schools they attend – so together we can help highlight the many insights these young women, but also the education community already have about their experiences, needs and possibilities.

The study will adhere to your school's safeguarding policy and has received ethical approval from UCL Institute of Education.

I would really appreciate the opportunity to meet with you to explain my research further.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely
Shiva Zarabadi

Appendix G

Activity plan sheet

Activity Plan Sheet

We do different activities at different stages, we call it multi-modality method. We have individual interviews, walking + Skype interview, making a photo diary and group interview.

- 1- Individual Interview at school, first meeting (today)
- 2- We have approximately three weeks to do first part of walking+ Skype interview and photographing
 - We do approximately 1 hour of walking +Skype interview in total which can be a collection of 3x 20 min, 6x10 min or 1 hour
 - At least 1 or 2 slots of your walking+ Skype interview has to be on your way to/from school
 - Any subject, any time, any place, you choose
 - Show me a thing, a place, a shop, a song, a book, a piece of clothing, or anything else that say something about you and your feeling ...
 - It can be something or somewhere important for you
 - Your face: You can avoid capturing your face in the video if you prefer to, the choice is yours
 - Other people's face: It is better to avoid other people's face (their body or part of their body, or their voice is okay) in the videoing as much as you can, but if there is something important happens while videoing and you want to show me, I will help you to do it
 - Similarly, for photo diary you choose any subject, any time, any place, the principle above for the face is the same here for photographing, you need to take 10-15 picture or use some of your already taken pictures
 - You need to send/text/ email me your photos by phone through messages or Skype and I will print them for your photo scrapbook.
- 3- Group interview, you bring some of your pictures and videos to share your story with others
- 4- Then we have approximately 2 weeks to complete both activities
- 5- The final stage, Individual making photo diary with Shiva, you bring your photos 10-15 and we both make a photo diary of your pictures and I keep it

Thank you
shiva zarabadi

Appendix H

Fieldwork plan

Fieldwork Plan

Title:

To explore schooling experiences of Muslim schoolgirls

Sampling:

- To interview 6-10 Muslim girls from one or different year group preferably in year 9 and year 10
- Veiled or unveiled Muslims
- Opt in sampling

Activities:

Multi-modality method: this is a participatory method, girls videoing and making photo diary inside and outside school.

1. Introductory group session at the school

1 hour to explain to explain the processes of research and data gathering and offering instructions for managing the ethical considerations of videoing and photographing, provide information about Skype interviews, developing a timetable with each participant

2. Individual face-to-face interviews round one (first meeting) at the school: 1 hour each, semi-structured in-depth interviews, on the themes of identity and belonging, the experiences of Muslim femininity, to discuss any specific issue for conducting activities, to design a timetable for walking+ Skype interview

3. Three weeks of walking+Skype interview and photographing activities simultaneously, they choose the time and place for walking and photographing (might take longer to complete)

- 3a. 1 hour of walking+ Skype interview for each participant in total (each participant will produce a collection of 3 x 20 minute or 6 x 10 minute intra-views);

4. Group interview with all participants at the school: session 1, one hour (1 week after stage 2 completion), re-narrating the videos and photos collectively, dispersing field work to complete the walking intra-view and photographing activities;

5. Another two weeks of walking+ Skype interview and photographing activities with participants' choice of time and place for walking and photographing (activities completed);

6. Individual face-to-face interviews round two at the school: 1 hour each, participatory analysis of videos and photos;

7. Group interview at the school: session 2, one hour (two weeks after stage 5), making flip chart photo diary;

8. Approximate duration of fieldwork 9-11 weeks

Activity1; Walking +Skype interview

This method incorporates three main elements which bridge the virtual and actual experience of Muslim girls' everyday lives; simultaneous walking, videoing and interviewing via Skype with their mobile phone. This activity will take place in the participants' choice of place and time; I will video call each participant with Skype on her mobile phone and she walks her habitual spaces, for instance her every day route to and from school or school yards and corridors or her bedroom or a corner in her house, while showing me through Skype any place or object that has a meaning to her identity or give her a sense of belonging. In this method the researcher is not physically present at the walking and videoing but through Skype and mobile phones she follows the girls and interview them. It is not expected from participants to be sitting in front of the camera while narrating her attachment to that place or object. I record our video call through Ecamm instantly on my personal computer whilst sitting in my office.




Activity 2: Photo diary

I will ask each participant to make a photo diary using two strategies, photo-production and/or photo-elicitation. Participants decide what aspects of their lives to photograph which we will discuss at interview.

Appendix I

School 1 introductory session

Invitation to participate in a PhD research project

- **Who is the research with?** Shiva Zarabadi is a PhD student at UCL Institute of Education
- **What is it about?** Muslim schoolgirl's experiences of schooling
- **Who can participate?** Muslim pupils in years 9 and 10
- **What will we do?** It is participatory research. You will work together with Shiva and do different activities inside and outside of school
- **What are the activities?** Individual Interviews in school, walking + Skype interview inside/outside of school, making your own photo dairy (taking pics or use your old pics), final group discussion in school
- **What is a walking + Skype interview?** You walk and show Shiva around while Skyping with her using your mobile phone
- **What do you need to have for the activities?** A mobile phone (with 3G/4G if possible - if not, don't worry Shiva also has a plan B), Commitment, Energy, Hope, Interest
- **Do you need to have a camera?** No, you can use your phone or I can give you a disposable camera  
- **What do I get from this?** The opportunity to have your voice heard. This is a research project that will end up as a thesis that will be published. You can add this to your CV - you need to stand out in your applications, this is an opportunity not many people will have had! To experience what research is and work with a PhD student – maybe this will be you one day?!
- **What to do if you are interested?** Register your interest with Ms Stanhope or Mr Brown now and Shiva will come into school to answer any further questions in an introductory session on Thursday September 21st. You can come during lunch time or after school. This will be when you can get a letter to discuss with your parents/carers and for them to give their permission for you to take part.
- **Thank you so much** 



Appendix J

School 2 PowerPoint assembly session



Invitation to participate in my PhD research project

With me:
Shiva Zarabadi
PhD research student
UCL Institute of Education

A PhD research?

Method : Quantitative
(survey, questionnaire),
Qualitative
(interview, observation)

Researcher:
body and mind,
to think, feel, do

Topic of your
research

Theory: the way you
understand/perceive/
analyse the world

Data and findings

What is this research about?

- **Muslim schoolgirls' experiences of schooling**
- **Muslim pupils**

Activities

- It is participatory research: we will work together and do different activities inside and outside of school
- Confidentiality and anonymity
- Individual Interviews in school, **walking + Skype interview** inside/outside of school, making your own **photo dairy** (taking pics or use your old pics), final group discussion in school

walking + Skype interview

- You walk and show me around through Skyping using your mobile phone
- I am not physically walking with you
- I record your film and our talk through Skype
- Then in next sessions we both discuss your video
- I will explain this activity in detail in our first individual interview
- You need to have Skype app and mobile phone (with 3G/4G if possible - if not, don't worry I have a plan B)
- I will provide mobile data and photo elicitation costs

Walking + Skype+ interview

- ▶ <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B6s0LnH6xZU5QVctT25EeDhkSW8?usp=sharing>

Photo diary

- Taking pictures from what you think is important for you
- Can be a place, object, person, song, book, restaurant, park, corner of a road or
- What do you need ? a mobile phone or I have a plan B
- Then you make a photo diary of your pics and we discuss about your photos

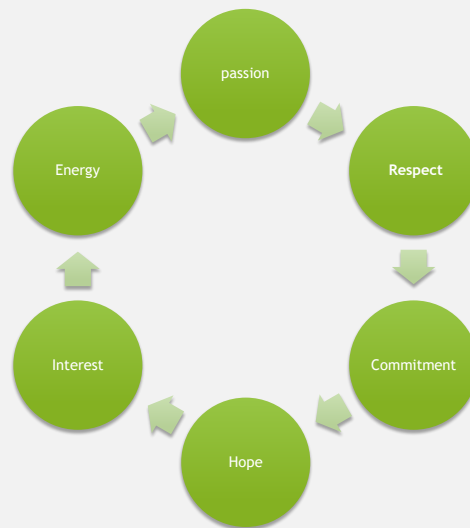
What do I get from this?

- Your voice is important
- This is a research project that will end up as a thesis that will be published.
- You can add this to your CV - you need to stand out in your applications, this is an opportunity not many people will have had! **Particularly to Work with me** 😊 😊 😊
- To experience what research is and work with a PhD student - maybe this will be you one day?!

Interested ?

- Ask questions from me now or after school today or later (my contact number and email on the information sheet)
- Take information sheet and consent form home to your parents/carer
- Return completed and signed form to school or me (on the date agreed)
- I schedule an individual time table with you for individual interview and activities
- In first individual interview we discuss activities

What else ?



The slide features two decorative elements made of green geometric shapes. On the left is a simple green triangle pointing downwards. On the right is a more complex, layered composition of various shades of green triangles and polygons, some overlapping, creating a dynamic, abstract pattern.

Thank you 😊

Appendix K

Sample of on-and-off-hijab-me

