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**Identity, Integration and Wellbeing of British Muslims:  
A Discourse Analysis**

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**PhD  
The University of Edinburgh  
2014**

## Declaration

I, Saliha Anjum, declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that this is my own work, except as specified. I further declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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## **Abstract**

British Muslims make up the second largest, and fastest growing, non-Christian religious community in Britain. Because of this, their integration into society has become a focus of interest for academic study and in broader social and political debates. Despite this, the question of how Muslims make sense of their own religious identity remains relatively unexplored in previous research. The same is true for the question of how they construct understandings of what integration means to them and of how this relates to what they say about their own wellbeing. This thesis aims to fill these gaps in extant research and to provide a platform for the voices of this minority group to be heard. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 20 first generation and 20 second generation Muslim immigrants and a further four focus groups were also conducted. Gender was balanced across all of these. Data were analysed using discourse analysis focusing on participants' discursive constructions of religion, identity, integration, wellbeing, and the problems that impacted on wellbeing. Analysis showed that British Muslims adopt a variety of forms of categorization in constructing their religious and ethnic identity. Some first generation Muslims focus on presenting their identities as flexible phenomena that depend upon the culture they are living in; others display a rigid religious identity. Second generation Muslims use hyphenated identities for defining the multiplicity of their belongings to Britain and their ethnic home country. Integration in Britain is usually welcomed by both generations but is described as being restricted and guided by religious boundaries. British Muslims construct happiness and unhappiness in relation to life in Britain in a complex manner. The most prevalent reasons they give for happiness are the religious freedom and security found in Britain. But these are described by comparing Britain with their home countries, where such freedoms and security are often said to be lacking. In a sense, this allows participants to legitimize their status as immigrants into Britain. Unhappiness is also associated with life in Britain, with references made to moral decline and to discrimination and racism. Participants also construct a sense of their wellbeing, or lack of it, in relation to other problems. They present Muslims' self-segregation, and a lack of proper leadership among Muslims in Britain, as further major problems associated with living in Britain. However, while talking about these

problems, participants seek to distance themselves from them by making vague attributions of agency and by indicating that such problems were faced by others rather than by themselves. When participants talk of ways in which Muslims' wellbeing could be enhanced, they focus on Muslims' own need for personal improvement but also on the need for responsible media coverage of Muslims and Islam. The thesis concludes by discussing these findings in relation to previous literature and by reviewing their implications for future policy, practice and research.

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# Introduction

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This thesis examines the present-day lives of first and second generation Muslim immigrants within Britain. According to the Global Religious Landscape report (2012), Muslims across the world number 1.6 billion people and represent 23% of the world's population (Pew Research Centre, 2012). This means that Muslims comprise the second largest religion in the world after Christianity. In Britain, Muslims are not only the largest minority but also one of the fastest growing populations (Kern, 2012). The presence of Muslims in Britain can be dated back to as far as 1641 (Matar, 1998; pp. 47). However, in looking at the history of migration, Ansari (2002) observes that Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds such as Africa, Cyprus, Malaysia, South Asia, Middle East and Eastern Europe migrated to Britain in especially large numbers after the Second World War. These numbers rose even more dramatically after the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act (1962) which allowed automatic entry of commonwealth citizens to the UK (Ansari, 2002). According to Ansari (2002) this level of immigration dipped after 1970, when further new legislation was introduced but rose again in the 1980s and 1990s. This influx of Muslim immigrants from all around the world has resulted in the institutionalization of Islam in the UK, with the development of over 1500 mosques (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/7118503.stm>) and a large number of Muslim organizations. As a result of the large numbers of Muslims now living in Britain, their integration is always under scrutiny at both political and social levels. Although Britain is considered a multicultural society, according to a 2009 Gallup report Muslims were less happy and less integrated in Britain than elsewhere in Europe or the USA (Gallup, 2009). The reason for this may be that Muslims in the UK face many private and public threats to their religious and cultural identity. In 2011, the UK Prime Minister has declared that the doctrine of multiculturalism has failed and should be abandoned and that Muslims should embrace British values (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994>). Indeed, a senior conservative, Baroness Warsi, had even warned in a speech "Prejudice against Muslims has passed the dinner-table test and become socially acceptable in the UK"

(<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12235237>). In the face of these changing social and political scenarios Muslims are reconstructing their cultural and religious identities in relation to their belonging to Britain.

In addition to this, Muslims find themselves having to deal with a highly controversial image of Islam which is prevalent all around the world. Muslims are associated with violence, aggression, oppression of women and above all terrorism. The terrorist attacks on the New York World Trade Centre in September 2001, marked a landmark in the history of Muslims around the world. Although tensions had already existed between Islam and the West as a result of earlier events such as the Rushdie affair in 1989, and the Bradford riots in 1995 and July 2001, the events of September 2001 changed the way Muslims were perceived throughout the world. They marked the beginning of an era in which Muslims were marked with the title of terrorists by the general public, the media, and politicians. The tension between Muslims and the Western world has increased since then. Popular cultural representations such as cartoons and films have represented the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in an unacceptable manner to Muslims, and the consequential rage of Muslims has resulted in aggressive protests, resulting in other incidents such as the 2005 London bombings. This has led to a vicious cycle for Muslims where the media create popular images highlight the perceived aggression of Muslims, and the resulting antipathy of Muslims towards such representations finds its outlet through violent protests, thus giving the media further confirmation of Muslims' violent natures. More generally, the international tensions that are daily reported in news broadcasts indicate that the current world socio-political situation also poses a great threat to the integration and wellbeing of Muslims in Britain.

There is, then, a pressing need to understand how British Muslims make sense of their identity and belonging given the changing face of the present-day world. Research in relation to the identity and integration of Muslims has, to date, failed to provide conclusive claims about their patterns of identity and integration into British society. Moreover, research in this area relies on traditional approaches to data analysis, and very little work has been carried out from a discursive psychology perspective. However, it is very important to understand how Muslims themselves make sense of their social world and their own place within it, in order to

improve our understanding of how they themselves view their identity and the extent to which they feel a sense of belonging to their host country. Similarly, research about the wellbeing of Muslims is almost non-existent, and the few studies that are available usually approach the matter from the perspective of mental illness. However, the UK Census 2001 found that Muslims had very poor living conditions, high rates of unemployment, and suffered from a high number of health problems (Office of National Statistics, 2004). This below-average life style, along with hostile socio-cultural circumstances, makes this minority group one of the most vulnerable populations at high risk of psychological distress. Furthermore, having no platform to voice their concerns and worries adds to this tension. There is a wide range of research literature which has focused on majority discourses produced by UK political leaders and by the media regarding Islam and Muslims, but less focus has been given to the discourses of Muslim minority groups themselves. The research represented by this thesis is an effort to bridge this gap in existing research in order to improve the integration process and wellbeing of British Muslims.

The first chapter of this thesis reviews extant research related to Muslim immigrants in the West. It begins by examining research findings about their religious and cultural identity, their acculturation and integration, and the wellbeing of, and the discrimination faced, by Muslims in the West. Later in the chapter, I argue for the use of discursive psychology in studying these processes by treating them as Muslims' rhetorical constructions. In this regard, I also review research on media and political discourses, which has been the focus of researchers since the beginning of this century. Finally, research on discourses of the Muslim minority in Britain is examined and the chapter concludes with a discussion of the gaps in existing research in this area.

The second chapter describes the methodological approach adopted in the thesis. The choice of discourse analysis as a methodological tool is discussed, as is the significance of using discourse analysis to study the current topic – how discourses are organized by British Muslims while constructing their identity, integration and wellbeing. The use of researcher-led interviews and the potential problems associated with translation are discussed with relation to possible debates in these areas. The recruitment of participants and the procedure of developing,

translating and conducting the interviews and focus groups are outlined. The chapter concludes with a description of the processes of transcription, coding and analysis that were used in the empirical phases of the research.

The third chapter represents the first empirical chapter. It addresses aspects of the religion, culture and integration of British Muslims. In this chapter, the identity constructions of first and second generation Muslims are explored in relation to place identity. One point of interest here is that Muslims produced positive constructions of Britain when describing their efforts towards integration and mixing within British society. However, the predominant status of religion for Muslims is also described in this chapter, and religious obligations are presented as in many ways determinative of British Muslims' culture and of their inter-cultural interactions.

The fourth chapter focuses on the construction of wellbeing by British Muslims. It reports that a complicated and conditional form of happiness is found in the discourses of British Muslims. In particular, it highlights the discursive strategies used by participants in reporting their happiness and unhappiness. For example, using evaluation talk participants constructed their religious freedom and security in Britain in relation to the persecution and insecurity they faced in their home countries. Similarly, unhappiness in their host society is reported in the form of complaints in relation to past happiness in their home countries.

The fifth chapter explores how Muslims talk about the major problems they face in Britain. In this chapter, analysis illustrates that problem accounts were produced in the form of accusations. However, agency in these accusations was obscured or balanced in such a way as to avoid any resulting accountabilities from the respective societies whose members might be taken as being blamed in such accounts. The use of stake inoculation in these problem accounts is also revealed. Respondents described themselves as not being personally affected by the problems they were describing in order to suggest that they themselves did not have any personal interest in reporting a given problem.

The sixth chapter is the final empirical chapter of this thesis and turns to the issue of how respondents discursively constructed possible solutions to current problems in order to enhance the wellbeing of British Muslims. This chapter highlights the use of extreme case formulations in these solution oriented responses,

with participants claiming that the worst consequences might ensue if their suggestions are not followed. The positive role of religion and interactions with local society are described as the ultimate means of enhancing Muslims' happiness in Britain. Moreover, the presentation of a potential positive role of the media in dispelling current negative images of Islam is also observed.

Chapter seven is the last chapter, in which all the findings of this study are compiled and put into the perspective of the present-day research landscape. Based on the study's findings, practical implications are suggested for the wellbeing of British Muslims including improvements required in current integration policies and the role of religious priests in making Muslims effective members of host societies. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research.

## Ch. 1. Literature Review

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There are many Muslims all over the world who left their homelands and moved to other countries due to economic, social and political reasons. Immigration marks an eternal change in the life of the immigrants because of their move to a new country, which has a different language, culture, and social system. One not only has to adjust in a totally new culture but also has to cope tactfully with all the stresses that come with immigration. One has to learn to communicate effectively in a new language, find a job for one's economic stability, make a social network in order to avoid being socially isolated, and the list goes on. This gets even more complicated for Muslims because of the dichotomy existing between their Islamic values and western culture. Moreover, the current socio-political condition of the world adds to this tension, where their loyalty to their host countries may be questioned. In this situation, it is very important to find out how Muslims are making sense of their identities whilst belonging to their host societies. There has been a great deal of previous research looking at Muslims' identity and integration but that research has mostly used quantitative methods which do not give a detailed understanding of how relevant concepts are understood by Muslims. Similarly, there has been research in the qualitative area, which focuses on the cognitive and mental processes of Muslims rather than on how different identities, attachments and integration are played by in Muslims' discourse. Therefore, in this thesis I will be looking at British Muslims' construction of their identities, integration, happiness, problems and their wellbeing enhancers using discourse analysis. In this chapter, I will, firstly, introduce current research in the area of identity and integration of Muslims, their happiness and problems in the host society. Then, I will argue as to the importance of understanding the construction of these concepts using discourse analysis by citing some discursive research. Let us first have a look at the condition of Muslims in Britain.

### **Muslims in Britain**

The UK national census of 2001 included a question about religion, which gave a great deal of information about the living conditions of Muslims in Britain.

According to the census, the Muslim population made up about 3% of the whole of the UK population and more than half (52%) of the non-Christian religions, which made Islam the second largest religion in Britain (Office of National Statistics, 2004). However, according to the 2011 census, the population of Muslims has increased to 5% over the last 9 years (Office of National Statistics, 2013). This not only shows that Muslims are the largest minority in Britain but it clearly shows that they are also one of the largest growing groups here.

Among this 5 per cent of the population, about 68 per cent of Muslims have Asian ethnicity, including Pakistani (38%), Bangladeshi (15%), and Black/African/Caribbean/Black British (10%) and other ethnic groups comprise about 11%. Muslims also have the lowest mean age (below 25) of all religious groups in Great Britain. 47% of Muslims living in Britain are born in Britain. The other 53% are born outside Great Britain. These statistics show that first generation Muslims outnumber the second generation.

The census report 2001 portrayed a reasonably un-impressive situation of Muslims in Britain. They had the largest households and were living in the worst overcrowded conditions. They had the largest number of dependent children and multiple families and yet had the highest rates of illiteracy and unemployment. As a result, unsurprisingly, they have the worst health conditions. In 2001, Muslims in Britain had the highest rates of reported ill health, with higher rates of reporting among women (Office of National Statistics, 2004). Such below average living conditions pose a substantial threat to the wellbeing of individuals and how they relate themselves to the host society in which they are living. So it is very important to study the integration of Muslim immigrants and see how they define their identity and other factors in relation to Britain.

### **Acculturation and Integration of Muslim Immigrants**

As discussed earlier, immigration marks a stressful change in one's life. These challenges do not end with the first generation getting settled, but recur in future generations of immigrants. The first generation deals with a new culture, but the second deals with the turmoil of integration, whilst developing their ethnic, national and religious identity because of their non-white roots. There are many



procedures and policies in place all over the world to help immigrants settle into a host society. The same is true for Britain, which holds the badge of a multicultural society, although this multiculturalism is under constant scrutiny from the media and politicians. In order to assess immigrants' integration into Britain there are particular measures in place such as English language tests and the UK citizenship test. However, the perceived role of these tests is more control in immigration rather than integration (Etzioni, 2007).

Integration of Muslims in western society is one of the most discussed topics in social and political platforms. From the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, as the world was being introduced to the term 'Global village', a number of conceptualizations of integration were put forward by sociologists and psychologists. Berry (1997) introduced integration as one of the four major modes of acculturation, namely, integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. According to him, integration is at work when an individual tries to maintain both cultures, his own and the host's. In assimilation, one completely adapts to the host culture and rejects his original culture. In separation, the individual avoids any contact with the host culture and maintains his ties with his own culture of origin. Lastly, in marginalization, one completely rejects his interaction with the host culture and loses his culture of origin. Collectively presenting the research evidence, Berry argued that a person using the integration mode of acculturation goes through less stress and is well-adapted, whereas the one using marginalization is in the most stress and is poorly adapted or even not adapted at all. Assimilation and separation lie in between these ranges in terms of acculturative stress and adaptation (Berry, 1997).

Many researchers have used Berry's model of acculturation in their work for understanding the process of acculturation amongst Muslim immigrants in different Western countries. Saroglou and Mathijssen (2007), comparing the development of multiple identities and acculturation between Muslim and non-Muslim Belgian immigrants, found that this mode of 'integration' was positively related to Belgian and European identity but negatively related to the country of origin for both groups. This indicates that Muslims following integration mode of acculturation related to their Belgian and European identity more than the identity of their country of origin. Shaub (2007) has also used Berry's 'integration mode' in order to define his

conceptualization of different eras of US immigration and the status of Muslims in it. Following his understanding, a Muslim immigrant can never be completely bi-cultural because he always places more importance on his Islamic culture and belief system for leading his life (Shaub, 2007). The idea that Muslims cannot be bi-cultural is rather an extreme one, considering the example of integrated Muslim immigrants in Europe; Shaub himself reflected on this later in the same paper in noting that in the connectivity era (the era of connecting to world through internet and other digital means) Muslims may find it easier to harmonize their Islamic culture with western culture. Thus the integration mode of Berry's model is considered to be the most effective and helpful one in entering a new culture.

Muslims are quite different from the Western population in two major aspects i.e., religion and culture. But this does not mean that it is a hindrance in their acculturation within the host country. There are immigrants who completely adapt to Western culture, whilst others completely reject it. Ali (2008) argued that the peer group is even more important than parents in shaping the direction of second generation immigrants' acculturation. Based on his findings, he derived three patterns of acculturation i.e., Acculturation, Partial Acculturation and De-acculturation. *Acculturation* referred to the complete adoption of the American culture and way of life, even involving activities forbidden in Islam. *Partial acculturation* included those individuals who try to adapt to both cultures in order to be acceptable to both American society and their parents. *De-acculturation* was the complete adherence to one's religious beliefs and the complete rejection of American culture. Ali (2008) presented this categorization of acculturation on an interesting continuum of age and suggested that second generation Muslim youth who are in an acculturation mode in their early years of life become partially 'acculturated' in their later life in order to become more settled. Thus, they not only keep in touch with their 'Westernized' self, but also try to conform to familial norms to harmonize their lives. On the other hand, Muslim youths who follow De-acculturation remain constant in their beliefs and acts throughout their lives. An interesting point here is that Ali's Partial Acculturation is apparently very similar to Berry's Integration mode. These findings suggest that there is no particular way in which Muslim immigrants go through acculturation and that their identity as Muslims does not

mean that they cannot adapt to Western culture. An important thing is that research has shown, time and time again, that these identities are fluid and contextualized. Immigrants form their identities based on the social norms and contexts that they live within. Moreover identities play different roles, such as resistance integrating into the host culture and protecting ones ethnic identity, and often lead to the creation of a hyphenated identity (Kadianaki, 2010).

Research on integration of Muslims in Britain show mixed results. Some research indicates that they are resisting integration whilst other research suggests that they are actively seeking to integrate into society. However, a review of this research demonstrates a difference in sample and method, which might account for these mixed results. The research which show Muslims' resistance to integration is generally based on official data sources or on reports from non-Muslims. Whereas other research which shows active integration efforts on the part of Muslims is based on the accounts of the Muslims themselves. Let us look at examples from each type of research.

Taking the latter forms of research first, when Muslims themselves are asked about their integration they do not reject the idea of integration completely but deal with it in a complicated manner. Nagel and Staeheli (2008) looked at the understanding of processes of integration and segregation by Muslim Arab activists in Britain. These Muslims attach importance to interaction with the host society but replace the political concept of 'social cohesion' with the idea of integration as a discourse between diverse but equal communities sharing the same geographical space. This suggests that Muslims have their own way of making sense of integration which is quite different from that of other UK residents. Likewise, Maxwell (2006) argued that British Muslims identify themselves with British-ness as much as other groups. Moreover, discrimination seemed to affect their identification with Britain more than any other socio-economic problem. She also claimed that despite living in segregated neighbourhoods, they have developed certain integrated networks and feel themselves to be a part of the larger British community.

On the other hand, research relying on data from national statistics or non-Muslim respondents show different results. Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou (2007) conducted research to find out the specific patterns of Muslim immigrants'

integration into Britain. Their results indicated that Muslim immigrants retain their religious identity with the same strength, regardless of years spent in the UK. They are also considered as more resistant to cultural integration because of their lack of use of the English language. Bisin et. al. (2007) concluded that the specific patterns of Muslims' integration in UK are in contrast with the basic idea of the immigration policy i.e., economic achievement and geographic integration. Thus Muslim immigrants present a stronger resistance to cultural integration by keeping their intense religious identity. This integration pattern is more prevalent among successful and educated immigrants and in more close-knit and better off areas. Joppke (2009) attributed this 'alienation' of British Muslims to the limitations of integration policy. On the other hand, Vedder, Sam and Leibkind (2007) suggested that the reason for this lack of adaptation in Muslims is perceived discrimination. However, Muslims can achieve successful adaptation in their host society using a combined orientation to both their ethnic and national identity.

Research on integration has shown mixed results about Muslims' integration to Western society as some research claims that Muslims are well-integrated in their host societies, whereas, others propose the opposite. The obvious need is to understand integration and how it is constructed discursively by Muslims themselves. This thesis deals with the integration of Muslims discursively and its development in their words. Let us now move to the related concept of identity formation among Muslim immigrants.

### **Identity Formation by Muslim Immigrants**

Formation and reformulation of national, ethnic and religious identities is an integral part of the immigration package. Therefore, this area has been widely researched in order to understand the identity processes of immigrants throughout the world. Identity research has identified different processes of identity formation among Muslim immigrants in Europe. Researchers have focused on different patterns and factors of religious identity development among young Muslim immigrants. For example, Chaudhury and Miller (2008) studied the development of religious identity of American Bangladeshi Muslim adolescents and suggested two types of youth seeking religious identities: 'Internal seekers' (who seek answers to their questions

within their faith) and 'External seekers' (who seek answers to their questions and doubts outside their religion in other faiths). This study also showed different facilitating factors in identity development like good communication within family and peer groups, active membership to Muslim associations, praying five times a day and focusing on the here and now of practicing religion in order to make one's future life rewarding. Similarly, Peek (2005) suggested three phases of religious identity development among Muslim immigrant youth, namely, religion as ascribed identity, religion as chosen identity and religion as declared identity. These phases explain that a Muslim child is first ascribed the Muslim identity without his intentions, which he then chooses intentionally after exploring it. Religion as a declared identity is considered to be the one developed after the 9/11 attacks in order to protect and assert one's religious identity in the face of discrimination. Peek's category of 'religion as a chosen identity' might represent the phase where the process of the internal and external seeking of religion appears, as described by Chaudhury and Miller. Another factor which seems to play an important role in the development of these identities is mosques and their social control through the teaching of the Quran and Islamic principles (Wardak, 2002).

The process of identity development is also marked as a stressful phase in life, both in first and second generation Muslim immigrants. As mentioned by Ostberg (2003) in one of his studies with Norwegian-Pakistani adolescents, the child has to engage in negotiation throughout until adulthood. According to him, this negotiation includes "Who am I? What does it mean to be a Muslim and a Norwegian citizen? Which boundaries can be negotiated, and which are impossible to cross? Negotiations are going on between "parents and adolescents, within peer groups and among siblings, between boys and girls" (Ostberg, 2003). Women also have to experience stressors and challenges related to their work lives, ethnicity and recreating familiarity (Hattar-Pollara & Meleis, 1995). In exploring Muslim women's identity in Northern Ireland, Marranci (2007) suggested that emotions play a basic role in this identity development. These women felt insecure and felt a need to develop their own identity as Muslim women in the face of their patriarchal male counterparts. This helped them in overcoming feelings of isolation and displacement (Marranci, 2007). Fijac and Sonn, (2004) focused on the identity and community

perceptions of Pakistani Muslim immigrant women in Western Australia. These findings suggested that the role of religion was a core component in the experience of community and in the settlement process. Racism and exclusion, social support structures and gender roles were other factors impacting the development and maintenance of the identity and community of this group. This study also points towards the role of religion as a facilitator in the integration of Muslim immigrant women.

Identity research indicates a mixed trend in Britain. There is no conclusive evidence as to which identity is preferred by British Muslims. For example, Hopkins (2007) explored the perception of national and religious identity of Scottish-Muslims, with a major focus on two key themes of being Scottish and being Muslim. He suggested that although some ties to their ethnic culture were mentioned, these Muslims prefer their Scottish identity over all other identities (i.e., British or Ethnic identity). Its reason was: they were born and brought up in Scotland, received their education there and have a Scottish accent. These findings are in line with the Labour Force Survey 2003-2004, who found that about 65 per cent of British Muslims describe their national identity as British, English, Scottish or Welsh rather than referring to their ethnic identity and 93 per cent of UK born Muslims also considered their national identity to be British (Office for National Statistics, 2004). Similarly, Din (2006) explored the impact of culture and community on young Pakistanis and suggested that second generation youth prefer the identity of being British to that of being Asian or Pakistani. They also used 'hyphenated' identities such as Asian-British, Scottish-Asian, or Pakistani-Scot. An interesting feature here is that these young people perceived their parents to be more Pakistani than British. Young people had more attachment and adjustment to Britain because of their language skills, employment and length of stay, as compared to their ethnicity. This is not a recent trend: previous research has also indicated that few young people describe themselves as 'Asians' and most instead view themselves to be culturally 'British', which is reflected in their appearances, forms of socializing and choice of entertainment (Modood, et al., 1997; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990; Ghuman, 1999). Likewise, Ansari (2002) explained:

“Among young British Muslims, there is much heat searching about where they belong – in Britain, or in an ‘Islamic’ community? They are developing their perceptions of national, ethnic and religious belonging, and negotiating new ways of being Muslim in Britain, in which the British element of their identity forms an important part of the equation.” (Ansari, 2002; pp.13)

However, Jacobson (1997) found that British-Pakistani-Muslim youth gave more importance to their religious identity over their ethnic identity, which may be because of the universalism of religion and particularity of ethnicity. Moreover, they believed that nationalism is forbidden in Islam so expressed their 'belongingness' to a more global Muslim Ummah (Global Muslim community). They draw very clear boundaries regarding what is right and wrong in their religion and, since they take this to be not well defined in their ethnic identity; they express preference for their religious identity over their ethnic identity (Jacobson, 1997). The theme of Muslim Ummah also suggests their need for belonging to a universal brotherhood in the face of their status as an alien in a country where they are considered a minority. This was explained by Saeed, Blain and Forbes (1999) in their study with Scottish Muslims: when Muslims are given the option, they choose hyphenated or dual identities, whereas, when no option is given they choose their Muslim identity over all other identities.

This is similar to what we have seen in the integration section in that there are no conclusive research results on which is the identity that has been taken up by Muslim immigrants as a preferred identity. Moreover, this brings into focus the question of whether researchers require concentrating on a single preferred identity or rather view individuals as able to take up multiple identities without any apparent conflict, as appears to be the case in hyphenated identities. There is still a need for further discursive exploration in developing an understanding of the position of British Muslims. However for the moment, in the next section we will examine the related theme of research about the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants.

### **Wellbeing of Muslim Immigrants**

There is a need to explore the overall wellbeing of Muslim immigrants in Britain and to understand its relation with different factors such as integration,

identity and problem constructions. This has become more important due to the changing face of the world's history as a result of major events such as the World Trade centre attack which took place on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 2001 (often referred to as the '9/11 attack') and the London bombings which occurred on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July, 2005 (often referred to as the '7/7 bombings'), which have directly affected the personal and social lives of Muslims in the Western world. This will help in offering recommendations and in recommending measures to enhance their wellbeing across all generations of immigrants. There is a huge gap of research in this area of study and the research that exists relies mainly on statistical data. There is a dearth of research with the focus on the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants using qualitative measures. Moreover, there is little research on the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants in Britain and Western Europe in comparison to America and Australia. However, 2009 Gallup report suggested that Muslims are less happy and less integrated in Britain than elsewhere in Europe and USA (Gallup, 2009). Thus, there is a need for further research focused on the wellbeing of British Muslims in order to understand the relationship between their socio-cultural adaptation and the quality of their lives.

Research related to the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants in Western Europe, Australia and North America indicated that the attacks of September 11, 2001 resulted in extreme psychological distress among Muslims. Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader (2008) identified different areas of concern for Arab American Muslims while exploring the impact of September 11 on their wellbeing. These Muslims migrants expressed apprehensions such as fears about threats to their safety, fear of hate crimes, loss of community, anxiety about the future, and isolation and stigmatization. Padela and Heisler (2010) further explored the relationship between this perceived abuse and discrimination and the psychological distress of Arab American Muslims after September 11 and found a positive relationship between discrimination and psychological distress. According to Padela and Heisler, personal or familial abuse and discrimination resulted in higher levels of psychological distress accompanied by lower levels of happiness and worsened levels of health among these migrants. Similar findings were suggested by Kalek, Mak, and Khawaja (2010) in respect of Muslims in Australia. Perceived and real discrimination not only resulted in



increased psychological distress for Muslim immigrants in Australia but also had a negative impact on their cross-cultural adaptation.

This shows that the attacks of September 11 had a pronounced negative impact on the wellbeing of Muslims and on their social adaptation within their host countries. This has also resulted in their perceptions of being at cultural risk because of increased attention from the international media and becoming a 'hotspot' of visibility (Baker, 2007). Suhail and Anjum (2004) suggested that Muslims always attach stigma to help-seeking behaviour associated with mental health problems. This posed a massive threat to the mental health of Muslim immigrants because they were also among the least likely to seek professional help because they found it difficult to share their problems with 'strangers' (Randhawa & Stein, 2007). Instead they sought help from mosque imams who offered a more unstructured intervention using Islamic directives and teachings (Abu-Ras, Gheith, & Cournos, 2008). Some researchers have pointed out the need for increased awareness of the cultural and religious needs of this minority group in regards to the professional help available to them. For example, Haque (2004) highlighted the requirement for mental health professionals to understand the unique religious and cultural challenges of this minority group and Ahmed and Reddy (2007) recommended tailoring interventions to take into account the status of these Muslims in the host society, focusing on three groups of immigrants, namely, indigenous individuals, migrants and refugees.

Research in this area has also identified many predictors of the wellbeing of immigrants in general. Common predictors of wellbeing found in such research include lowered levels of stress (Dunn & O'Brien, 2009), satisfaction with one's life, period of stay in the host country, lessened experience of discrimination (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), good health, better host language proficiency and having better coping skills and strong nerves or 'resilience' (Christopher & Kulig, 2000). Although most of these predictors of wellbeing are also relevant for Muslim immigrants in different western countries, there are some exceptional stressors associated with Muslims. For example, Khawaja (2007) suggested that the psychological distress of Muslim migrants in Australia is affected by their marital and visa statuses. Khawaja also confirmed that other stressors included English language difficulties, lack of social support and inability to use coping skills, which

are similar to research findings in respect of non-Muslim immigrants. We can see that previous research has emphasized the role of social support as being vital in the lives of immigrants; without such support immigrants end up isolated and more psychologically distressed. Similar findings have been suggested by research with Muslim immigrants as suggested by Furnham and Shiekh (1993). They explored factors causing psychological distress, which negatively affected the wellbeing of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi immigrants in Britain and found that females were more psychologically distressed as a result of having low levels of social support, whereas males had more support in the form of their work colleagues so were less psychologically distressed. In a different vein, Jasperse, Ward and Jose (2012) proposed that a strong religious affiliation and identity for the Muslim women immigrants in New Zealand reduced the negative impact of religious discrimination and helped improve their wellbeing. Thus, having a strong religious identity helped these women to experience higher levels of wellbeing.

This research has indicated the importance of studying the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants considering the impacts of historical events on them and the constant demands of adaptation by their host societies. Most of the research in this area has used objective measures of analysing wellbeing, so there is a crucial need to understand this concept and its components from British Muslims' perspective in order to help mental health professionals tailor their interventions to this minority group. In the next section, we focus on the most prevalent source of distress for Muslims i.e., racism and discrimination, mainly resulting from the September 11 attacks.

## **Racism and Discrimination**

Racism and discrimination have been given the undisputed status of the biggest problem that Muslims are facing in the world today. A Home Office Report for the year 2001 on religious discrimination in England and Wales highlighted the following issues being faced by Muslims i.e., availability of *halal* food, time off from work for religious festivals, refusal to allow time off from work for prayers, lack of or inadequate prayer facilities and issues of dress and language in a range of settings, including colleges, schools, prisons, private and public institutions and organizations

(Weller, Feldman, & Purdam, 2001). Ansari (2002) in his report on Muslims in Britain mentioned that according to this Home Office Report Muslims are most likely to face discrimination in the areas of education, employment and the media. Moreover, they have also faced discrimination in housing and, at times, when seeking permission for building mosques, schools and burial sites.

In the present scenario, the identity and integration of Muslim immigrants cannot be understood outside the context of the 9/11 attacks and 7/7 London bombings. After these events most research on Muslim immigrants focused on the consequent changes in identities but less work has been done in understanding how discrimination has been worked up by British Muslims using discursive strategies.

There had been evidence of increasing antipathy directed towards Muslims at least since the ‘Rushdie affair’, following publication of Rushdie’s book ‘The Satanic Verses’ and the subsequent instructions by Iranian clerics in 1989 that Rushdie should be killed. However, after the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the situation worsened (Fakete, 2004). Muslims now faced explicit and implicit forms of discrimination and racism which led them to prioritise their Muslim identity more than ever before. It indicated a revival of Muslim identities because Muslim immigrants considered it their moral duty to protect Islam from attacks arising from the non-Muslim world. Muslims became politically more active in Britain and also began to protest against foreign policies and actions such as the second Gulf war and the invasion of Iraq by US and British forces, probably due to the UN not having given consent (Geaves, 2005). But this does not mean that racism and discrimination is a new issue in the lives of Muslim immigrants. Its existence has been acknowledged for many years, with the term “racial harassment” being proposed by Bowes, McCluskey, and Sim (1990) while describing the racism and harassment experiences of Asians in Glasgow and the failure of the Housing Department in responding to these complaints. Moreover, attitudes of the general population towards Muslim immigrants have been found to include elements of marginalization (Andersson, 2003), negativity (Bevelander & Otterbeck, 2010), racial violence (Rabrenovic, 2007), and unwelcoming acculturation orientation, assimilation, exclusion and segregation (Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008). These emotions intensified after the 9/11 attacks and were no longer limited to the

general population, but came to be seen in positions taken up by Government spokespersons and by the media. It is not unusual to have a negative attitude towards immigrants among varying groups in the population as a whole. Park (2006) argues that even social workers may display negative attitudes in their discourses about immigrants, portraying them as aliens who bring bad habits and problems to the host country. But for Muslims after the 9/11 attacks, the situation became more difficult than merely coping with negative attitudes. The 9/11 attacks created an air of “predicament of diaspora” among Muslim immigrants which presented no means of escape (Werbner, 2004).

The political and social racism experienced by Muslims has been criticized by many researchers who present such racism as counter to human rights (Tujan, Gaughran, & Mollett, 2004; Mathur, 2006). For example, Kundnani (2007) argued that all the efforts of assimilating Muslims in British values are useless and the only route to their integration is through universal values of justice, democracy and human rights. While critically analysing this discrimination, Allen (2007) suggested that the 9/11 attacks resulted in the shift of discrimination from explicit to implicit, disguised in the discourses of liberalism, secularization and tolerance. Fakete (2004) also pointed towards the shifting focus on national identity and monoculturalism of European government after the 9/11 attacks. The security services of European countries began religious profiling of foreign students, considering them as a high risk security threat. They also began to raid Muslim houses and mosques while displaying lack of respect and causing unnecessary violence. Fakete (2004) concluded that all this has marked an end to multiculturalism, as different integration assessments were introduced by law.

These studies have shown the process of racial discrimination against Muslims throughout the West specifically after the 9/11 attacks. However, the situation in Britain was not any different as the term of ‘securitization’ has been used by Archer (2009) for this discrimination, defined as “making an issue a national threat rather than a simple political matter and taking extreme measures in dealing with that perceived threat”. Archer (2009) argued that the “Politics of Unease” is the milder form of securitization in which the government has tried to take serious steps against Muslim Britons after the events of the 9/11 attacks and 7/7 bombings but

such actions went far beyond matters of security issues and began to focus on the “otherness” of Muslim Britons. All of these studies are repeatedly pointing towards the use of extreme measures towards general Muslims at national and local level. On a positive note, Hellyer (2008) criticized the securitization and policy discourse for generalizing extremism to the whole Muslim community and suggested that British Muslims should be involved in the securitization measures and counter-terrorism strategies.

One of the most highlighted manifestations of this ‘otherness’ was being depicted in the negative response of media and governments to the Islamic veil. While discussing the veil in the UK and the resulting cultural and political racism, Williamson and Khiabany (2010) argued that the veil is perceived as against the notion of multiculturalism and separate “Us” from “Them” in media and government discourses. Researchers have argued that this rejection of the veil as a symbol of Islamic fundamentalism is a root cause of increasing racialization (ways of thinking about a race) (Williamson & Khiabany, 2010; Al-Saji, 2010). We can see that anti-Muslim racism became very prominent after the 9/11 attacks and 7/7 London bombings, marking a clear rise in Islamophobia and consequent discrimination of Muslim immigrants. Muslims began to be considered as ‘Others’ and multiculturalism began to be condemned. This large scale anti-Muslim racism and discrimination affected the integration, wellbeing and identity of British Muslims but at the same time it resulted in the assertion of their identity in the face of opposition.

There were some interesting and complex developments taking place in the perception of religious and national identities after 9/11. Bagguley and Hussain (2005) conducted a study on citizenship, religion and cultural identity among British Pakistani Muslims following the events of 9/11 and the subsequent Muslim riots in Bradford. The study’s results showed that in the aftermath of these events British Pakistanis described themselves as very proud of their cultural heritage and religious beliefs and yet at the same time being willing to fly the St George’s flag (emblematic of English tradition) in support of the English football team. Identities of second generation Muslims come out to be even more complex as their ethnic identities were more diverse, drawing upon the Pakistani identity, on being Muslim and also on being a part of a wider South Asian community, yet simultaneously asserting their

identities as British citizens. This assertion of Muslim identity was also shown by Noor (2007) who asked Muslim girls to make their own versions of news about the on-going war in Afghanistan and the death of US soldiers. Despite the depiction of Muslims as terrorists in the mainstream news media, when these Muslim girls were given the chance of creating their own 'news' stories they defended their own identities as Muslims. Similarly, Marranci (2005) argued that September 11 has changed the role of Islam in Northern Ireland. Previously, Pakistani Muslims were quite casual about their religion and it was kept inside their homes. But as a result of these events they adhere more to their Muslim identities and take them out to the world in the face of constant discrimination and racism. They also became politically active in answering attacks against Islam (Marranci, 2005). Other research has also indicated that the events of 9/11 and the resulting discrimination and racism have led Muslims in Europe and America to more readily invoke their religious identity (Rahman, 2010; Ahmad & Evergeti, 2010; Sirin & Fine, 2007). This change in Muslim identity has also been prominent in Muslim women (Badr, 2004).

Most researchers in the field of discrimination and racism agree that some forms of discrimination towards Muslims existed prior to the events of 9/11. However it has been argued that these events represented a landmark in aggravating this racism. Indeed, discrimination and racism have been considered by researchers to be a major problem for Muslim immigrants all over the world. However, the question remains open as to whether Muslims themselves view the world in this way. Are discrimination and racism really presented as major problems for Muslims when they themselves are given an opportunity to present their own viewpoints? In order to find out this for my doctoral research, I have approached Muslims with an open-ended question about what they consider to be the major problems they experience in Britain, rather than basing research on the preconceived idea that racism is their major problem. This reflects the perspective of those traditions in research that are influenced by the discourse analytic approach. In light of this, in the next section, I will discuss the usefulness of discourse analysis in exploring the integration, identity and wellbeing of British Muslims.

## **Discursive Psychology**

Discursive psychology was developed by Edwards and Potter (1992) in response to traditional cognitive approaches to psychology. It embeds influences from a range of theoretical, philosophical and empirical traditions such as ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, social studies of science (Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984), rhetorical social psychology (Billig, 1991) and the philosophy of Wittgenstein (1958) and Austin (1962) (as cited in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Baker & Ellece, 2011). Discourse analysts treat discourse as a topic in its own right and not just as a 'window' onto one's inner thoughts. Discursive psychology challenged mainstream psychological approaches, which treat language as a way of interpreting one's 'inner mental states' and shifted the focus onto how these phenomena are introduced and dealt with within talk (McKinlay & McVittie, 2011). Edwards and Potter (1992) criticized the traditional theoretical and methodological approaches used in attitude research. By applying discourse analysis on data from interviews, they established that people produce inconsistencies and contradictions in what they say. But traditional methodological approaches to the measurement of attitudes (such as the Likert scale) are unable to capture these complexities and variability in discourse.

Based on this paradigm, McKinlay and McVittie (2011) have drawn attention to the way that discourse analysts have relied on 'variability' and 'flexibility' as the two important properties of discourse. According to them, 'variability' is the use of different accounts for the accomplishment of different effects; whereas, 'flexibility' refers to the production of the same kind of account in order to perform different social actions on different occasions. In this regard, 'action orientation' also turns out to be one of the basic properties of discourse. McKinlay and McVittie (2011) suggested that people are at least implicitly aware of these properties and that individuals utilize them to accomplish certain social actions.

Many academics and researchers agree that 'social constructionism' is the most general perspective in the study of discourse and identity (Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; McKinlay & McVittie, 2011). Fina and colleagues suggested that social constructionism indicates that identity is a process that occurs in concrete and specific interactional contexts; yields collection of identities; results from highly

social processes of negotiation and involves ‘discursive work’ (Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006). Another defining trend in identity research is ‘membership categorization analysis’, which pays attention to the construction of membership categories of inclusion or exclusion of self and others within talk (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). This analysis tells us the relationship between individual identity and group membership. The third important trend in discursive studies of identity is the ‘anti-essentialist vision of the self’. Discursive psychologists have moved away from the essentialist notion of identity as being embodied in the self towards the analysis of processes in which psychological categories are used by people to define the self with regards to their specific social practices and relationships (Potter, 2003).

This shows that the study of discourse has particular implications for how we come to understand identity. McKinlay and McVittie (2011) have summarized the important features of identities as described by different discourse researchers as follows: identities are discursive characterizations about self or others that are not condensable to objective facts about that person; such characterizations develop an identity that is either unique or common to others; these characterizations are action oriented and bound up with social actions; and these categorizations are situational. Based on this approach, identities are fluid in nature and are subject to change, negotiation, resistance and acceptance.

These major trends in discursive research about identity are also basic tenets in the study of Muslim immigrants in the West. It enables us to understand the interplay of multiple identities, construction of the host and home society and accounts of belonging to these societies. As my research emphasis is on British Muslims and different aspects of their integration and wellbeing in Britain, my focus here is on the discursive construction of identities. This is because Muslims construct different facets of their life with regards to their religious, ethnic and national identity. As discursive psychology is a relatively new field of study, there are many areas yet to be explored from this perspective. This includes the discourses of integration and wellbeing by Muslim immigrants in Western society. Hence, the major work available until now is mostly in understanding the discursive construction of Muslim identities and to some extent their integration. I have divided



this section into the discourses of majority and minority groups based on the pattern of previous research. After reviewing the basic trends of discourse and identity, now we turn to the discourses of majority groups about minorities, who in this situation are Muslim immigrants in the West.

### **Discourses by Majority Groups**

When migration occurs, the term ‘majority group’ is often used for those from the host society, with the term ‘minority group’ being used to refer to migrants. In this section, I will be reviewing research on discourses of the majority about Muslim immigrants. Research in this area intensified with the advent of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in September, 2001 as discussed by many researchers (f.e. Fakete, 2004). Soon after these attacks and the announcement of their attribution to extremist groups claiming to be Muslims, negative orientations towards Islam and Muslims, arose in the West and in turn fear of discrimination and racism arose among Muslims there. Since then, Islam and Muslims have become a topic of discussion at all levels in Western society, ranging from formal political discourse to informal general public opinions. Here I will discuss two discourse contexts in which talk about Muslims occurs: political discourse and media discourse.

Since the 2001 attacks and subsequent events such as the 2005 London bombings, Muslims are constructed as ‘the other’ in various political discourses. For example, Muscati (2003) argued that in their discourses after September 2001 attacks, politicians constantly reconstructed Muslims as the fundamentalist ‘other’, who is inherently irrational and violent and thus incompatible with rational and progressive western societies. If there was any contradiction of these stereotypes, that was constructed as an exception rather than a rule. Moreover, Muslims were constructed as essentially strangers and Islam was presented as uniquely fundamentalist and as evil as compared with positively evaluated western values.

These negative constructions of Muslims were also found in the securitization practices and policies that were developed as part of dealing with terrorism. Brown (2010) examined securitization discourses in policy initiatives, policing strategies and citizenship debates. She suggested that in these discourses of securitization

Muslims were constructed as ‘the other’ and as dangerous. The Muslim community was not only presented as a ‘problem’ but also a security concern. In this way, policy makers justified their claims that Muslims are a threat through talking about security in their discourses. However, Brown further argued that this process was contested by the production of alternative discourses and cultural models of belonging by Muslim communities that ‘normalize’ and challenged the ‘othering’ in security discourses, thus resisting such identities. But it is not always the case that Muslims make an effort to resist such negative attributions by making positive contributions, as in some cases negative constructions worked to push them away from their westernized national identity into the more secure religious identification. As Volpi (2007) has argued, the rise of security practices and policy options in Europe as a measure of counter-terrorism has actually resulted in the home grown discourses of the ‘Ummah’. This implies that Muslims began to relate themselves more to their religious affiliation than their national allegiance, which was not the case before 9/11 and subsequent securitization discourses and practices. As we have seen in previous research, Muslims began to take their Muslim identity more seriously after 9/11. Research on official securitization discourses offers a possible explanation for Muslims’ turn to Islam more than ever before. These policy and securitization discourses conveyed a sign of rejection to them by their host societies and resulted in their moving away from identifying with those societies (Cesari, 2009).

Research indicates that the situation of British political discourse is similar to the rest of Europe. Jackson, Zervakis and Parkes (2005) carried out a contextual analysis of the integration of Muslims in four western countries, namely, America, Britain, France and Germany. They presented Britain as a ‘limited state’ which has no defined state values. This vagueness in defining values makes it difficult to judge the level of integration of minority groups like Muslims in Britain. In this regard, although British Muslims have the freedom to express their religious identity in terms of mosques, prayer times, and dietary requirements, at the same time they are the targeted group in times of crisis. So, if the presence of a minority is associated with the presence of any particular problem then the freedom of the majority is preferred over the freedom of the minority, for example, in the context of debates over terrorism.

The British government have worked hard to develop different policy documents for the integration of minority groups specifically targeting British Muslims because of their growing number in Britain. These policy documents have also been used as data to analyse discursive constructions about minority groups. For example, Worley (2005) explored the use of ‘community cohesion’ in the race relation policy of New Labour in the UK and suggested the existence of ‘slippages’ surrounding the discourses of community cohesion and integration. She argued that using the word ‘community’ instead of naming any particular group makes the language de-racialized. Moreover, she claimed that replacing ‘cohesion’ with ‘integration’ also serves the purpose of de-racializing socio-political discourse. Worley also pointed out different aspects of the policy document which highlighted the assimilationist tone of the rhetoric which blamed new migrants and especially British Muslims for not integrating. Similarly, Kalra and Kapoor (2009) argued, in their paper about the current form of the notion ‘segregation’ in British social policy, that this usage has limited itself to the (perceived) self-segregation of the ethnic minority groups specific to British Muslims. This use actually promotes material equality and ignores and removes the cultural differences that exist between groups. Contemporary British social policy has focused on the need of social capital in order to achieve community cohesion and shared values thus shifting its focus away from material differences between the two communities. This research points out that the idea of British Muslims’ segregation is conveyed using ‘sugar-coated words’ in order to avoid any apparent racial discourse at political level. The use of such language that implies some underlying racism while avoiding mentioning racism overtly is a recent phenomenon that has been termed ‘new racism’. Augoustinos and Every (2010) argued in an Editorial for the journal ‘Discourse and Society’ that to have an identity of being racist is perceived as more unacceptable than facing racism itself. Such charges of being racist are handled with denial and moral outrage. This has given rise to the phenomenon of ‘new racism’, which is an implicit or hidden form of racism which may include the apparent denial of being a racist. In this way, contemporary race talk is strategically organized to deny racism (Augoustinos & Every, 2010). Political discourses about Muslims have made use of explicit as well as implicit bias, which is mostly attributed as the consequence of the 9/11 attacks. However, do the

actions of a few extremist people claiming to be Muslims, make it justifiable for politicians to show racism towards the whole community of Muslims? On this note, now I turn to media discourses about Muslims, which articulate even more racist discourse than the political discourses.

As is the case with research on political discourse in this area, research related to media discourses about Muslims is relatively recent and can be traced back to the same events of 9/11. Although Islam was present in media discourses before 9/11, it was not as prevalent as it became after September 2001. With this centralization of Islam and Muslims in the media, researchers from all over the world focused on this phenomenon of constructing Muslims in the context of 9/11. The most common themes included the construction of Muslims as 'irrational and dangerous other' and construction of Western societies as 'peaceful and civilized' (Kabir, 2006). In many situations this construction is said to have a negative impact on the lives of moderate Muslims. For example, Kabir (2006) analysed media representation of Australian Muslims between 2001 and 2005 in the context of the September 2001 US attacks and the Bali tragedy of 2002 in which two bomb explosions on Bali Island in Malaysia, attributed to a Muslim extremist group, resulted in the death of 88 Australians. Research indicated that for many, these events marked a difference between 'brutal' and 'evil' Muslims and 'civilized' Christians. Findings suggested that contemporary media representations of Islam and Muslims focused more on Islamic militants and thereby demonised all Muslims. Kabir held some journalists accountable for showing irresponsibility in continually highlighting Islamic extremism for the sake of commercialism and without considering the negative impact this has on the lives of moderate Muslims. Even veiled women were considered to be an easy target for such media coverage. Kabir suggested that rather than addressing and refuting misconceptions about Islam and discovering the root causes of terrorism, the media display more interest in maintaining social anxiety by constructing Muslims as 'the other' or 'terrorist' in order to have a convenient scapegoat for social ills. This has put moderate Australian Muslims in a very difficult situation. Similarly, Quayle and Sonn (2009) argued that media representations are a site where racism happens and dominant social narratives are produced. They identified many constructions of 'in-group' and 'out-group'

using Foucauldian discourse analysis. Media discourse constructed Muslims as 'inassimilable, misogynist and criminal other' (Quayle & Sonn, 2009). Moreover, Australians were constructed as a fair, just and tolerant society through the use of discourse of legitimacy, both justifying and denying this 'othering' of Muslims. In this way, they claimed that 'new racism' could be seen to arise. Like Kabir, Quayle and Sonn also suggested that steps should be taken to vocalize the unheard voices of the minority groups. One very important fact here is the claim that the media only makes use of news which is commercially viable. In this situation, news of Islamic militants and extremists is more worthy of being 'the news' as compared to news about moderate or peaceful Muslims. Many researchers in the west have highlighted the contested and politicized nature of the construction of Islamic terrorism in media discourses and also suggested the need of more positive local Muslim news in the media (Jackson, 2007; Kabir & Bourk, 2012).

As already mentioned, discourses about Muslims were present in the media before 9/11. Brown (2006) examined media representations of Islam before 9/11 in Britain and France, in order to find out what trends existed in the reporting of Islam before 9/11. He claimed that Islam was constructed as exotic, fluid and sophisticated before the 1989 Rushdie affair, but after that themes of fanaticism and delinquency became associated with it, which laid the basis for post 9/11 media representations of Islam. Although Brown suggested that the Rushdie affair was the turning point for this paradigm shift, other researchers claim the existence of negative constructions in the media even before the Rushdie affair. For example, Abbas (2001) pointed to prior episodes of anti-Muslim discourse in the British press and marked the 1979 Iranian Revolution as a starting point at which the word 'fundamentalist' began to be associated with Muslims in the British press. According to him, the media play a crucial role in the creation of certain images such as 'folk devils' of different sorts which results in the creation of 'moral panics', including Islamophobia. Abbas argued that this bias has a long history which now exists in media discourses through the use of expressions such as 'fundamentalists', 'terrorists', and 'mad mullahs'. He claimed that British Muslims also blame the media for creating and exacerbating this hatred towards them and that their future is also dependent upon how the media construct them in front of Britain and the rest of the world.

Above research has indicated that the negative construction of Muslims in British media discourse has its roots in the 1979 Iranian revolution. This revolution, along with other events like the Rushdie affair, 'set the stage' for media discourse that arose following the 9/11 attacks. In the literature discussed above, we have seen the construction of Muslims as 'other' in the discourses of the Australian media; however, the situation in the British media is also not different. However some research indicates that these negative media are associated with different purposes and consequences from those discussed above. In this regard, Saeed (2007) suggested that British Muslims were portrayed as an 'alien other', 'deviant', and 'un-British' in the British media after the 9/11 attacks, and that this can be linked to the development of racism and Islamophobia. Though Saeed suggested that these discourses resulted in racism and Islamophobia, according to Kellner (2004) it also fulfilled the purpose of extremist groups. Kellner provided a critical appraisal of the media manipulation of Jihadists and the administration of the US President, George Bush. He argued that both groups used the media to promote their political agendas. For this purpose, they deployed 'Manichean discourses' of good and evil. He criticized the role of US broadcasting media in employing this dualistic framework in their descriptions of the September 2001 attacks and of the subsequent Bush 'War on Terror', and argued for a multilateral approach and for global responses towards terrorism. Thus, he suggests that this form of media discourse is not only giving way to racist and Islamophobic ideas but also serving the dangerous purpose of propagating the agenda of extremists.

It has now been 12 years since the 9/11 attacks, but Muslims are still constructed as fundamentalists and terrorists in media discourse. 'Extremist' and 'Muslims' seem like a constant collocation of words in media discourse. Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012) published a report on the media and Muslims in the UK. They argued that soon after 9/11, there was a widespread negative representation of Muslims in the media which still exists and the title of terrorism has been 'concretized' as relating to Muslims. They argued that the media is still using a huge amount of negative and hegemonic discourse about Muslims and Islam. Muslims are constructed as extremist, fundamentalists, radical and terrorist in most of these discourses. Broad coverage is given only to news that proves their point that

Muslims are violent and are enemies of the West. News in which there is a white victim is given more coverage than news in which there is a Muslim victim of racism. Any examples of racism may be denied or presented as exceptions. Newspapers relied on an 'us' and 'them' distinction while reporting the war on terror and fundamentalism in Islam. Muslims were constructed as foreigners and outsiders when matters of forced marriages were reported. Similarly, examples of abuse in madrassas (schools for religious education) were used to prove that Muslim men are dangerous and predatory. In this way, Sian and colleagues concluded that the negative representation of Muslims and Islam which started 12 years ago has developed as a legitimate way of talking about Muslims. Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) have recently published a book on their study of media representations of Muslims and Islam by British press between 1998 and 2009. Most of the findings were similar to the ones reported by Sian and colleagues about the use of negative discourse towards Muslims. One of the major findings was the construction of Muslims as a homogenous group, who are different from others but are alike among themselves. Terms such as 'militant', 'extremism', and 'terrorism' were frequently related to 'Islam' rather than 'Muslims', which indicates a strategy of 'depersonalization', in which no personal accusations were levelled against people, with blame instead attached to the Islamic religion in general. Muslim religious leaders were associated with violence and preachers of hate. The British press also targeted Muslim women's wearing of the veil and related it to the oppression of women in Islam. The existence of new racism in media discourses was observed, with newspapers limiting reportage to news about extremist Muslims and ignoring the peaceful majority, considering them unworthy of making news (Baker, et al. 2013). As with previous research, Baker and colleagues argued the need for a more balanced and positive reporting on Islam. They concluded that newspaper editors and extremists are the people who benefit from such discursive constructions of Muslims and in all this, British Muslims are clearly the group which does not benefit at all, facing increased prejudice and discrimination.

The above research on media discourse gives us a clear idea of the present situation of majority group discourses in the West, specifically in Britain. This research clearly shows that this negative media and political discourse not only helps

extremists to publicize their propaganda by getting media attention, but also leaves moderate, peaceful Muslims facing discrimination and racism. Politicians and the media find it easy to blame Muslims for a wide range of problems by constructing them as the 'problematic other'. This scapegoating helps them to offer up explanations for the world's problems.

As will be seen in subsequent chapters, the present thesis deals with discourses of 'the minority'. However, it is essential to begin that process by developing an understanding of 'majority' discourses. In important ways, the discourse of the minority is often informed by, and reactive to, the discourse of the majority. It is also instructive to note that research focused on majority discourses is relatively plentiful. As will be seen, the same cannot be said for research focused on the discourses of British Muslims. With these two caveats in mind, it is to this latter research that we now turn.

### **Discourses by British Muslims**

We have seen in the last section that discourses by majority groups play a crucial role in the lives of minority groups, especially Muslims in the West. It not only changes their affiliations to nation and religion but also creates major problems of discrimination and prejudice for them. So it is very important to have more knowledge about how Muslims construct their own identity and belonging in this socio-political context. In this section, we will explore research on discourses of British Muslims about different aspects of their life in both home and host country. In order to understand the discursive identities of immigrants, Kadianaki (2010) suggested that the nature of immigrant identity is contextualized and fluid, changes depending upon the context of the country of origin and the country of residence. These identities are also guided by power asymmetries and social constraints on change. Minority groups also make use of agency and resistance to alternative identities while making sense of their own identity. Identity construction by British Muslim immigrants can also be understood in relation to their context and to relevant social constraints.

Discursive research focused on British Muslims highlights the fluid and contextual nature of discourse. Like the political and media discourse of majority



groups, identity construction of British Muslims also marked a shift from ethnicity to religion after 9/11. Before then, British Muslims' discourses predominantly consisted of their Asian ethnic identity and its relevant cultural aspects such as 'bhangra': the adoption of forms of dress and style popularized by Asian musicians who blend Punjabi and Western pop music (Qureshi & Moores, 1999). However, after 2001, the focus was shifted away from culture towards the religious affiliations of Muslims. For example, Mythen, Walklate and Khan (2009) explored the effects of counter-terrorism regulations on Pakistani British Muslims. They suggested that British Muslims showed their concern over the misrepresentation of Islam in the media and how the victims of counter-terrorism are turned into villains. As a result of this experience of victimization, they reconstructed their identity so that being Muslim was treated as more important than ethnicity and nationality. Researchers have argued that these Muslims have a two-fold fear: first of being discriminated or victimized and second of being perceived as 'the dangerous other'. So they try to perform safe identities by changing the way they look, speak and dress in order to remain unnoticed by the hegemonic majority. In this way, these British Muslims manage, express and conceal their identities. Similarly, Appleton (2005) explored the political attitudes and identities of the Muslim students of British universities in the post 9/11 world. He outlined three strategies used by Muslims to express their religio-political identities: turning away from Islam by entirely assimilating into Britain; subscribing to a culturally inspirational form of Islam by arguing that British cultural outputs are alien and threatening to Islam; and accepting that Islam is practised differently in different contexts and British Muslims must understand their religion in the light of that context. Moreover, British Muslims also make contested claims regarding their loyalties to the Muslim Ummah and the British state. These findings give us a mixed picture of the identity discourse shift of British Muslims in the post 9/11 context, as they suggest that some Muslims try to assimilate in Britain completely while others reject it completely. There are also other researchers who have attributed this shift from ethnicity to culture to other socio-political policies which were implemented in Britain over the years. For example, Güney (2007) argued that the identity of British Asian Muslim youth has been transformed over the last three decades from a secular, ethnic/colour-based identity to a religiously defined

identity based on multiculturalist policies. He examined two implications of multiculturalism: segregation and education. Segregation was the result of social disadvantage and racism which created homogeneous local spaces for these people. As a result of such segregation Muslim youth began to construct their identity as more religiously based rather than basing their identity on ethnicity or colour. He further suggested that the introduction of multicultural education in order to deal with racism also failed because of its central focus on the hegemonic majority and on treating the minority as 'the others'. This research points out that not only the events of 9/11 but multicultural policies have been crucial in the construction and reconstruction of the British Muslim identity in different contexts.

Discourses of Muslim political leaders have also been a recent focus of research. Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins carried out a series of studies indicating the contested and strategic nature of identities constructed by these politicians. For example, Kahani-Hopkins and Hopkins (2002) argued that the same Islamic concept of *Dawah* (the injunction to invite people to Islam) was used in different ways by two different political groups in order to serve their particular aims and interests. They claimed that the meaning of such concepts are not fixed but are dependent upon the opposing strategic concerns of the groups who claim to represent their people. They further suggested that it is very important to understand this contested and strategic nature of Muslim identity in order to understand Muslim political activity. In another study, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2004a) explored the rhetorical construction of subordinate and superordinate identities among British Muslim political activists. They suggested that these identities are not rigid but are contested and fluid. Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2004b) also criticized the traditional concept of a rigid identity in helping to understand identity construction of British Muslim leaders and their political activity through their discourses of propagating participation or non-participation of Muslims in British elections. They argued that these Muslims constructed a strategic Muslim identity using Prophetic examples from the past whilst relating them to the present, fulfilling their particular interests and identities. This implies that different discursive constructions of identity are undertaken by these political leaders in order to achieve their goals and fulfil their interests. Moreover, these political leaders made use of exclusion and discrimination discourse

in order to achieve their political agendas. Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) suggested that these political leaders make use of exclusion and marginality discourse in order to make sense of 'Islamophobia' by comparing the ways in which minority-majority contact were differentially constructed in the Runnymede report on Islamophobia (1997) and in the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain (MPGB) address on 'Islamophobia: the old hatred' (1997). Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins suggested that although these two reports were similar in visualizing the future of Muslims in Britain there was a sharp discrepancy in their construction of how this future can be achieved. In short, what was part of the solution for Runnymede was part of the problem for MPGB. Accordingly, it is very important to understand the challenging identities of minority groups in terms of their perception of exclusion and inter-group contact.

Efforts are also made by researchers to understand the gendered identities as performed in the discourses by British Muslim men and women in the context of their religion and culture. Research has indicated that Muslim women negotiate and renegotiate their feminine and religious identities based on exposure to higher education and academic achievement (Ahmad, 2001), family background, social class and diaspora (Dwyer, 2000) and the strategic use of dress in different contexts (Dwyer, 1999). Bhimji (2009) explored different aspects of the lives of British Muslim women as they surfaced in their study circles and mosque activities. She demonstrated that these religious spaces were a ground for these women to play out different identities such as being feminine, political and cosmopolitan and also to take on the agency of such spaces. Although much research has focused on the 'veiled' identity of British Muslim women, Bhimji asserts that wearing of the veil is just one aspect of these women's lives. Furthermore, mosques are not only a place for worship but a source of socializing, networking and creativity that enables British women to feel empowered within society. She further argued that women carried out spatial reconstruction and used the mosque space for discussing politics, home issues, independence discourses, fashion/ feminism, cosmopolitan identity. In comparison to these soft feminine identities, British Muslim men construct more power driven masculine identities. According to Archer (2001), Muslim men negotiate their identity of Muslim, Black and Asian in order to position them in

relation to a power struggle with other men and women. They use these identities as a unified identity against racism, resistance to white identity, division between black groups and as a proclamation of masculine power. Dwyer, Shah and Sanghera (2008) argued that young British Muslim men have fluid, contested and situated identities with relation to different aspects of their lives like religion, work, racism and serving the society. Alexander (2004) also suggested that the riots of 2001 were associated with the British Muslims' identity as a minority and their notion of 'Asian masculinity'. This research outlines the role of gendered identities in relation to the religion of British Muslim men and women. Muslim women make use of their dress and religious spaces as a site to express their feminine identity, whereas Muslim men use more controversial areas such as riots and racism as a platform to perform their masculine identities.

As previous research indicated, British Muslims construct and reconstruct their identity depending upon their social context; they also negotiate and renegotiate their integration into British society for the sake of acceptance and conformation. Research that explores integration discourses of British Muslims indicates the complex nature of integration construction and negotiation. British Muslims negotiate and renegotiate their religious and cultural boundaries in different contexts in order to achieve integration and acceptance by British society and their own community. For example, Nagel (2002) explored the negotiation of assimilation among the Arab community in Britain. She argued that construction of sameness and difference is a central part of immigrant experience. They negotiate the terms of difference and sameness through construction of different social categories and by performing different modes of resistance and accommodation in terms of assimilation. A more practical example of this negotiation was shown by Fletcher and Spracklen (2013), who explored the challenges faced by British Muslims while participating in British cricket in terms of their British Muslim identity. They argued that these Muslims have to make constant negotiations between their faith and Britishness when it comes to the matter of ritualized drinking after the sports. In British culture, alcohol drinking is associated with sports and being British. British Muslims are always in the dilemma of conforming to the standards of their religion and British culture. As a result, some stick more strongly to their faith and refuse to

drink alcohol, thus facing ridicule and exclusion. On the other hand, some directly participate in the drinking ritual to conform and thus feel included but at the same time face exclusion from their ethnic or religious community. This indicates that negotiation of integration also takes the shape of a dilemma in British Muslims' discourses because of the social and cultural pressures they face in their immediate contexts.

In spite of all the efforts of British Muslims towards integration, they are considered to be a major problem in the community cohesion discourses of majority groups. However, Phillips (2006) challenged the wide spread notion that ethnic communities live or wish to live separately and disengaged from mainstream British society. In an analysis of segregation discourses by British Muslims, she argued that this notion is not supported by the residential patterns of British Muslims, or by the diversity of their lived experiences, or by their opinion about social mixing. British Muslims express their desire to live in areas outside their traditional residences if in so doing they will not face the threat of racism and isolation. Moreover, they articulated their wish to have more social interaction with other cultural backgrounds. The findings also pointed towards a continuing history of obvious white control and restricted choices for non-white people that exploded the myth of self-segregating and inward-looking ethnic minorities that has been constructed as a 'problem' in multicultural Britain. Similarly, Phillips, Davis and Ratcliffe (2007) provided contradictory evidence in their research on the urban space narratives of British Muslims. They argued that discourses of segregation are constructed in relation to a city's existing 'whiteness'. For many respondents, the problems of living within the ethnic community outweighed its benefits, and so they express a desire to relocate to the suburbs. But at the same time they express fear of the isolation, harassment and racism that they associate with those areas. Moreover, some respondents who had moved to the suburbs reported that as soon as Asians moved into predominantly white areas, white people began to move out and so they became predominantly Asian areas. So British Asians express their desire to interact and mix with whites, but face rejection. In this way, they construct their discourses of segregation in relation to the racial attitudes of whites. According to Phillips et al. (2007) these experiences and perceptions of urban space play a role in their sense of

self and others, and in how they view belonging and rights to the space and other resources. It is argued that this has implications for British Asians' inclusion and exclusion experiences, sense of identity and belonging. This research also indicates the importance of the broader context in which discourses occur. We observed in the last section when examining majority discourses that these discourses constructed Muslims as 'problematic others' who do not want to integrate, however this research gives contrasting evidence. These findings suggest instead that some Muslims display a preference for mixing with other cultures and some whites who show resistance towards mixing or living with them. The review of the discourses of Muslim immigrants indicates that Muslims use a number of discursive strategies in order to perform their religious, cultural and gendered identities and belongings. However, research in this field is limited and more groundwork is needed in order to understand the discursive constructions produced by Muslim immigrants as they make sense of different aspects of their life.

## **Conclusions**

This literature review provided us with an overview of existing research trends about Muslim immigrants in the West, specifically British Muslims. Research in the areas of integration and the identity of British Muslims show mixed results and so do not offer up unequivocal conclusions about the identity or sense of belonging taken up by Muslim immigrants. However, the inconclusive nature of the research points to the fluid and contextual nature of identities as they are performed in discourse. Muslims construct their religious, cultural and national identities in relation to particular contexts and socio-discursive situations. This undermines the 'essentialist' idea of identity and supports the view that identities are always open to negotiation, acceptance and resistance. This has been further shown in the majority and minority discourses reviewed in this chapter.

This review of existing literature pointed out the following things:

1. Traditional methodological approaches are limited in helping us to understand the complex nature of identity and integration constructions. On the other hand, discursive research provides a more detailed picture of the contested and fluid nature of identity.

2. Most discursive research focuses on majority discourses about Muslim immigrants and less work has been done to investigate Muslim immigrants' discourses about different aspects of their life as first or second generation immigrants in the West.
3. Most of the existing research in the discursive domain has been conducted using ethnomethodology, ideological and textual analysis: it neither focuses on the complex use of discursive strategies nor on immigrants' means of performing identities in talk in accordance with the discourse analysis paradigm.
4. Very little work has been carried out in investigating the well-being of British Muslims in the context of a changing world view of them.

Considering these limitations of previous research, it is important to study the discursive constructions of different aspects of the lives of British Muslims. This will not only help us improve our understanding of the complex nature of identity, integration and wellbeing of this minority, but also enable us to give recommendations to improve their quality of life as immigrants in their host society. The current thesis is an effort to bridge the gap in previous literature and thereby to contribute to existing research about the discourses of British Muslims.

## Ch. 2. Method

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In this chapter, I will explain my methodological approach in detail, specifically focusing on discourse analysis. I will also describe the recruitment of participants and procedure for data collection. Towards the end of the chapter, the method of data analysis will be outlined.

### **Research Design**

I have used qualitative methodology for collecting and analyzing research data. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews and were analyzed using discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discourse analysis is not a straightforward term used to represent simply an analysis of discourse; instead, it is an umbrella term covering a number of different theoretical and methodological strands. McKinlay and McVittie (2011) outlined two major trends in discourse analysis based on whether and how emphasis is placed on the relevance of discourse to larger political and historical contexts. First are the discursive approaches of ‘critical discourse analysis’ and ‘Foucauldian discourse analysis’ which focus on the role of ideology and power in discourse. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the existence of social and political inequalities in discourses (Fairclough, 1995). According to this view, these ideologies pre-exist in society and affect social discourse about identity and power. Similarly, Foucauldian discourse analysis also emphasizes the historical and ideological features of discourse (Parker, 1992). This analysis was developed from the work of Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1980), who theorized that the historical development of discursive constructions of a topic is reflected through the structure of language.

Conversely, other trends include ‘conversation analysis’ and ‘discursive psychology’, which reject the role of out-of-context ideology in discourse (McKinlay & McVittie, 2011). Conversation analysis (Sacks 1992; ten Have, 2007) focuses on the social actions that are accomplished by people in their everyday talk. It gives more emphasis to the sequence of utterances and turn taking that is organized in naturally occurring talk. On the same theoretical and methodological grounds,



discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992) emerged; discursive psychology rejected the theory and method of cognitive psychology and emphasized the analysis of talk about one's psychological states. These approaches do not completely reject the notion of ideology but argue that only those aspects of ideology that are introduced by an individual in his or her discourse should be treated as analytically relevant. There are also other forms of discourse analysis, which are somewhere in between these two strands such as rhetorical analysis and narrative analysis.

The methodological approach of discourse analysis, which I am using in this research, comes under the umbrella of discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992; McKinlay & McVittie, 2008; 2011). I am using this approach to analyze discourses of British Muslims because, as the review of literature presented in the last chapter shows, the way Muslims construct their own identities in talk is an important feature of the modern social world, and yet very little work has been done with Muslims using forms of analysis that center on what they themselves say. As we have seen in the last chapter, most of the research has focused on the ideology of this group through the essentialist approach. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, is critical of cognitive psychology's view of essentialism. Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggested that people change their attitudes depending upon the social situation they are in. Therefore, the theory that attitudes are something 'built-in' to the individual, and that this inner mental attitude can be 'discovered' using methodological tools such as Likert scales, is misleading. According to this view, the same is true about identity: identity is not some essential core of a person; instead, it is a regularly constructed, maintained, and negotiated phenomenon arising in the daily discourses of people. In this way, the performance of identity in different contexts at different times points towards the variable and flexible nature of discourse. Discursive psychology also focuses on the social construction of reality by the participants in certain situations. Therefore, use of this approach has enabled me to understand how British Muslims make sense of their identity, integration and wellbeing while living in Britain, using different discursive strategies.

Another aspect of discursive psychology relevant to the current study is the treatment of social cognitions and emotions using discourse analysis. As already mentioned above, discursive psychologists do not examine and reveal mental states

as do cognitive psychologists. Instead, they explain psychological states in terms of discourse processes (Edwards & Potter, 2005). According to this approach, cognitive and emotional states of participants are only relevant if they reveal them in their talk. Potter (2006) has explained this in the following way:

“In contrast to cognitivism, DP (discourse psychology) has a very different way of conceptualizing psychological issues. Instead of treating discourse as dependent upon, and explicable by way of, cognitive objects and processes, it starts by studying the way things appear as participants’ concerns. That is, it treats mind, personality, experience, emotions, intentions and so on in terms of how they are constructed and oriented to in interaction.” (Potter, 2006, pp. 132)

Potter and Edwards (2003) describe two different ways in which cognitive themes are revealed by participants as a matter of interest: 1) participants’ explicit use of cognitive terms; 2) participants’ management of inferences and implications about cognitive matters. In the former, discourse analysts’ interest is to rhetorically understand the participants’ use of such cognitive terms as ‘knowing’, ‘wanting’, or ‘remembering’. In the later, although participants do not use such cognitive terms, cognitive themes become relevant in their discourse through the use of a particular way of describing actions, actors and events. These cognitive issues are made available as appropriate or inappropriate potential inferences on the part of the hearer. In discursive psychology, one of the major themes is rhetorical design and use of emotion categories. Edwards (1999) in his paper on emotion discourse, discusses two ways through which discourse analysis approaches emotion talk. The first approach examines how people talk about psychological states and the second approach examines how ‘folk’ psychological concepts are used in discourses. According to him, “discursive psychology examines empirically how they (emotions) are invoked, and what kinds of discursive work such invocations perform”.

However, at times this kind of analysis of psychological states can be complex because of the inherent nature of emotion discourse. According to Edwards (1999), the challenge of discursive psychology is to analyze emotional categories and psychological descriptions that people use in their language, within cultural settings.

Thus, discursive psychology approaches emotional categories as social practices rather than mental expressions, where psychological states are talk's categories rather than its causes.

In the current study (Chapter 4), analysis of emotional states such as happiness and unhappiness are similarly analyzed. This chapter deals with participants' constructions of their emotional states while drawing upon elements of their social situations. In particular, emphasis is given to participants' attributions of responsibility to the external and internal factors of these psychological states. In this way, by adopting the discursive approach, analysis of these psychological states is carried out with reference to their interactional and rhetorical nature.

There is a methodological debate surrounding discourse analysis: the use of qualitative interviewing versus naturalistic talk. Potter and Hepburn (2005) criticized the 'overuse' of interviews in qualitative research and raised a number of issues in their use, which they categorized as 'Contingent' and 'Necessary' problems. According to them, contingent problems are those which are not an important part of every interview research and are rectifiable. These include a) the deletion of the interviewer from extracts while doing analysis; b) The conventions representing interaction such as use of Jeffersonian transcription notations; c) Global observations in interviews; d) The unavailability of the interview set-up; and e) Failure to consider interviews as interactions. Potter and Hepburn suggested that these problems in an interview can be tackled by including the interviewer's contribution in the extracts; transcribing the interviews using detailed Jefferson notation so that the interactional features of the talk become prominent (regardless of whether interactional features are the topic of study or not); using line numbers and short lines to make clear connections between interactional features and analytic interpretations; and giving a detailed report of participant recruitment. On the other hand, the 'necessary problems' of the interviews are presented by Potter and Hepburn as inescapable pitfalls, which cannot be rectified or dealt with (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Potter and Hepburn claim that these problems include a) Flooding the interview with social science agendas and categories; b) Footing taken by the interviewer and interviewee; c) Interviewer's and interviewee's stake and interest in the interview; and d)

Reproduction of cognitivism. In conclusion, Potter and Hepburn suggested the use of more 'naturalistic talk' in social research in order to avoid these necessary problems.

However, the perspective of Potter and Hepburn is just one way of looking at interview research. Considering the breadth of interview research, this assertive but narrow-focused critique of interview methods cannot cover the whole range of areas that are studied using interview research. Smith, Hollway and Mishler (2005) criticized Potter and Hepburn's assertion that Jefferson notation should always be used to transcribe interviews, commenting that a single set of recommendations cannot be applied to all interview transcriptions regardless of the research purpose and orientation. The first author, Smith comments that the transcription of interviews mainly depends upon the research question and the approach used. He advocated flexibility in qualitative interviewing and highlighted its usefulness in different research topics such as exploring how participants make sense of their experiences of events in their life. This is because the naturalistic record of such topics is mostly non-existent, so interviews are the best choice in many such cases. Hollway criticized the limited focus of Potter and Hepburn and argued that issues of footing, stake and inoculation are a fundamental part of any interaction and not just interviews. So these should be appreciated rather than considered as a confounding factor in interview research. Mishler suggested that Potter and Hepburn are so pre-occupied with the method and use of Jefferson transcription notations that they ignored the importance of major subjects of research and of issues of context, gesture and the visual field (Smith et. al., 2005). Smith, Hollway and Mishler further suggested that instead of making transcripts extensive, researcher should constantly refer back to the actual audio and video recordings of interviews. So this review of debate suggests that the difficulties faced in interview research outlined by Potter and Hepburn arguably are not something inescapable nor are they problems which cannot be dealt with during qualitative research. Moreover, Potter and Hepburn have, according to these critics, wrongly narrowed the debate about interview methods in order to establish their own position and, as suggested by Hollway, they have neglected research which has already raised these points in the past (Smith, et. al. 2005).

Potter and Hepburn (2005) do, however, admit that there are some sensitive issues for which data can be realistically only collected using interviews. In my research, I have asked about participants' personal experiences of racism and discrimination in Britain and the reasons for their unhappiness related to this country. These are sensitive issues about which participants rarely talk openly or in naturalistic settings. The only 'naturalistic talk' available around this topic is that provided by the media and politicians and not by Muslims themselves. One reason could be, as we have seen in the last chapter that these people have no platform on which to have their say precisely because the media does not cover news about peaceful Muslims. Therefore, given the objectives of the current study, qualitative interviews represented the best method of collecting data from this set of participants.

In the original design of this study, focus groups were also included. The aim had been to gain an understanding of these experiences as they were described by participants in a more vibrant interactional context. However, at an early stage in analysis a strategic decision was taken to limit extract selections to the interview-generated data. There were two reasons for this form of selection. First, the interview data set itself provided a rich enough source of material in pursuing the study's research questions. Second, the focus groups were less interactional than might have been expected; members of the focus groups tended to give isolated responses describing their own personal experiences or opinions. In fact, in most of the focus groups, the bulk of the data collected derived from the talk of just one of the group members, with other group member contributing by merely offering up minimal agreements. This meant that in many respects the focus group data took on some of the aspects of individual interview data rather than representing genuine interactions among participants. Due to this lack of negotiation and interaction among members of the focus groups, and given the richness of the interview dataset itself, the strategic research decision was taken to limit the present study to the interview dataset. Although the focus group data has been set aside for now, it is planned that those data will be used in other future publications. That said, for the sake of completeness, relevant details of how the focus groups were conducted is included

on the following methodological descriptions, even though the resultant data themselves do not form part of the later empirical chapters of this thesis.

## **Participants**

This study's participants were British Muslim immigrants, who were recruited using opportunity sampling (Daniel, 2012; pp82) from Edinburgh and Glasgow. This group was selected for the specific purpose of the study to focus on minority group discourses. As we have seen in the literature review, there is a variety of literature available regarding the majority group in terms of political and media discourses. Conversely, little has been done to hear the voices of Muslim minorities in Britain. It was for this reason that I selected my participants from this minority group. Although these participants were recruited from Scotland, most of them had originally come from different parts of England and were not specifically Scottish. Therefore, throughout my thesis I have referred to them as British Muslims because that is how they described themselves.

Participants were approached individually in mosques, libraries, community and Islamic centers using opportunity or availability sampling (Daniel, 2012; pp.82). Snowball sampling (Daniel, 2012; pp.111) was also used in some cases where participants were asked to provide further contacts for inclusion in the study. The participants for focus groups were approached during the general mosque meetings and their contacts were taken. In a few cases, mosque authorities were requested for the possible contacts for focus groups. Then the focus group time and venue was decided based on the convenience of all participants of that particular group. Based on this approach, those participants who agreed to be interviewed were contacted later for interview and focus groups.

Participants' age range was from 17 to 70 years. Both first and second generations of Muslims were included in the study to provide diverse observations of the subject under study. First generation Muslims included participants who migrated to Britain from their home countries as an adult or as a teenager and were conscious of their migration from home country to Britain. Second generation Muslims were those participants who were either born in Britain or came to Britain at a very young age (up to 8 years) along with their parents. Both of these generations were included

in the study in order to explore the differences of their experiences in relation to Britain. Similarly, participants belonged to both genders, which allowed me to have a cross-gender understanding of their lives in Britain. This is important because Muslim males and females have different roles in life based on their religious beliefs. Therefore, men and women were expected to display somewhat different aspects of experiences.

The number of respondents who participated in the study across gender and generation is described in the following table:

**Table 1: Participants' Distribution across Gender and Generation**

Method	First Generation		Second Generation		Total
	Interview	Focus Group	Interview	Focus Group	
<b>Males</b>	10	4	10	3	27
<b>Females</b>	10	3	10	4	27
<b>Total</b>	20	7	20	7	54

Among these fifty four participants, one male and female belonged to Ghana, one male and female belonged to Bangladesh, one male participant was from Yemen and the rest of the participants were of Pakistani origin. Participants belong to different sects of Muslims including Sunni, Shi'a and Ahmadiyya community.

The four focus groups had the following composition of participants:

- Focus group 1: First generation male participants;
- Focus group 2: First generation female participants;
- Focus group 3: Second generation male participants;
- Focus group 4: Second generation female participants.

This distribution was selected to reflect broader cultural values of segregation of genders and therefore to ensure that female participants would feel comfortable and experience freedom in discussing their views openly.

I, myself, conducted all the interviews and focus groups, which helped me in data collection because of my religious and cultural background. As I am also a Pakistani Muslim, the participants were able to relate with me better, in discussing a wide range of potentially sensitive issues, than might have been the case with a

British researcher of a different religion. The efficacy of this approach has been supported by Archer (2001), who concluded that Muslim participants produced more radical ideas when interviewed by a researcher belonging to the same religion and culture as compared to a white researcher because they were doubtful of the motives and intentions of the white researcher. Similarly, Phoenix (1994) argued that black interviewers 'blend in' better with black interviewees and are more likely to capture 'the truth' as compared to the white interviewers.

### **Interview and Focus Group Schedules**

First of all, interview and focus group schedules were developed considering the purpose of the study. The semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 3A) was based on a series of questions, divided into three major sections: a) Identity and Integration; b) Happiness and life satisfaction; and c) Major problems in Britain. These questions were developed in order to acquire an understanding of how Muslims construct their sense of belonging and interpersonal relationships in relation to their wellbeing and to the problems they face in Britain. In the first section, questions focused on the culture followed by Muslims, their characterization of their religious identity and their views about mixing with local community. In the second section, participants were asked about their happiness and unhappiness while living in Britain, about their future hopes and expectations and about ways of increasing the happiness of British Muslims. In the third section, participants were asked about the major problems of Muslims in Britain and then asked for their specific views about racism and discrimination. The wording for the focus group schedule (see Appendix 4A) was slightly amended to reflect the fact that these questions were addressed to a larger group and not to a single individual; however, the main topics were the same as those in the interview schedule.

An important observation about this schedule was that it included terms such as 'British culture', 'British values' or 'Muslim values'. These sorts of terms are sometimes regarded as politically sensitive, indicating a pre-existing schism between British people and Muslims. Such claims are, for example, sometimes found in the language of those who are politically 'right-wing'. However, here my usage of these terms does not reflect any political stance on the part of the researcher. Instead, these



are common terms used by British Muslims themselves in their routine language to refer to the culture of Britain and their religious and cultural values. Therefore, in this interview schedule these terms have been adopted to provide participants with an interactional setting with which they are already familiar. It is noteworthy in this respect that at no time did participants actually take up or challenge the interviewer's use of these terms.

Considering the fact that the majority of first generation Muslims in Britain are from South Asia, especially from Pakistan, interview and focus group schedules were translated into Urdu (see appendices 3B and 4B). Based on this, thirteen of the forty interviews and two of the four focus groups were carried out in Urdu. The rationale behind this methodological choice was that often first generation Muslim immigrants with little knowledge of English are more effective and feel more comfortable in expressing their views in their home language as compared to English. These interviews were specifically useful for Muslim women who, because of their cultural role as home makers, had little or no knowledge of English.

In order to validate the translated version of interview schedule it was reviewed by two multilingual professionals, who were native Urdu speakers. These reviewers were experienced in research and had also performed formal translation work in their professional careers. Suggestions from both the reviewers were incorporated into the final version of translation. The same procedures were used to translate the focus group schedule.

The English and Urdu versions of the interview schedule were also piloted. Three pilot study interviews were conducted for this purpose. On the basis of pilot study participants' responses, the interview questions were modified. Participants found some of the original questions to be difficult and abstract, and so a number of questions were rephrased in order to make them less abstract and jargon free, and several of the original questions were omitted altogether. After these changes two more pilot study interviews were conducted, and results showed that the modified schedule worked well. Consequently it was this version of the schedule that was finalized for collecting data in the rest of the study (No pilot study was carried out for the focus group schedule because it was almost identical to the actual interview

schedule. Therefore, it was not necessary to conduct a separate focus group for piloting that schedule).

## **Procedure**

For interview purposes, participants were contacted to arrange a suitable time and location for interview. Most of the interviews were conducted within university premises in pre-booked rooms, in libraries, or in mosques. In some cases, especially for female participants, interviews were also arranged in their homes for their convenience. However, in this situation, special care was taken in respect of researcher's safety: I only went to the homes of acquainted participants or accompanied by a friend in other cases. The focus groups were conducted in the meeting rooms of mosques and Islamic centers depending upon the convenience of the participants.

In the beginning of the interview and focus groups, participants were informed about the purpose of current study and about the importance of their views. Information sheets (see Appendix 1A) were given to them to read before data collection and they were offered the opportunity to ask any questions about the study. Participants then signed an informed consent form (see Appendix 2A). For the convenience of the Urdu speaking participants, the information sheet and informed consent form were also translated in Urdu (see appendices 1B and 2B). In order to obtain a description of participants' socio-economic contexts, the following demographic information was gathered after consent forms had been signed: age, gender, education, occupation, monthly income, marital status, number of children, country of origin, length of residence and current immigration status.

The interview and focus group questions were designed to be heard as open-ended in order that the interviews should approximate to some extent to naturalistic conversation. In addition, further questions were inserted at various points to allow for clarifications or to seek further information. Participants were encouraged, through back-channeling ("uh huh", "right", "yes" etc.) and the use of probes where appropriate, to develop and expand on their responses in order to improve conversational flow. In these ways, the products of discussion were set up to reflect participants' own concerns and goals rather than to generate interviewer-led data.

Interviews and focus groups were tape recorded with the consent of the participants using a digital audio recorder.

The duration of the interviews ranged from 20 to 80 minutes with an average interview duration of 50 minutes depending upon the length of details shared by the participants. The duration of the focus groups ranged from 37 minutes to 80 minutes and the average duration was 62 minutes. At the end of each interview and focus group, participants were asked whether they wanted to add anything further related to the research topic that they thought had not been covered in the interview. After the interviews, participants were thanked and the importance of their contribution to the present study was emphasized. As Rubin and Rubin (2012) point out, not only should participants be thanked for their time and ideas, this also ‘keeps the door open’ for additional questions at a later time. Once participants’ final queries had been answered, they were asked to leave their contact details if they were interested in seeing a summary of the study’s results.

## **Analysis**

The process of analysis included transcription, coding and analysis, as outlined by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Audio recordings of interviews and focus groups were transcribed using the NCH online transcription software ‘Express Scribe’. Initially only spoken words, untimed pauses and prolongations were transcribed using an abbreviated version of Jeffersonian transcription notations (Jefferson, 2004). Later, pauses within speech were also timed in the extracts selected for final analysis. This form of transcription notation is used to transcribe not just the words used by participants but also features of how talk is delivered, including speakers’ use of speech particles, pauses, emphasis, overlapping talk, and so on. For the purpose of the present study a ‘light’ version of transcription notation was used (see Appendix 5), because my main focus was on spoken words and not on non-verbal cues of delivery. As already mentioned earlier, there is some debate surrounding the use of ‘Jefferson Lite’ as compared to extensive transcription. Potter and Hepburn (2005) suggest that regardless of the focus of study, all interviews should be transcribed in detail to get the flavor of the interactional features. However, other researchers advocate the use of light transcription considering the

requirement of the specific research question and method used (Smith et. al., 2005; Poland, 2001). Smith and colleagues argue that in research focusing on ideologies more than interactional features, such extensive transcription serves as a hindrance and distraction to the actual focus of research. Therefore, considering the focus of my research I employed a simplified version of Jefferson transcription and only those notations are used which are required for understanding how participants responded in terms of the research question.

The interviews conducted in Urdu were then translated into English for the purpose of analysis. In providing English translations of Urdu interviews and focus groups, every attempt was made to ensure that translated data were as close as possible to the wordings used by the participants themselves. Therefore, extracts presented here that are drawn from translations of Urdu speakers are deliberately not presented in a 'grammatically correct' form. Instead, what is presented is a close reproduction, in English, of what respondents said in Urdu. As a reliability measure, the final extracts for data analysis were reviewed by a multilingual researcher to establish the closeness of translation to the actual data. It was these final versions of the translated extracts that were included in the thesis for final analysis. As Jiang (2006) points out, translation can add complications to discourse analysis. However, here every effort was made in translation to keep the sentence structure and word choice of Urdu speakers as close to the original Urdu transcripts as possible so that the meaning of the extracts is retained. The only exceptions to this are a few cases where slight changes were made to aid the reader in understanding the English translation. However, wherever possible an effort was made to ensure that the original structure of the sentence stays identical in both languages, so that no change of meaning might occur. This method of identical translation has been used by many discourse studies that focused on transcripts of different languages and their English translation (f.e., Bozatzis, 2009; Howard, 2008; Tileaga, 2005; Guimarães, 2003). These researchers conducted analysis on original transcripts alongside the translated extracts. In my study, I have also regularly consulted the original transcripts and audio recordings along with the English translation to better understand the discursive constructions of participants. Nikander (2008) suggested that the translation of transcriptions can hinder the validity of the study in terms of the

‘transparency principle’ of research but it can be dealt with by providing the extracts to the reader in both languages. For this reason, the original Urdu version of the translated extracts is given in the appendices of this thesis (see Appendix 7).

A first pass analysis of whole interviews was conducted using NVivo 9 software. Data from the interviews and focus groups were divided into broad themes emerging from the data. These broad themes were selected through reading the whole corpus of data closely and carefully. In an ongoing fashion, material from each interview transcript was distributed into either new or recurrent themes using NVivo 9. Themes were then selected for further examination based on their recurrence in the data and also on their relevance to the objectives of the study. The recurrence of themes in the data was established by looking at the frequency of the repetition of a particular theme in the data. The most frequent themes were then scrutinized in relation to the objectives of the study. Further analysis was carried out to identify the patterns among these themes through the use of mind mapping technique. For this purpose a free online mind mapping software was used to develop charts about the connections and patterns among study’s themes. Finally, those themes and patterns were selected for further analysis which occurred frequently in the interviews and also related to the interests and objectives of the current study. This method of using NVivo in discourse analysis is a recent development in the field of qualitative analysis and consistent with its use in various research (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; pp71; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011). This use of NVivo further facilitated the constant comparison of the themes and their categorization into broader sections.

As mentioned above, at an early stage in this process a decision was taken to limit the extracts selected for inclusion in the thesis to those drawn from interview data, because the focus groups did not produce the sort of vivid interactions among participants that had been originally planned for. Once a range of thematic extracts had been identified, in depth and close analysis was carried out on those selected extracts. These shortlisted extracts were then analyzed further using guidelines from discourse analysis. This in-depth analysis performed examined participants’ formulations and reformulations of their identities, group belongingness, level of emotional states such as happiness and satisfaction as participants constructed their relation with Britain and their home countries. Different forms of consistencies and

inconsistencies were also identified and highlighted in the data. The final extracts included in the thesis, were representative of the data in the sense that they included the point of view on a given topic of a number of participants. The extracts selected mainly covered different forms of religious, cultural and ethnic identity constructions; claims about one's happiness and their reasons of happiness and unhappiness; reports of major problems such as segregation, terrorism, racism and negative images of Islam; and different suggestions about personal improvement and the media's role in enhancing the happiness of British Muslims.

Selection of specific extracts was determined by the research question being pursued in the various empirical chapters. Chapter 3 focuses on various aspects of identity and integration by British Muslims. In this chapter, those extracts were selected which specifically focused on the negotiation of identities and efforts towards integration. Chapter 4 includes extracts which were produced as a result of answers mainly to three questions related to the happiness and unhappiness of British Muslims. These specific questions were selected for inclusion in this chapter because participants had made no detailed mention of their happiness or unhappiness elsewhere during the interview. Similarly, chapter 5 examines problem accounts produced by the participants, which include responses to one single question which asked participants about the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain. Although participants briefly touched on their problems at different places in the interview, the most detailed and richest accounts of problems were only presented as a result of this question. The last empirical chapter, chapter 6, looks at how participants talked about ways of enhancing the wellbeing of British Muslims while living in Britain. Some participants did also mention potential solutions to their problems while producing the sorts of accounts that are presented in chapter 5. However the more detailed constructions of potential for improving Muslims' lives were produced in answer to this direct question, and so the analysis of participant responses about problem resolutions was left until chapter 6.

Although discourse analysis is not a process of 'spotting' various sorts of construction in talk, it may nevertheless be useful to provide here a summary list of some of the discursive elements that appeared in participants' talk and that are referred to in the following empirical chapters. Major analytic points that recurred in

the discourses these British Muslim participants were the construction of categories and their membership and resistance to them, place identity, evaluation, temporal discourse and agency management.

### *Membership Categorization*

Potter and Wetherell (1987) regarded categories as ‘complex and subtle social accomplishments’ rather than natural phenomena that occur automatically or naturally. According to them, social categories are the principle building blocks of social research and inferences about people are made with reference to their membership to certain categories. McKinlay and McVittie (2011) defined membership categories as the discursive labels which indicate the belonging of an individual to a particular group. In the current study, participants have used categorization to make sense of their identity and of their belonging to host and home society.

### *Place Identity*

The concept of place identity was initially introduced by Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) but it was further developed by Dixon and Durrheim in their later work (f.e. Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Dixon, 2001; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). They argued that a discursive approach to place identity helps us to understand the process through which notions of place employ the notions of identity. They further suggested that discourse analysis helps us to understand the way in which geographies are used to control inter-ethnic relationships. In this thesis, participants can be seen to have made constant reference to their home country and host country in order to make sense of their identity, integration and wellbeing.

### *Evaluation*

McKinlay and McVittie (2011) described evaluation as that form of talk which places the topic into a comparative framework with features such as levels of goodness or worth. In this thesis, although in some cases the interviewee did directly ask the participants about their lives in both home and host countries, at many other places in the interviews participants themselves independently introduced comparisons between their home and host country. Moreover, this sort of evaluative

comparison is also used to compare Islamic countries and Western countries in general terms.

### *Subject Positions*

Davies and Harrè (1990) defined positioning as the subjective and observable location of self in discourse as a coherent participant. According to them, positioning can be interactive, in which others are located in one's own discourse or it can be reflexive in that one positions oneself in discourse. This discursive process is related to identity construction and management within discourse through the use of certain subjective roles taken up by participants or attributed to others. In this research, participants can be seen to take up various positions while defining, maintaining or resisting particular identities, for example, positioning oneself as a flexible Muslim and others as extremists.

### *Temporal Discourse*

Drawing on the work of Wodak and de Cillia (2007) on Australian national identity, McKinlay and McVittie (2011) described temporal discourse as discourse which makes reference to time, for example, constructing historical accounts or future events. In my study, participants regularly used such temporal references while talking about the past in their accounts of migrating to Britain and also in talking about their future expectations in relation to their wellbeing in Britain.

### *Agency Management*

Agency in discourse refers to the construction or attribution of causes or sources of an action or event (McKinlay & McVittie, 2011). In discourse, different actions or events are attributed to self or others as the driving force in bringing up that event. In some cases, agency is obscured and an 'out-there-ness' (Potter, 1996) is constructed, where it is difficult to find out the cause of a particular event. The management of agency is also related to the avoidance of accountability, where particular attributions are made in order to avoid any responsibility for the consequences of particular actions or events. In this study, participants can be seen to have used agency management frequently while constructing their inter-cultural relationships and in some cases to accomplish the goal of accountability avoidance. Moreover, they also obscured agency when offering up problem accounts, which



again helped them to avoid any responsibility potentially associated with blaming others for their problems.

## **Summary**

This chapter gives a detailed account of the method undertaken in the current research. The theoretical orientation of the study was qualitative and a discursive approach was used to analyze the data. Participants of the study were first and second generation British Muslims belonging to both genders. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews and focus groups (although for strategic reasons the focus group data were not utilized). Interview and focus group schedules were translated into Urdu for the convenience of some participants. Thus, some of the interviews and focus groups were conducted in Urdu, and were then subsequently translated into English, with relevant procedures in place to ensure reliability of translation. Analysis was performed through a process in which, following transcription and translation, data were initially coded into themes relevant to the aims of the study, and then selected extracts were subjected to a fine-grain analysis. Lastly, in the present chapter a brief listing of the major discursive strategies used by participants in this research was provided, with the caveat that discourse analysis does not comprise a mere ‘spotting’ exercise in which such strategies are identified and named.

## Ch. 3. Discourses of Religion, Culture and Integration

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As already mentioned Muslims in Britain make up more than half of those who belong to non-Christian religions, which makes Islam the second largest religion in Britain (Office of National Statistics, 2004). As a result of this large number, Muslims find themselves under scrutiny to display their loyalties to Britain. There are high demands for Muslims' acculturation and integration both at political and social levels. The question of whether and how Muslims seek to integrate into British society is of equal interest to social researchers, policy makers, politicians, and general public.

Acculturation, integration and identity can be looked at as interrelated concepts in the scenario of immigrants. According to McKinlay and McVittie (2011), the difference between acculturation and integration is that in acculturation as a result of contact between two cultures, changes occur in both the parties, whereas in integration changes only take place in the minority group, which adapts to the majority group. Whatever identity is taken up by an immigrant, reflects the level of his integration and belongingness to his home or host society. For example, someone might consider himself completely British or completely Muslim or think of himself as a British Muslim. All these preferences would reflect his belongings to the relevant national or religious grouping.

As mentioned earlier, the identity taken by an immigrant will reflect the direction of integration in a society. Research show mixed results about identity and integration of Muslim immigrants in Britain. Some researchers have found Muslims to be not only well integrated in Britain but also adopting a British identity completely (Ansari, 2002; Office for National Statistics, 2004). However other research indicates that Muslims are less integrated in Britain and that they attribute relatively high levels of importance to their ethnic and religious identity (f.e. Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier & Zanou, 2007). Nevertheless a survey of previous research in this area shows that researchers have adopted a variety of sampling and methodological strategies which may account for these mixed results. Research which reports resistance among Muslims to integration is generally based on survey

data or on reports from non-Muslims. Research reporting a more active attempt at integration on the part of Muslims tends to be based on accounts provided by Muslims themselves. In this chapter, the focus is on the negotiation of religious and cultural identity and efforts towards adjustment and integration made by British Muslims.

The aim of this chapter is to explore how Muslims themselves make sense of their identity and of their experiences of integration into British society. In particular, this chapter examines how they negotiate the inter-relationship between their culture and religion in order to establish such integration. The chapter also examines the ways in which Muslims construct their struggles for integration and negotiate their identities in the socio-political context of present-day Britain. This chapter is divided into two main themes: 1) Discourses about religion and culture; 2) Integration of British Muslims.

### **Discourses about Religion and Culture**

In this section, the focus is on Muslims' discursive construction of their religion and culture. In some instances, there are descriptions of tensions between religion and culture, whereas in other places they are represented as compatible. On occasion, these descriptions can also be seen to be inter-woven into talk about self and identity.

In the following extracts, speakers can be seen to talk about religious identity either in terms of its flexibility or its rigidity. Constant identity adjustment is involved in adjusting to British society while keeping one's religious identity. On the other hand, in some cases, a rejection of British culture is also visible in the face of strict adherence to one's religion and culture. Many participants also talked about the religious freedom found in Britain in comparison to a lack of freedom in their homelands, on the basis of which they reformulate their affiliation to their home country. However, participants also talk about challenges to their religious identity while living in Britain.

In this section, the extracts focus on four aspects of the religious identity of British Muslims: 1) Flexible vs Rigid Identity in first generation Muslims, 2)

Hyphenated identities in second generation Muslims, 3) Religious and cultural benefits and challenges, and 4) The struggle between culture and religion.

### 1. Flexible vs Rigid Identity

Immigration from one country to another involves major changes to one's life style. Some people accept these changes openly and thus tend to adjust smoothly into the host society, whereas, others resist such changes in their life. In extract 1 and 2, we will see examples of the acceptance and rejection of such changes in one's culture and religion. The following extract is taken from near the start of the interview. Before this point, SAR had been discussing the huge differences between British culture and her own culture. At this point she turns to talking of her religious identity in terms of clothing and of how particular dress choices might make someone more acceptable to British society.

#### *Extract 1*

- 1 I As you said that our values are different and we can't take up their values so  
2 how you adjust here?
- 3 SAR One:: one thing is that I have seen many such people who are up to very hard  
4 veiling I am from those people who do medium veil I mean my own personal-  
5 my personal belief is that veil is what is in your eyes (1.0) if the shame in your  
6 eye is alive and remain then nobody can take off your veil over there in our  
7 Pakistan it is said (.) that a girl who don't cross her doorstep nobody can pull  
8 her out (1.8) so my personal view is also that very hard veil does make you  
9 different from others but people watch you more (.) like if I wear coat and pant  
10 and I have only (.) just take a simple scarf above or whatever and my face is  
11 naked then people look at me less because here everybody do this kind of veil  
12 (.) those people who wear very tight burqa or very rarely these women go out-

In responding to the question asked, SAR formulates the issue of values and adjustment in terms of modes of dress. She begins by introducing a category of people who 'do very hard veil' and then immediately introduces another category to which she herself belongs: people who 'do medium veil'. By introducing another category immediately she is building a category distinction that allows her to exclude herself from the former category. So, by introducing this contrast between herself

and the 'hard veil' category, she is working up a resistance to the identity that might be associated with 'hard veil' practices. A preliminary indication of the relevance to SAR of this is given in the way she labels the two groups: those, including herself, who engage in a 'moderate' practice are contrasted with other people who engage in a practice that is described in relatively extreme terms as 'very hard'. This is similar to what Dickerson has pointed out that differences are worked up in live talk-in-interaction by assigning self to one category as compared to the generic others (Dickerson, 2000). Dickerson further suggested that this construction of difference places an individual in a favourable position, which we will see later in this extract that how SAR claimed to be more acceptable by British society as compared to the other group. She then moves on to develop her arguments for engaging in 'moderate' rather than 'very hard' practices. She offers a metaphorical account of what is involved in wearing a veil which deals with culture-specific issues about veil-wearing, modesty and the avoidance of shame. She begins with the claim that 'veil is what is in your eyes'. A veil is an item of clothing that at times leaves only the eyes visible. A person's eyes are commonly taken to be 'a window on the soul' in that they display what that person is like or is currently thinking. Thus even if someone is wearing a veil, 'what is in your eyes' will still be available for interpretation by onlookers. It is in this sense that shame or lack of shame can be understood to be independent of the form of veil-wearing that any specific individual might adopt. Here, her argument is apparently aimed at undermining potential claims that someone who engages only in 'moderate' veil wearing is doing something that is shameful or lacking in modesty. This suggestion, that an emotion like shame is something that does or does not derive from the person herself rather than from what others might think of her behaviour, is reinforced by her report of what is said 'in our Pakistan'. There too, she claims, people are unable to respond to a woman in any way they wish if she herself engages in appropriate actions.

Having dealt with the issue of shame in respect of veil-wearing practices in general, she moves on to provide more description of what it is to 'do very hard veil'. Veil-wearing is commonly associated with veiling or hiding the face. It might therefore be thought that someone who engages in doing 'very hard veil' is especially intent on hiding her face and that in consequence people will be less able

to look at her. However, SAR claims instead that ‘people watch you more’. So here she is introducing something which is quite opposite to the purpose of wearing a veil. She goes on to contrast this with what is the case when she ‘only take a simple scarf’, which is that ‘people watch her less’. This presents a further justification for her own veil-wearing practices in that it is ‘moderate’ veil, not ‘very hard veil’ that allows a woman to avoid undue or unwanted attention.

Towards the end of the extract, SAR asserts that ‘here everybody do this kind of veil’ (line, 11). Although, given her preceding claims about people who ‘do very hard veil’, this is not produced as literally true, the all-inclusive nature of ‘everybody’ further supports the ‘normalization’ and ‘appropriateness’ of her version of veil. At the end of the extract, SAR specifies the consequences for those who wear ‘very hard veil’ and in consequence are made ‘different from others’ (line, 8-9). People of this sort ‘very rarely they go out’. Here, the integration outcome that follows from adopting an overly-rigid approach to dress is spelled out: people who dress in such a way that they are perceived as ‘different’ find themselves unable or unwilling to engage in broader social activities. As SAR has specified that she does not belong to such a group, this outcome is presented as one that need not involve her.

Here, then, SAR is presenting her identity as a flexible and moderate Muslim in comparison to other Muslims who adopt more rigid practices. The stricter veil may reflect for SAR, a form of ‘strictness’ in religion, which may be unacceptable in the West. So by constructing this category distinction, SAR is achieving the purpose of presenting herself as a flexible Muslim who is ready to adapt to her host country and who, as a consequence, is someone who is more likely to meet with approval and acceptance from the people of that host country. While discussing the veil in the UK and cultural and political racism resulting from it, Williamson and Khiabany (2010) argued that the veil is perceived as antithetical to the notion of multiculturalism in that it separates “Us” from “Them” in media and government discourses. For this reason, they and other researchers suggest that rejection of veil-wearing, perceived as a symbol of Islamic fundamentalism, is associated with racialization (Williamson & Khiabany, 2010; Al-Saji, 2010). SAR is here making a somewhat similar argument;

by rejecting ‘very hard’ veil practices she is rejecting rigidity in Islam and constructing a more flexible Muslim identity.

SAR presented her religious identity in terms of being a flexible person who is ready to make necessary changes to her Islamic veil-wearing activities in order to gain acceptance from the local society. However, in the following extract, we will see an example of a construction of rigidity and rejection of any changes that might otherwise result from migration. This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation immigrant, who has lived in Britain for the last 12 years.

### *Extract 2*

- 1 I Can you give details that what sort of things you follow of your own culture?  
2 AB Um mostly:: living with the family (.) the first thing then follow the religion  
3 (3.0) a::nd (3.0) ↑I↓ prefer like my own culture rather than (.) British culture  
4 (0.5) because where I born and brought up (0.5) then I need to follow it my own  
5 religion rather than British culture- British culture is totally different than my  
6 culture where I born (0.8) that's why I like to follow it (.) because I don't like a::  
7 specially the British culture (0.8) the way their life I don't like to live that.  
8 I What specific things you don't like?  
9 AB a:: probably that (0.5) the way they born and brought up because they like to  
10 drink (.) that's in my religion don't allowed to drink that's the most I like it  
11 because I don't know a:: I don't like the way they live about the (.) pub culture  
12 or the most probably they follow the religion or not (.) that's why I like to my  
13 own religion and own culture as well.

At the start of his response, AB sets out as the ‘first thing’ his involvement with family life. However, he does introduce a second item, ‘follow the religion’, and it is to this that he will return later in his reply. But first AB picks up a specific term utilized in the question by turning to ‘my own culture’. He expresses a preference for this over ‘British culture’, but at this stage provides no further detail about the differences between the two. Instead, he offers up an explanation for this preference, prefaced by ‘because’, in which his preference for ‘own culture’ is grounded in a ‘need’ to follow his religion. This need in turn is presented as deriving from the fact that his culture is associated with ‘where I was born and brought up’ (line, 4). His explanation here appears to indicate that he experiences a ‘need’ or some kind of

obligation to follow his culture and that in this sense adopting his own culture is not, for him, a matter of choice. This obligation in some way stems from the fact that he was ‘born and brought’ up in his home country: he thus presents it as his duty to adopt that country’s culture rather than British culture. It is interesting to note that although he was not asked to compare his own culture with British culture, it is this specific evaluative comparison that he provides. Moreover, at line 4 he returns to his early claim that his religion is one of two important things that he follows in his own culture, in specifically evaluating ‘my own religion’ more highly than ‘British culture’. This has the effect of minimizing the difference between his own ‘culture’ and ‘religion’ in the comparison that he is setting out, and prepares the way for what he is going to claim next. Towards the end of his first response, he states as his reason for preferring to follow his own culture that British culture is ‘totally different than my culture’. Although at this stage, no description is offered of what such differences comprise, their broad extent is indicated by his use of ‘totally’. It is the breadth of these differences that sets the context for his final claim: ‘I don’t like to live like that’ (line, 7).

At this point in the interview, AB has expressed his preference for his own culture and religion and his comparative dislike of British culture. However he does not provide specific detail about what it is that he dislikes in British culture. But when prompted for this, he states ‘the way they born and brought up because they like to drink’. Here AB introduces two elements. The first is the way ‘they’ were ‘born and brought up’. Although ‘they’ picks out an unspecified group of people, in this context the term hearably refers to local British people. The second element is that ‘they like to drink’. Although in principal this expression could refer to any form of consuming liquids, his later reference to ‘pub culture’ indicates that here AB is specifically referring to drinking alcohol. AB introduces these two elements as being causally connected: it is because ‘they’ were born and raised in a particular ‘way’ that they have such preferences. So according to him, ‘they’ like to drink alcohol because they have been born into and brought up in a certain environment where drinking alcohol is not considered inappropriate. Having set out this claim about British people and how they live, he returns to his earlier evaluative comparison by stating that drinking alcohol is forbidden by his religion, and this is why he has a



relative preference for it. It is worth noting that in restating this comparative preference, here his religion is compared with a very specific characterisation of British culture as ‘pub culture’. This phrase allows AB to lay emphasis on the difference between the religion he has earlier expressed a need to follow, in which alcohol is forbidden and British culture which is here, identified with the consumption of alcohol. In some senses, AB is also here constructing an identity of being a faithful Muslim, who does not indulge in any practices that are forbidden by the teachings of his religion. At the same time, however, in presenting himself as someone who is faced by a ‘need’ to engage with his own culture rather than with British culture, he positions himself as not having any personal responsibility for criticizing British people insofar as his own likes and dislikes are determined for him by his religion.

In this extract, British culture is represented as in conflict with AB’s religion. In setting out this claim, AB describes himself and others in terms of the place where people were born and raised. This is an example of what has been termed as ‘place identity’, in which AB is constructing identities by describing people in terms of where they originate (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). It is the proposed ‘all or nothing’ quality of such place identification that allows AB to discursively construct his religious identity in relatively rigid and non-negotiable terms. To this extent, AB’s response stands in stark contrast to that provided by SAR.

## **2. Hyphenated Identity**

The two extracts presented above were examples of first generation Muslims’ constructions of their religion and culture. We have seen that in first generation Muslims, trends towards both flexibility and rigidity exist in relation to one’s religious and cultural identity. In the following extracts, we will examine discourses of religion and culture produced by second generation British Muslims. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, at some points in these interviews clear claims arise about one’s identity within religious and cultural discourse. The following two extracts are a good example of such identity construction where respondents have interwoven their religious, cultural and national identities. In particular, it is the construction of hyphenated identities that is at work in these extracts, where

participants manage to carry multiple identities parallel to each other and without any apparent conflict among these.

The following extract is taken from an interview with a second generation female. Just before this point in the interview, FM had been describing aspects of British culture that she has adopted while living in Britain. In this extract, we will see her construction of multiple identities and how they facilitate each other rather than conflicting with each other.

### *Extract 3*

- 1 I While living in Britain how would you define your religious identity as a  
2 British Muslim?
- 3 FM Umm yes I am an (sect) Muslim in Britain (0.8) and but as an (sect) Muslim I-  
4 I can be *Insha'Allah* on God willing I will be (sect) Muslim wherever I lived  
5 umm and the fact that (.) God so fitted for me to be born in this country umm  
6 that must be a good- it's a good thing (.) I am very fortunate because when I-  
7 because in this country I am allowed to practice my faith I- I don't have any  
8 restrictions upon me umm you know saying *aslamoalaikum* (.) greeting people  
9 you know with the um you know with a little prayer for them and (0.5) you  
10 know I can practice my faith as I like to (.) some people might think it strange  
11 (.) some people sometimes people can abuse you for it but umm they can't-  
12 there is not actually a law to say that what they are doing is right so the law is  
13 actually saying that you can practice your faith so I think that's why this is a:  
14 this is a:: wonderful country to live in.

In this extract, FM is responding to the question posed by the interviewer about her religious identity as a 'British Muslim'. However, in reply, FM produces a reformulation of this term: 'Muslim in Britain'. In so doing, she lays emphasis on her status as a Muslim who happens to reside in Britain, thereby lessening the implication carried by the question posed that being 'British' is a part of her identity. She lays further stress on her religious identity by establishing the specific Muslim sect to which she belongs. The point of this is seen in the following lines where she claims that being a member of this specific Muslim sect is an unchangeable aspect of her identity, and would persist no matter where she lived. In this way, she presents her religious identity as a more central aspect of herself than her national status. At

the same time, her claim positions her as someone who is particularly loyal to her sect in that she would retain this Muslim identity 'wherever I lived'. Furthermore, her use of the expression 'God willing' in line 4, further establishes her identity as a religious person, in presenting her fate as something that happens by God's will.

Up to this point, FM's response might be taken as suggesting that her actual country of residence is an unimportant matter. It is to this possible interpretation she turns in what she says next. First, she describes being born in Britain as a 'good thing' which leaves her in a fortunate state. Moreover, this positive situation is described as having divine origins, which helps to establish the veracity of what she is currently claiming. In particular, she describes God's actions as having 'fitted me to be born in this country' (line, 5-6). In the present context, 'this country' hearably refers to Britain, and so this claim helps to establish not only that she was born in Britain but that she is especially well suited to living in Britain, in that God has 'fitted' her to it. On the one hand, this claim further establishes her religious identity by presenting her as believing that it was God who made her fit to be born in Britain. Moreover, the specific description of God's actions also points towards the construction of place identity, in which FM is also building her identity based on her place of residence. Unlike the inference that might have been drawn from the early part of her response, here she describes herself as especially fitted to living in Britain which is, moreover, evaluated in positive terms.

So in the first two lines of her response she introduced her religious identity as a Muslim belonging to a specific sect, and subsequently she added to this by positively evaluating her status as a resident of Britain. In what follows, FM interweaves these two elements of religion and place in constructing an argument to support the positive evaluations she has produced. The explanation she offers, prefaced by 'because' in line 7, is that 'in this country I am allowed to practice my faith'. She indicates the extensiveness of this situation by describing herself as having 'no restrictions' and being able to 'practice my faith as I like to'. Moreover, she further supports her claim with an example of greeting people with 'a little prayer for them'. This further indicates the extensiveness of her freedoms in that they even apply to mundane and everyday activities. Moreover, there is an implication that at least on some such occasions those who receive a religious greeting do not

react negatively to this. The positive nature of such interactions is further emphasized in that FM describes what she is doing as offering a little prayer 'for them'. These examples in support of her positive view of her place identity indicate that she is justifying her positive discourse about being in Britain while relating it to her religion. So this could be seen as an effort to create a balance between her religious and place identities.

Although she has described the freedom she enjoys practising her religion in Britain as involving everyday interactions, she does go on to state that 'some people might think it strange': a claim that she reformulates in stronger terms by stating that 'sometimes people can abuse you for it'. However, the problematic nature of such interactions is minimized in that they are attributed only to 'some' people who are not further identified, and are described as illegal in Britain in comparison to her own activities. It is this description of the advantages of British life and its relatively limited disadvantages that leads to her conclusion that 'this is a wonderful country to live in': Britain is presented as a wonderful country to live in because it gives her the freedom to not only practise her religion but also gives her the security by law that nobody can persecute her based on her religious beliefs.

In this extract, we have seen that FM has referred to three parts of her identity: sectarian, Muslim and place-identity. This shows that hyphenated identities are not limited to two elements but might involve a range of a person's 'belongings'. First of all, she introduced herself as a Muslim and as one who belongs to a particular sect. She then established her relationship to Britain as someone who is 'fitted to live in Britain' and as someone who is therefore fortunate to be born in this country. However, even at the end of her response she does not describe herself as 'British' but instead describes Britain as 'a wonderful country to live in'. Moreover, living in Britain is used as something which facilitates her identity as a Muslim; just by being in Britain enables her to practise her religious identity without any restrictions. So this here shows that FM is constructing her place identity of someone fitted to live in Britain as facilitative of her Muslim identity which allowed her to create a balance between these identities. In the following extract, we will see that how this sort of identity can be constructed in more detail while referring to the welcoming nature of British society.

This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation female participant. Prior to this point in the interview, MS had been describing her culture and how her parents helped her understand her culture and religion which she had earlier described as being different from British culture.

***Extract 4***

1 I As you said also said earlier that British culture is different from Islamic  
2 culture so how you manage to adapt here?  
3 MS Umm >I think< because like I said before my parents gave me a very good  
4 grounding (0.8) in terms of my (.) values- my moral values that they gave me  
5 at home (0.8) so I was able to become my own person (0.5) I didn't have to be  
6 like my friends (0.5) ↑my friends↓ actually accepted me for the way that I  
7 was (1.0) because they had so much respect for the fact that I respected (0.5)  
8 my values that I have been given at home by my family (1.0) in terms of my  
9 (1.0) umm religious obligations (.) I use to wear the hijab when I was at  
10 school and the university (0.8) I use to (0.5) umm (1.5) pray (.) if I had to  
11 pray (0.5) I go and pray in school or university ↑and all those things↓ were  
12 accepted by my friends (0.5) and ↑I think↓ that is an aspect of British::  
13 so::ciety (.) which allows us to be Muslims here (0.5) even now that you are a  
14 British Muslim (0.5) I think it's the way that the British umm (2.0) the British  
15 culture is very adaptable to other people's circumstances (0.8) and in fact I  
16 find that they are (1.5) I think that the British people (0.5) are actually more  
17 willing and much more accommodating for your needs than even our own  
18 culture is (.) if you go to Pakistan and you need to do something in terms of  
19 observing a certain thing (.) regardless of whether you are a Muslim or  
20 Christian (0.8) they ↑don't have↓ the same umm understanding and the same  
21 (0.5) willingness to cooperate with you (0.8) as the British society does and  
22 that's an amazing quality that the Brits have (0.8) that they would ↑go out of  
23 their way ↓to allow you to live your life the way you want to live it (1.0) and I  
24 think that's very important (.) I think that's been a great I have had (1.0) I am  
25 very lucky (0.5) I have had very good experiences in my life where I haven't  
26 felt like (2.0) I have to accommodate myself in any other way (1.0) I can be  
27 myself (0.5) and I think I have been (.) able to do that throughout my life and  
28 it's been (0.5) I have been happy to live my life as the British Muslim (0.8) I  
29 am a British person (0.8) I have my Muslim values (.) I have Pakistani values

MS responded to the question posed by referring to a claim made earlier in the interview that her parents had given her a ‘good grounding’ of moral values. According to MS, this grounding has helped her ‘become an own person’. This is a definitive form of identity statement, in that she attributes her current personhood to herself. However, the categorical nature of this identity, other than the prior reference to ‘moral values’, remains unstated. Nevertheless, MS goes on to establish that this personhood is sufficient to distinguish herself from others and to have others recognize this distinction. First it provides her with a particular entitlement, in that she ‘didn’t have to be like my friends’. Second, it provides a reason for others to regard in terms of ‘the way that I was’, in that her friends respected her for respecting her own values. At the same time, this description is used to portray her friends in a positive light. Since the description that follows presents those friends as accepting her ‘religious obligations’, the inference here is that the friends she refers to are people who might possibly have not accepted such obligations, and are therefore hearably non-Muslim friends. In lines 9 and 10, MS gives examples of the religious obligations that she used to follow and these include wearing the hijab, saying prayers and ‘all those things’. This use of ‘all those things’ points towards the extensive nature of the list that she might have produced involving her religious obligations out of which she just selected two examples. This highlights the level of acceptance seen in her friends, and it is this acceptance by others which motivates her upshot that ‘that is an aspect of British:: so::ciety (.) which allows us to be Muslims here’.

In line 13, she reformulates her claim about society allowing ‘us to be Muslims here’ by expanding upon her earlier identity claim of becoming ‘an own person’. Instead, she now explicitly aligns herself to the hyphenated identity ‘British Muslim’. Having established this identity, she moves on to attribute to ‘British culture’ and ‘British people’ the same levels of acceptance she had previously described in her friends. They are presented as ‘adaptable’ and accommodating. This is similar to FM’s claim in the preceding extract that being in Britain facilitates her identity as a Muslim. Here MS is similarly claiming that British society is so

adaptable that it is ‘accommodating for your needs’. This acceptance by British society is further supported by introducing a comparison of British society with Pakistani society in line 18. MS claims that British society is even much more accommodating than her Pakistani culture. The extent of the relative supportiveness of British culture is underlined by her claim that such accommodation is greater than that found in ‘even our own culture’. This is further highlighted by her use of expression of ‘out of the way’, which indicates the intensity of the efforts made by British people to accommodate people from different religious backgrounds. In line 23, she has further highlighted the significance of this by claiming ‘I think that’s very important’. In line 24, similarly to FM, MS also produces a positive evaluation: ‘I am very lucky’. It is this which leads to her reaffirmation of her identity status at line 27-28: ‘I have been happy to live my life as a British Muslim’.

At the end of the extract, MS is summarizing her response by constructing her identity in hyphenated terms of British-Muslim-Pakistani. She is a British Muslim, but she has Pakistani values despite which she claims ‘I am own person’. This is again an example of three identities working in parallel to each other. MS has constructed her identity as a British person with Muslim and Pakistani values and at the same time she is claiming to have an individual identity. This extract is a clear example of second generation Muslims’ construction of multiple identities. Like FM, MS has also constructed being a British citizen as something facilitative of her Muslim identity. FM attributed this to the religious freedom in Britain and MS attributed it to the levels of acceptance in British society. In both extracts, we can see that no mention has been made to any sort of identity conflict between these multiple identities. On the other hand, these hyphenated identities seem to facilitate each other as described by the participants.

### **3. Religious and Cultural Benefits vs. Challenges**

In the above extracts, we have seen some mention of religious freedom in Britain, which indicated that freedom to follow one’s religion is an important aspect of a Muslim’s life in Britain. The aspect of religious freedom has been raised by many participants as a positive aspect of their life in Britain. In order to gain a more detailed understanding of this claim of religious freedom in Britain, we can see the

extensive construction of this claim in comparison to one's home country in the following extract. MA is a first generation male who has been living in Britain for the last 33 years. In this extract, he is defining religious freedom as an important component of his religious identity of being a Muslim in Britain and by comparing it to his home country.

***Extract 5***

1 I As you are talking about religion so how you would define your religious  
2 identity as a Muslim in Britain?  
3 MAD Here (1.0) we have freedom of religion it has more freedom of religion as  
4 compare to the country from which we have come originally (1.0) therefore::  
5 (4.0) here identity if you- (1.0) if you call it identity like wearing clothes- like  
6 *shalwar kameez*, meaning that having beard or wearing cap or any such thing  
7 (.) so:: for this there is no restriction ↑but ↓in our country some such things are  
8 restricted like if you go to a mosque wearing cap some mosque people don't  
9 like it (.) and if you go without in another mosque they lay restrictions that you  
10 can't offer prayers with bare head, or prostrate like this or bow like that (0.5)  
11 so:: here we have more freedom- I personally feel we have more religious  
12 freedom here (1.0) as compare to our country which we originally call our  
13 country (.) so I like more here than there because freedom is more.

While responding to the question about his religious identity as a Muslim in Britain, the very first thing MAD introduced is religious freedom (line 3). This is followed by the insertion of a comparison with his country of origin. One interesting thing here is that no comparison was raised by the question but MAD considered it important enough to mention while explaining his religious identity in Britain. This evaluation has been offered perhaps to give the idea of the degree of freedom he has in Britain. This is because generally one would think that he can follow his religion more openly in his own country where everybody is following the same religion instead of a country where his religion is a minority. Thus he is working up the argument that his religious freedom is greater in Britain as compared to his home country. Now the question is why is this so? The answer lies in the way that MAD has taken the concept of religious freedom further than was the case in previous interviews by explicitly making elements of such freedom a component of his



religious identity in Britain: 'if you call it identity like wearing clothes like *shalwar kameez*, or having beard or wearing cap or any such thing'. This response takes the form of a listing of examples in which he lists the things which are unrestricted in Britain but are restricted in his own country. These are the things mostly related to the conflicts in performing religious practices. He is constructing a sense of religious freedom in Britain which is reflected through his power of making choices, which he does not possess in his home country. And it is in terms of this greater freedom that he expresses his preference for Britain over his home country at line 11.

It is noteworthy that MAD reformulates 'in our country' (lines 6-7) as of his belonging to his country by saying 'our country (.) which we originally call our country' (line 12-13). Here MAD is reformulating his attachment to his country by making a change from 'our country' to 'which we originally call our country'. So just at the point that he is expressing a preference for Britain over his home country, he reformulates the level of attachment that he feels towards that country. Moreover, through this he is also conveying the image of Britain as not imposing any challenges towards integration. Taken together, this also performs the function of rationalizing MAD's stay in Britain: it is rational that he would wish to live in, and align himself with, a country that he prefers because of the freedoms that are available there.

In this extract, there is a construction of a comparison between Britain and the respondent's country of origin. MAD presents Britain in a more positive light as compared to his home country, which performs the function of giving justification for his life in Britain. He has described no pressures for integration arising in British society and instead it is presented as giving him the power to make choices and to pursue religious freedom. These results are similar to those reported by Yamaguchi (2005). In his study, Japanese people also evaluated their identities as migrants to the United States favourably whereas they described their identities in Japan in negative terms as being restricted in a variety of ways.

MAD has given a positive account of the freedom he enjoys in Britain as compared to his home country but this is not always the case with these participants. Some participants also discussed the religious and cultural challenges they have to face while living in Britain. Although they mentioned religious freedom as a positive aspect of their British life they also describe other aspects of this life which are

challenging. The following extract is an example of such construction of challenges involved while living in Britain. This extract is taken from the interview of a first generation female, who has been living in Britain for the last 10 years. In this extract, RK is discussing the challenges to her religious and cultural identity while living in Britain.

***Extract 6***

- 1 I How religious do you consider yourself here as compare to your own country  
2 of origin?
- 3 RK Yes:: I believe that I have begun to feel more (1.0) its reason is not only that  
4 culture has been changed and >maybe< I have become more conscious because  
5 outside culture is something else and my own culture is something else and this  
6 that how this will affect my children (1.0) some things are like immodesty and  
7 then:: (. ) or like there is no custom of getting married here I am afraid of these  
8 things no matter there are good laws here, there is security, humanity is being  
9 valued, I also have religious freedom which is biggest thing but:: (. ) I have  
10 become more conscious because one firstly I am maybe a little older in age (. )  
11 my own religious understanding conscious is bigger, the way of living life  
12 somewhat I have learnt as far as I believe when I was in Pakistan my age was  
13 something else (. ) now my age is because now I am more mature (. ) I am also  
14 learning something about life also because of this my conscious level has  
15 increased (. ) plus:: yes the environment outside has also made me more  
16 conscious that whatever the way I will be my children will be the same (1.0)  
17 because of that you can say.

RK begins her response with the claim that she has become more religious while living in Britain. She then produces an explanation for this, prefaced by ‘its only reason’. She offers up one explanation, set out in terms of a change in culture between ‘outside culture’ and ‘my own culture’, each of which is described as ‘something else’. However, she indicates the partiality of this explanation by saying of this reason that it ‘is not only that’ (line 3). Several lines later she produces the rest of the explanation: this difference between home and outside culture is presented here as having an effect on her children, specifically in relation to immodesty and whether her children will marry. So her increase in religious feeling stems not just

from her perceptions of cultural differences between Britain and her home country, but from the fact that these differences might have a negative impact on her children – a possibility whose importance she stresses in stating that ‘I am afraid of these things’. Here, then, RK picks out specific cultural differences between her own country and Britain that also have clear links to religion, in that matters of modesty and immodesty are addressed in religious teachings, and marriage is a religious ceremony. In this way, she is able to indicate why, in her case, perceptions of cultural differences might lead to a greater interest in religion.

In line 8 and 9, RK lists positive things about life in Britain, and similarly to the participants in the previous two extracts, she describes religious freedom as the ‘biggest thing’. However, she follows this list with ‘but’ at line 9, which indicates that what she will say next stands in contrast to what she has just said. In what does follow next she describes the factors that have resulted in her increased awareness of religion. She attributes her growing understanding of her religion to her age, maturity and life experience. Here, she is positioning herself as a more developed person who has been ‘learning something about life’ and in consequence has a better understanding of her religion based on those life experiences. It is this growing maturity and wealth of life experience that adds to the impact on her of ‘the environment outside’ and produces in her an understanding of the importance of religion. Although she does note advantages to life in Britain, especially religious freedom, she goes on to describe herself as someone whose own understanding of religion is rooted in maturity and experience and therefore as someone who is suitably qualified to guide her own children through potential dangers associated with Britain’s freedoms such as engaging in immodesty or failing to marry. It is this responsibility she turns to at the end of the extract, in stating that ‘whatever the way I will be my children will be the same’. Here she explicitly takes on responsibility for guiding her children and formulates her duty to act as their role model. Moreover, she concludes by claiming that ‘you can say’ that this responsibility is something that arises because of her growing understanding of cultural and religious matters in Britain.

In this extract, we have seen how RK has reported the existence of challenges to her religious and cultural identity in Britain. In the previous extract, MA

constructed Britain as a secure place, where there is more religious freedom to practice one's religion as compared to his own country. However, in this extract, RK refers to the same features of life in Britain such as security and religious freedom but also describes challenges rising from such freedom that are threatening her and her children's religious identity. So according to our participants religious freedom does exist in Britain, and it is an important thing in their lives, but they also construct some aspects of British culture as a threat to one's religious and cultural identity and to their children's upbringing.

#### **4. Struggle between Religion and Culture**

In the above extracts, we can note that sometimes the participants have made use of the terms 'culture' and 'religion' interchangeably without any clear demarcations between them. Religion and culture were also presented as intermingled with undefined boundaries in real life. In the following section we can see this in more detail. Participants are unable to define any clear boundaries between culture and religion and this is seen to create a sort of tension between these two factors.

In this section, we will observe how first generation British Muslims construct their identity using inter-group differences between culture and religion. They make use of extreme category distinctions, which enable them to achieve the function of avoiding the responsibility of belonging to one culture and also present their immigrant image favourably. There are two extracts in this category, one focuses on mixed culture and the other on religious culture. However, in both cases an interesting negotiation occurs between culture and religion, where in most cases religion is given dominance over culture. Moreover, culture is said to be guided by the boundaries defined by one's religion.

The following extract is taken from an interview with a first generation male. In this extract, we can see the avoidance of accountability for one's culture as well as the struggle between culture and religion.

##### ***Extract 7***

- 1 I Whether you follow this culture more or your own country's culture?
- 2 MAD Our culture is (.) mix at present (1.0) because (1.0) the kids who have born

3 here so along with them whatever they do we also have to do so it gets mix  
4 (1.0) and:: I don't believe Pakistani culture is a culture (1.0) I don't consider  
5 it as any culture (.) because we are stuck between culture and religion because  
6 we don't know >what actually culture is and what is our religion< (1.0)  
7 therefore (1.0) mostly we try to follow the things which are in our religion  
8 (1.5) if they are right according to this country we follow them (0.5) if they  
9 are not according to this country or if we look from our religious perspective  
10 (.) I mean we try to see it as forbidden or allowed in Islam (.) I mean if it is  
11 allowed we follow it but if it is forbidden then we don't follow it.

12 I Any other examples you can give of this mix culture?

13 MAD Yes for example if where there are ladies (.) I mean (2.0) aa:: many times in  
14 religion if we are in Pakistan it is not our culture to shake hand with ladies  
15 (0.5) shake hand but we have to do this a lot here >not because< we are happy  
16 by heart to do this but we have to do this because of culture many times (0.8)  
17 aa:: moreover meant that (2.0) there other things as well aa:: (2.0) in daily life  
18 like hmmm:: (8.0) many such things we have to do which are not in culture  
19 but are in this culture (1.0) but we do it because they are not much conflicting  
20 with our religion.

MAD begins by claiming 'our culture is (.) mix at present'. This indicates that the culture of which he will talk is something that belongs not only to him but to others as well. Since he explains the mixed status of this culture by referring to the fact that his children were born in Britain, this indicates that he takes this culture to belong to him and to the rest of his family. Here, MAD attributes the agency associated with such mixing to his children as he says 'whatever they do we also have to do so it gets mix'. He is apparently attributing British culture to his children more than himself, in that 'mix' only arises as a consequence of doing what his children do. In setting out this claim, he avoids accountability and responsibility for maintaining his home country's culture, in that he only has allowed his own culture to 'mix' with British culture because of his children's actions. He provides further justification for the mixed status of his culture at lines 3 to 5. Here he minimizes the existence of his culture in its own right: 'I don't think Pakistani culture is a culture'. He then states the consequence of this, which is that he and his family are 'stuck' between culture and religion. He warrants this claim by suggesting that the

boundaries between these two elements are, for him and his family at least, unclear in that ‘we don’t know what actually culture is and what is our religion’. This again addresses issues of accountability – by claiming that his home country has no culture and that in consequence his family are confused by the distinction between culture and religion, he lessens the potential for being held responsible for maintaining that culture.

He introduces the consequences of this at line 7: ‘therefore mostly we try to follow the things which are in our religion’. Here MAD presents religion as a better guide to action than culture, although this claim is modified both in that this is something they only do ‘mostly’ and in that this is something they ‘try’ to do. The ‘things’ that they follow are not at this stage further described. However whatever their nature, the sorts of things they follow are those that are ‘allowed in Islam’. On first sight, this appears to be a straightforward claim that their activities are guided by religious teachings. However, the potential tension that arises out of living in a ‘mix’ culture is also set out. At lines 7 and 8, MAD sets out the conditional claim that they follow things ‘if they are right according to this country’. However, although he goes on to formulate a similar claim, ‘if they are not according to this country’, he does not complete this statement but instead offers up a reformulation: ‘or if we look from our religious perspective’. Thus he suggests that religion offers a guide for behaviour that is absent from his own culture, given its tenuous existential state, and from his culture more generally, given its mixed state. However he leaves unresolved the question of how he might behave if he discovers that what is ‘allowed in Islam’ is something that is ‘not according to this country’.

When asked for examples of the sorts of tension that arise in a ‘mix’ culture, MAD first describes the act of shaking hands with women. He indicates that this is something that he is not ‘happy in his heart’ to do, because it is not a part of his Pakistani culture. The extent of his reluctance is emphasized at lines 15 and 16 where he claims that this is something ‘we have to do’. Moreover this modification to his cultural identity is something he has to do as a result of pressures that arise ‘because of culture’. Since the action required is not expected in Pakistani culture, this is hearable as a reference to pressures that arise because he is currently living inside

British culture. Towards the end of his response, he claims that such difficulties are extensive, in that they involve ‘many such things’.

However, although he describes himself as engaging in ‘many such things’ that are inconsistent with Pakistani culture, at the same time he appears to minimize his own responsibility for this. First he appears here to be avoiding any responsibility for not conforming to his home country’s culture by moving responsibility for his actions onto cultural pressures arising in the host country. Moreover, in the last line of his response, he claims that ‘we do it because they are not much conflicting with our religion’. This sets out the actions that he admits to performing as the sort of thing that only conflict with his religious teachings to a limited extent. In this way, he sets out those activities that have a problematic religious status as of somewhat less significance than might otherwise be thought.

Here then, MAD describes himself and others as following religious guidelines rather than merely conforming to British cultural expectations. However, he sets this out in a careful manner first by admitting that he lives in a ‘mix’ culture and then by suggesting that on occasions cultural pressures may outweigh religious guidelines. However, these occasions are described in a way that underplays their real religious significance. Moreover in setting out these claims, MAD consistently avoids direct responsibility for following British culture or for failing to follow his home country’s culture. In the next extract, we will see another example of the way culture and religion are merged together in the participants’ accounts. Extract 8 is taken from an interview with a first generation female, living in Britain for the last 8 years. Here NM is explaining how her culture is defined by her religion.

### *Extract 8*

- 1 I Which culture do you follow most?  
2 NM Culture we aa::: at home and otherwise we follow is (.) a:: is our religious culture  
3 not Asian culture or English as it is (1.0) so culture we make on the basis of our  
4 religion (1.0) because in Pakistan’s culture even >there are many things< which  
5 are not in our religion so we our religious culture (.) Islam (4.0) we follow Islam  
6 (.) this country's culture also- to the extent it is compatible to Islam we follow it  
7 up to that limit (.) right (.) but where it crosses the limits of Islam so then neither  
8 we follow it and nor make our children practice it.

NM begins her response by identifying culture with 'our religious culture'. The extensiveness of its relevance is highlighted by NM's claim that this culture is both followed 'at home' and 'otherwise', which refers to all the other possible situations of following culture other than in the home. NM goes on to set out a category distinction between national cultures and religious culture, making clear that 'religious culture' is not the same as either Asian or English culture. In line 4, she provides further specification of her rejection of 'Asian' culture by specifically mentioning Pakistani culture and offering up a causal account of her rejection: it is because there are many 'things' in Pakistani culture 'which are not in our religion' so in consequence 'we follow Islam'. So it is not only that Asian or English culture is incompatible with her religion, even the culture of her country of origin is incompatible with her religion. Line 6, then turns to the consequences of rejecting national cultures in favour of her religious culture. Here she claims that some compatibility exists between Islam and 'this country's culture'. However, this is limited in extent in that British culture can only be followed 'up to that limit'. So here we can see that religion is again used as a parameter to define the boundaries of culture. NM is claiming that she follows British culture up to the limits of her religion but only if it is not the case that this 'crosses the limits of Islam'. Her inclusion of the reference to her children indicates that such practices are transferred from one generation to another. NM follows British culture only within the limits of her religion, and she passes on the same practice to her children.

In this extract, NM has described her way of life as one in which religion predominates over culture. This is similar to what was seen in extract 7 where MAD described himself as sometimes following his religion and sometimes, albeit reluctantly at times, following British culture, even though he attached the greater importance to his religious observances. This construction of the importance of religion over culture was prevalent in a number of responses of other participants as well. In the following section, we will see how these religious boundaries are further applied while interacting and mixing with the local community.



## Integration of British Muslims

This section addresses the efforts made by British Muslims towards integration into British society, and includes two major themes: 1) Interaction with the local community, and 2) Efforts towards integration by first and second generation British Muslims.

### 1. Interacting with Local Community

Interaction with the host society plays a crucial role in one's adjustment in that society. The process of adjustment becomes smooth if one is willing to mix and interact with the local community. In this section, the focus is on the claims made by British Muslims about their level of interaction with the local community. Such claims about interacting and mixing with the local community are presented as efforts toward integration into British society. However, in the first two extracts, we will see how British Muslims construct the parameters of interacting with local society. Clear group distinctions between 'us' and 'them' can be seen here; the principle of extensive interaction is supported, but at the same time religious boundaries are specified which constrain one in such interactions. The following extract is taken from an interview with a female belonging to the first generation of British Muslims. In this extract, NB is discussing the nature of her interaction with local community and defining the boundaries set by her religion while interacting with the local community. Prior to this turn, NB had been describing tensions between her religious upbringing and life lived in the West.

#### *Extract 9*

- 1 I What do you think about mixing with the local community?  
2 NF It is like what I said earlier that (1.0) up to the limits we have (.) our religion  
3 (0.5) our culture allow us we mix with them up to that and we:: (4.0) I mean  
4 we are like (sect name) Muslim community so we get involved in  
5 everything, not very strict in this now for example their poppy appeals, their  
6 different such things, their charities, their everything in which we get  
7 involve aa:: and invite them.

In this extract, NF was asked about mixing with local people and here NF's response makes it clear that NF accepts the distinction between 'local' people and those of the group with which she aligns herself through the use of 'we'. She also provides a positive response to the question of whether she should engage in mixing with local people. Moreover, an initial reading of NF's response might seem to indicate that such mixing is extensive in nature. At lines 4 to 6, she provides an account of what such mixing might actually involve that indicates the wide scope of these activities. Thus at line 4 she indicates 'we get involved in everything', at line 5 she specifies the diversity of such activities through 'their different such things' and at line 6 she repeats the all-inclusive nature of such mixing in terms of 'their everything in which we get involve aa:: and invite them'. And this description of activities is itself produced in a list-like format that further emphasizes the extensive and potentially extendable nature of such activities.

However, NF here introduces the notion of mixing and its consequences in a manner that qualifies this apparently enthusiastic response. Here, NF describes mixing as an essentially limited phenomenon. First the issue of mixing with locals is described as 'similar' to the topic she had pursued in her previous turn – that of possible tensions between religious upbringing and Western culture. Second, she emphasizes the restricted nature of her mixing through her use of the phrase 'up to the limits', thus stressing the partial nature of her acceptance of the mixing that is being proposed. Although these limits remain themselves unspecified, their importance is rhetorically emphasized in that she describes these limits as 'the limit of our culture or our religion'. Thus NF is careful to indicate at the outset that such mixing is to be understood as being limited in scope. Indeed, such limitations are presented as a matter of necessity, rather than individual choice, in that it is her religion that will 'allow' this limited form of mixing with locals. Thus although NF appears to endorse a relatively widespread form of mixing with local people, this is to be understood against a background set of limitations, imposed by her religion, which are treated as obvious enough to require no further description.

In this extract, we have seen ways in which participants dealt with the potential tensions of identifying themselves in terms of their religious background and yet interacting as 'good citizens' by mixing with other people. NF has referred to

her religion in making out a sense of self, and also apparently endorsed mixing with non-Muslims in the local community. However, in this extract, NF described mixing as, itself, a process that is inherently limited in form. Moreover, as the next extract shows, these are not forms of talk that are mutually exclusive. MG in extract 10 constructs this mixing with local people as a matter of highlighting differences as well as suggesting that such mixing should be guarded by religious limits.

Extract 10 is taken from an interview with a first generation male, who came to Britain only 3 years ago. In this extract, MG is also constructing the religious limits in which he could interact with local community but at the same time he describes this interaction as representing the means of making them understand his message.

***Extract 10***

- 1 I What do you think about mixing with local community?
- 2 MG Yes I aa:: (.) it's my personal belief as well as opinion that all the a:: people  
3 who come here and stay they should meet and get mixed with local people and  
4 do it a lot (0.8) >because< without mixing with them these events happen that  
5 we could not understand each other, we don't get each other's point of view as  
6 a result of which we develop misunderstandings that someone is bad and  
7 someone is not bad (0.8) if we do conversation with someone or if we discuss  
8 some topic so I think we can convey our message very easily to them and can  
9 convince them (0.8) if we will stay away from them a:: then by staying away  
10 the hatred and enmity will not decrease and keep increasing so therefore my  
11 thinking is I personally think that we should mix with them (1.0) but ↑not up to  
12 that limit ↓that- aa:: we should mix with them ↑up to the limits ↓set by our  
13 religion.

As with the last extract, MG's immediate response is one in which the distinction between locals and the group with which he aligns himself, 'the people who come here', is one that does not require challenge or amendment and forms a category distinction in terms of 'we' and 'them' which frames the rest of his response. Once again, he begins his response by positively evaluating the notion of mixing between this group and 'local people'. And as was the case with the NB, the

extent of such mixing behaviour is emphasized, in that MG suggests that those with whom he aligns himself should 'do it a lot'.

However, here MG explains the value of such mixing in terms of the differences that exist between his own group and local people. Mixing allows the two groups to 'understand each other'. If, without mixing, the two groups do not understand each other this implies that each group has features that are not only different from those of the other group but that are so different they cannot even be understood unless action is taken to enhance inter-group knowledge. The extent and importance of these differences is further emphasized at lines 5 to 10 in terms of the social consequences that they might engender if ignored. Failure to appreciate 'each other's point of view' is linked with the problematic social outcome that people will misunderstand one another and that this in turn will lead to 'hatred and enmity'. Thus MG's account of mixing is one that emphasizes differences between his own group and local people, both in terms of relative lack of knowledge of the other group and in terms of the potential for inter-group hostility that such a lack might produce. It is also worthy of note that, MG constructs this process of exploring differences in terms of the control which he can exert. Thus at lines 8 to 9 he describes mixing as a process in which his group can 'convey our message' in such a way that local people will be convinced by what is said by MG and his fellow group members during the mixing process. This phrase may also point towards a possible way of preaching about one's religion as this use of 'message' could be for a message about one's religion. Here interaction may also be presented as a way of preaching one's religion to other people.

As was the case with NF in Extract 9, however, this process of difference-emphasizing mixing is one that, although apparently broad in scope in that there should be 'a lot' of it, is once again presented as being constrained, in that such mixing should only arise 'not up to that limit'. Once again, the nature of such a limit remains unspecified, however like NF, MG indicates that it is associated with his religion and, moreover, is a normative rather than optional affair, in that such limits are 'set by our religion'. Thus what we see here, then, is that MG draws upon forms of talk that appear in the descriptions produced by NF. On the one hand, he provides a causal explanation for such mixing behaviour that lays emphasis on inter-group

differences that require to be understood through such mixing. On the other hand, like NF he indicates that mixing with locals should be a wide-ranging affair, and yet one that is circumscribed by religious limits.

## 2. Efforts towards Integration

This section examines how participants describe the difficulties in adjusting to British life and their efforts to integrate into British society by dealing with those problems effectively. Such adjustment difficulties were mostly reported by the female participants of both generations, which indicated that perhaps females have more adjustment problems as a result of immigration as compared to males. The first extract is taken from an interview with a first generation female living in Britain for the last 7 years.

### *Extract 11*

- 1 I While living here, how you adjust in this society?
- 2 MUB Yes I think so (1.0) mean mostly our dress (1.0) which is our culture (.) our  
3 dress which we have been wearing since childhood because we are- I am here  
4 from last seven years if somebody here (1.0) if you have passed about twenty-  
5 twenty five years here or like if you are born here ↑like my children ↓who are  
6 born here, for them these clothes are not very difficult (.) anyways I felt this a  
7 lot, in the beginning I mostly used *shalwar kameez* but it seems very odd (0.5)  
8 when you go out and especially and >when there is winter you can't wear it at  
9 all< because you feel so cold in *shalwar* and secondly it also does not seem  
10 good where everybody is wearing jeans, wearing trousers, there you do not  
11 look nice while wearing *shalwar kameez* so (2.0) that adjustment was quite::  
12 wearing pant was quite hard for me (0.5) but then slowly I got use to of it (1.0)  
13 so now when I go out in children's school, in any school's function or any  
14 school's meeting (0.5) so then I only use pant.

MUB begins her response by affirming her agreement that British religion and culture differ from her own. However, in turning to the question of adjustment, she picks out one specific element of culture, dress, and expands upon that theme. She begins her response by identifying 'our culture' with 'our dress' and indicates the longstanding nature of such identification by specifying that 'our dress' has been

worn since childhood. However, she then introduces a quite different chronology in which she first indicates her own period of residence and then introduces a comparative case of some other person whose residence in Britain might be much longer. She then further develops this by describing someone else who might have been born in Britain. At this point then, she has introduced two alternate chronologies: in the first, 'our dress' is worn 'since childhood', and this might indicate that this situation persists for her to the present day. However, she then introduces a second chronology in which what is presented is not adherence to 'our culture' but, rather, the period of one's lifetime spent as a resident in Britain. It is chronology in this second sense that she then turns to in referring to 'my children ↓who are born here'. Having established the importance of time and place in relation to residency in Britain, she follows this description of her children by claiming that for them 'these clothes are not very difficult' because of the circumstances of their birth in Britain. In this way, MUB introduces various categories of people who differ in respect of the period of their lives they have spent living in Britain. For some category members, wearing 'these clothes' is presented as unproblematic – and here 'these clothes' can be taken to wear western clothes, in that they are described as raising potential difficulties for Muslims. Having already compared her own situation with those other category members in that 'I am here from last seven years'; she then goes on to develop this contrast. She describes her own position as one in which 'in the beginning' she wore traditional clothing identified as 'shalwar kameez', which is traditional dress worn throughout South and Central Asia comprising pyjama-like loose trousers and a long loose tunic. However, in what follows she problematizes this clothing practice in a number of ways by producing a list-like statement of difficulties. First, she claims that 'it seems very odd'. Second she describes such clothes as insufficient during wintertime. Finally, she suggests it 'does not look good' and 'you do not look nice' if someone dresses this way when others are dressed in more Western styles. Her description of the nature and number of these difficulties is then followed by her claim that 'that adjustment was quite:: wearing pant was quite hard for me (0.5) but then slowly I got use to of it'. Here, then, she describes a process in which she, at least on some occasions, stopped wearing her traditional dress and instead wore Western clothes which she had earlier referred to

as 'jeans' and trousers' and here refers to as 'pant'. Thus, although she describes this process as 'quite hard', she has nevertheless provided an explanation as to why it was necessary for her to pursue it, given the difficulties she has described in respect of 'shalwar kameez'. It is this set of claims that lead up to her conclusion that at least when school functions arise, 'so then I use pant'.

It seems clear from this extract that MUB seeks to describe herself as having changed her dressing practices only with difficulty. One reason for this lies in her earlier identification of 'our dress' with 'our culture'. In offering up this description, MUB is not only positioning herself as moving away from traditional clothing but, at the same time, as moving away from her culture. On the one hand, this functions to undermine potential criticisms from within her community that she is abandoning her culture, in that she has presented this as something she herself finds difficult. Conversely, that she has accomplished this difficult task presents her as an active seeker of integration into British society, who is willing to overcome challenges in order to effect such integration. This latter notion draws support from the ways in which MUB presents her reasons for adopting Western dress. She has repeatedly mentioned that wearing her cultural dress 'seems very odd', 'does not seem good', and 'do not look nice'. MUB is here explicitly referring to how her dress will look to others, and since she specifies that they may have relatively negative views, they are hearably non-Muslim others. So her description of herself as orienting to how those others' view her own dress choices indicates that she is actively seeking to gain their acceptance. This further underpins her claim to be involved in efforts to change her culture in order to better integrate into Britain.

In this extract, we have seen the construction of problems in adjustment by a first generation female. She produces rationalizations that justify her adaptation to new ways of dressing while at the same time specifying how difficult it is for her to adapt. MUB also presents her identity as one of being an active seeker of integration by making required changes in her dress in order to be perceived as 'nice' and 'good' within British society. In this sense, she gives an account in which she can be seen to make efforts to gain acceptance from British society by adapting to British culture.

MUB belongs to the first generation of Muslim immigrants in Britain. This raises the question of whether similar sorts of problem discourse will arise while

discussing integration in the talk of second generation Muslims. In order to answer this, let us now examine an extract taken from an interview with a second generation Muslim female.

*Extract 12*

- 1 I While growing up in Britain, have you had any difficulties in adjustment or it  
2 was a smooth process?
- 3 FM When as I was growing up there were things- many things that I found very  
4 difficult indeed you know? I often found you know struggle within or it  
5 seemed to me that other people seem to understand these things and follow  
6 these things very easily and I (.) I couldn't do it you know I don't know it  
7 doesn't feel right to me or I don't want to do this or I don't want- whatever you  
8 know ↑various different things ↓umm and umm at sometimes I thought may be  
9 the way to explain this is the fact that there is there is a difference between my  
10 home life- you know the life that I have in my ho- that is in my home and the  
11 life that is in my school.

FM begins her response with the claim that 'there were things many things' which caused her difficulty. She emphasizes the severity of this situation both by indicating their numerous characters and by describing herself as finding such things 'very difficult' and as 'often' being engaged in 'struggle' in relation to these numerous difficulties. Although she does not offer any specification of what these many things are, she does provide some description in that they are described as things that 'other people seem to understand' and as things that other people accomplish easily. She then indicates the nature of her difficulties by presenting a list of her problems: 'I couldn't do it', 'I don't know it', 'it doesn't feel right'. 'I don't want to do this' which ends in 'whatever you know there are various different things'. So by using a listing device, by completing this list with the generalizing claim that it involves 'whatever', and by repeating the extent of its variety, FM lays emphasis on the thoroughgoing difference that exists between herself and those others who find the 'many things' easy to accomplish although once again she does not specify what it is that these difficulties comprise. Moreover, this is further highlighted by the range of cognitive and emotional states that she describes, involving her knowledge, feelings and desires. In one respect, this is similar to MA's



claims in the preceding extract, where she too introduced a comparative category of people who do not face difficulty in wearing British clothes because of their length of stay in Britain.

She then goes on to describe herself as at some point having considered a possible explanation for her problematic position: her difficulties stem from differences between her home life and her school life. Although previously she described her difficulties in terms of her own cognitive, emotional and motivational states, here she describes herself as considering an explanation for her difficulties in which their cause lies elsewhere. By indicating that the cause of her difficulties lies in her home life, her school life, and their differences, she is able to position herself as not personally responsible for those difficulties. At a later point in the same interview, FM expands on the sorts of tensions that she has tentatively set out by making direct reference to her status as a member of an 'immigrant race'.

### ***Extract 13***

1 FM Sometimes you know you >as a person< you don't know where you <where  
2 you must belong what you must do> and it's very difficult (1.0) you know  
3 umm and especially for I think for somebody who is who is especially maybe  
4 who has an immigrant race you know my would be second generation  
5 immigration um (0.5) you know the you know you I think teenage- childhood  
6 and teenage life is very difficult for everybody it doesn't matter who whoever  
7 they are (.) there is always problems for everybody (.) sometimes the problems  
8 for somebody who is who comes from this kind of a lifestyle (.) it can be a  
9 little bit more complex because sometimes you feel umm need to to be a little  
10 bit dual in your nature which is which is may be wrong it's frowned upon but  
11 sometimes you can think >ok this is the way I talk to my friends< you know  
12 but >this is the way< that I talk to my parents and it's completely different it's  
13 completely different and then you might also have some friends of you know  
14 from your school they might be also friends you know from your from your  
15 masji- your mosque or something like that and (0.5) and you might speak to  
16 them differently because it will be >oh God if I tell them something like this<  
17 and if my mum finds out or you know some auntie finds out something it  
18 seems 'oh my God you are going to be in really really badly in trouble' so you  
19 you try to- you compart- there is a compartmentalization of your life you know

In this continuation of her response, FM begins by restating the sorts of difficulty in understanding she had referred to in the previous extract. Here, however, her lack of understanding is expressed more definitively in that ‘you don’t know where you <where you must belong what you must do>’. Here, then, her earlier difficulties are re-expressed in terms of a lack of knowledge about where she belongs and about what is required of her in her current situation. She then moves on to associate this difficult lack of understanding to one factor: being someone who has ‘an immigrant race’. This claim is given particular emphasis through her repeated use of the term ‘especially’. This claim about ‘immigrant race’ is noteworthy, since immigrant status is normally a feature of individuals. Here, however, she aligns her racial status with her immigrant status and appears here to present herself as having a racial standing that is, at one and the same time, an immigrant standing. This attempt to align immigrant status with race, irrespective of matters of birthplace, attends to what would otherwise be a possible rejoinder to her attempt to claim an immigrant status for herself in that, being a second generation Muslim, she would not normally qualify as an immigrant. Indeed, her suggestion here is amplified in what she says next, where she refers to ‘my would be second generation immigration’. Here, then, she argues that the depths of her difficulties stem from having an ‘immigrant race’ standing in society, irrespective of her actual nationality.

She then moves on to provide further explanation for the intensity of the problems she herself faced. She introduces a claim that ‘teenage life is difficult’ and indicates the widespread nature of this feature of teenage life by describing it as ‘difficult for everybody’, as applying to all people ‘whoever they are’ and thereby constituting ‘problems for everybody’. By setting out the problems of teenage life in this way, she is then able to describe her own problems as especially difficult. Her claims represent an acknowledgement that teenage years are difficult, but she then goes on to claim that such problems are ‘more complex’ for someone who ‘comes from this kind of lifestyle’. In this way, FM is able to address potential criticisms that she is in no more difficult a situation than the average teenager by acknowledging that they do face problems, but arguing that her own problems transcend even the

normal situation of teenagers. In what follows, she unpacks the ‘complex’ nature of her problems as requiring that people in her situation require to be ‘a little bit dual in your nature’ which force her to engage in different forms or styles of interaction with family than she does with friends. The extent of this complexity is given emphasis through her repetition of ‘it’s completely different’ and its negative character is stressed through her claim first that such behaviour ‘may be wrong’ (perhaps because it may be interpreted as duplicitous) and second that it is perceived as such by people who remain un-described, in that it is ‘frowned upon’.

FM then outlines a further aspect of her problematic situation in suggesting that even the apparently clear-cut distinction she has just provided, between ‘friends’ and ‘parents’ requires careful handling. The people who are ‘friends ... from your school’ may also be friends ‘you know from your ... mosque’. The difficulty she outlines here is that such friends might be in communication with ones parents, and so her earlier category distinction between ‘friends’ with whom one can interact in one way and ‘parents’ with whom one interacts in a different way breaks down in practice, in that what one says to friends may ultimately be heard by parents. Thus even her own earlier proposed solution to her problems, which she reformulates as being required to ‘compartmentalize my life’, is presented as something that in fact ‘gets very tricky’. And the importance of such a state of affairs in which events might get tricky is represented through her use of a relatively extreme description ‘you are going to be in really really bad trouble’.

So FM begins by describing the problem she faces as one of not knowing where she belongs and how she is to act. She then outlines several reasons for this, in terms of her immigrant race, and proffers a potential solution based on compartmentalization. However, even this proposed solution is subsequently presented as imperfect, and so FM presents herself as being left in the dilemma of belonging that she originally described. This lends weight to her description of herself as someone who faces problems because of her ‘immigrant race’. Either she is forced to ‘compartmentalize’ her life; or even worse, she attempts but fails to do so.

In these two extracts, FM has constructed a very complicated process of adjustment in her life as an immigrant teenager in Britain. In the beginning, she

claimed that she faces a variety of problems against which she must struggle unwillingly. But she begins by placing responsibility for her problems not on her own lack of willingness, but on the differences that existed between her home life and school life. Later she builds an identity as a vulnerable teenager based on her 'immigrant race' and the resultant complexities that identity produces, even in the already difficult life of a teenager. For her life was even more complex than a normal non-immigrant teenager. She describes compartmentalization as a possible solution, although she offers up a somewhat negative evaluation of that process. Moreover, she argues that even if she were to seek to compartmentalize her life, such attempts might fail in practice. Similarly to MUB in extract 11, FM here appears to orient to a need to be making an effort to integrate into British society while at the same time displaying some sort of alignment with her home culture. However, as her account unfolds, the negative consequences for such a lifestyle are set out as both severe and ultimately unavoidable.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter examined the religious and cultural discourses of British Muslims and the way they talk about their own efforts at integration. The main focus of this chapter was on the formulation and negotiation of identities in relation to home and host countries, and on how such identity work is interwoven with claims about integration. At the beginning of the chapter, it was noted that research in this area has thrown up a mixed pattern of results. Moreover, there has been very little previous research which focused on the identity and integration of British Muslims from a discursive perspective in which how Muslims make sense of these terms, in their own words, can be explored. In this study, however, a variety of discursive strategies were observed in the way Muslims talk about these issues, including negotiation of identities, category distinctions, place identity, avoiding accountabilities, formulating the power to choose, and the use of rationalizations.

The first part of the chapter looked at the construction of religious identity by British Muslims. In extract 1, SAR resisted being positioned as a Muslim who lived her life according to rigid beliefs. In extract 2, AB engaged in the quite different strategy of resisting being identified with British culture. So British Muslims can talk

about themselves either in terms of their flexibility, or in terms of the rigidity of their beliefs. However, in either case, we saw that the identity which the speaker is seeking to adopt is routinely presented as something that is normal, whereas ways of behaving that stand in contrast to such an identity are presented as something abnormal or wrong. Flexibility in religious identity is something that is associated with gaining acceptance from British society, and with efforts to integrate into British society. Rigidity in religious identity is presented as an obligation to one's culture or society. So in both cases, the formation of one's religious identity is seen to offer up cultural advantages, although the culture that is regarded as relevant varies from the one identity to the other.

In extract 3 and 4, construction of hyphenated or multiple identities was at work. Participants presented their national, ethnic and religious identities as being simultaneously incorporated into one identity. Interestingly, these descriptions were managed so that there was no indication that such a multiplicity of identity was in itself a problematic affair. In fact at times, having a British identity or belonging to British society is presented as facilitative of maintaining one's religious identity. Sometimes this drew upon descriptions of Britain as a country providing religious freedom to its immigrants. In this sense, people seemed at times to draw upon place identities as they set out claims for having hybrid identities. For example, for some participants, being born in Britain is evaluated as something that is fortunate or as a reason for happiness. It is in this sense that some of these participants were able to argue that having multiple identities is facilitative rather than problematic.

The concept of religious freedom in Britain also turned out to be important for participants in that they used reference to such freedoms in presenting themselves as the sort of people who had power to make choices in their lives, including choices about whether and how to follow one's religion. In some cases, this argument was advanced by drawing comparisons with their home country, with a resultant re-evaluation of the speaker's attachment to his or her country of origin. This may represent another means by which immigrants rationalize their stay in Britain while allowing the speaker to present himself or herself as a 'favourable' immigrant. It is noteworthy that acceptance of British religious freedom was visible even in extracts where participants described challenges to their religious identity in Britain. Thus, in

extract 6, even as RK set out the challenges she now faced to her religious identity, she did so in part through reference to the religious tolerance that life in Britain provides.

Participants also produced descriptions of an on-going formulation and negotiation of their culture and religion by drawing comparisons with life in Britain. In a number of cases, these descriptions involved accounts of tension between religion and culture – a tension in which religious factors were often seen to outweigh cultural factors. In particular, participants described themselves as more ready to ‘give way’ on matters relating to their home cultures where a potential difficulty might arise in respect of their current life in Britain. However descriptions of laxity in terms of following one’s own culture were often accompanied by attempts to minimize potential criticisms of the sort that might potentially arise from members of the speakers’ home society. However, religion was often presented as predominant and less amenable to such laxity. Moreover culture, whether in the home country or within Britain, was described as being circumscribed by the principles of religion: participants described their culture as being defined by religious boundaries. For example in extract 8, the term ‘Islamic culture’ points towards the religious, rather than geographical, nature of culture. This shift between culture and religion is somewhat similar to what Lesser (1999) has said about national and ethnic identity in describing the ‘shifting sands of nationality and ethnicity’. McKinlay and McVittie (2011) also suggest that ethnic and religious identities sometimes merge into one another and these may also blend into other identities such as national and occupational identities. Here, we can see a similar blurring between culture and religion in which religion ultimately sets the boundaries for cultural activities.

Religious boundaries are also described by these British Muslim participants as relevant when they interact with British society and its members. The idea of extensive interaction between immigrants and locals is positively evaluated by participants, but at the same time the limited nature of such interaction is also highlighted, again because of the predominant role of religion in British Muslims’ lives. However, even though potentially limited in scope, this endorsement of extensive interaction with local people is used by participants to indicate their efforts

towards integration. These efforts to integrate are especially made clear in extracts 11 to 13, where the speakers describe the extent and far-reaching nature of such efforts. Thus, in extract 11, MUB talks about the changes she had made in her dressing style in order to gain acceptance from local society and in extract 13, FM describes the difficult task of compartmentalizing her life in order to harmonize the disparate demands of home and broader British society. All these efforts towards integration, in spite of the differences that are said to exist between the culture of Britain and the culture in which they have been brought up, once again presents these British Muslims as active seekers of integration in Britain. It is in this sense that these participants strive to negotiate a sense of their religious and cultural identities while at the same time positioning themselves as seeking integration into British society.

## Ch. 4. Wellbeing of British Muslims

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The happiness and life satisfaction of Muslim immigrants in Britain is an area which is relatively unexplored in qualitative research. There are data on the happiness of immigrants (Safi, 2010) but that does not necessarily allow us to understand what a person means when he or she says 'I am happy'. Research in the field of happiness of British Muslims is scant and is usually quantitative in nature (f.e. Gallup, 2009). It is also important to explore this area because Muslims are not only the second largest community in Britain after Christians but because many live in poor conditions. According to the 2001 Britain Census, the majority of Muslims were less educated than other British residents, unemployed, and living in overcrowded houses (Office for National Statistics, 2004). Therefore, it is important to discover in detail how and why Muslims construct a sense of their own happiness in Britain.

In this chapter we explore different ways in which happiness is constructed by British Muslims and their processing of arguments about the reasons for their happiness and unhappiness while living in Britain. Different rhetorical concepts are at work in these extracts including footing (Goffman, 1981), place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000), temporal discourse (Wodak & de Cillia, 2007), extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1987) and construction of complaints and comparisons. This chapter focuses on three themes: a) ways of constructing happiness and unhappiness while living in Britain; b) different sorts of reasons for happiness; and c) different sorts of reasons for unhappiness.

### **Construction of Happiness and Unhappiness in Britain**

Happiness is an emotion, which is considered intangible but in the following section we will be observing that how this emotion or feeling of happiness is rhetorically constructed by British Muslims with reference to their life in Britain. There are some interesting and complex constructions of happiness at work in these extracts. These Muslim immigrants appear to have compartmentalized their happiness and made it dependent on the fulfilment of certain conditions. Sometimes,



these conditions are constructed in such a way that they cannot be met, thus presenting themselves as eternally unhappy. Similar to the last chapter, although Britain is presented as a country providing religious freedom, participants still voice the need to live in a Muslim society. Let us look at these discourses in more detail in the following extracts.

The following extract is by a first generation female living in Britain for the last 10 years. In this extract, conditions for happiness are worked up along with preference for home country.

***Extract 14***

- 1 I How happy and satisfied are you with your life in Britain after all those years  
2 you have spent here?  
3 NM (laugh) it is a very difficult question (laugh)  
4 I I mean are you satisfied while living here as it is not your home country?  
5 NM aa::m (5.0) I don't know- personally:: from my inner heart (1.0) I am not  
6 happy to live here (1.5) right if I don't have any other issues or problems in  
7 Pakistan so I never come back here (1.5) right (0.5) and even now when we  
8 decided so if it would have been just my opinion then I would have not come  
9 here (2.0) right (.) there was more influence of my husband that he has  
10 decided that:: no we won't live there (.) we have to get settle there (.) we have  
11 to live there (.) but:: even now I mean (1.0) I still feel that (2.0) in spite of all  
12 the problems (3.0) I am not satisfied to live here (.) if (1.0) our condition I  
13 mean for (sect) becomes smooth, everything happens so we:: (0.5) I will be  
14 quite happy to live in Pakistan.

In the beginning of the extract, NM has been asked a simple question about her happiness and life satisfaction in Britain but she constructs it as a difficult question while laughing. To laugh and then say 'that it is a very difficult question' may look like an odd combination, although Jefferson (1984) has examined the ways in which laughter can be deployed in 'troubles telling'. The difficulty constructed is also visible in her next response, when the interviewer tried to make the question easier for her and that is 'I don't know' (line, 5). By demonstrating that she considers the question difficult, NM shows that she is unable to decide about her happiness in Britain. After that she finally comes up with a response that 'from my inner heart

(1.0) I am not happy to live here' (line, 5-6). This introduces the idea that there are two forms of feelings, inner and outer, which are different from each other. So according to her inner feelings, she is not happy to live in Britain and this also indicates that maybe outwardly she portrays herself as happy, possibly in opposition to her inner state. Although initially NM claimed that she does not know about her happiness, she afterwards responds that she is not happy to live here. This 'here' is heard as a reference to Britain as this is the locale indexed by the question. It may, then, be that initially she was struggling as to whether she should disclose this feeling or not; so she laughs, takes long pauses and then says 'I don't know'. One potential question that is made relevant by her response that she is not happy while living here is: why is she living here? She answers this question from line 6 to 10. First of all, she constructs an if-then condition about her migration to Britain: if it were not for the fact that she has issues in Pakistan she would never come back here. This use of 'I never come back' is a temporal response in which there is a combination of present and future construction of her situation, in which she is claiming that if she did not have any problems in Pakistan currently, she would go there and not come back to Britain in the future. Her second reason for living in Britain in spite of being unhappy is described in the next line as a decision of her husband. NM here indicates that in the first place if she had the right to make the decision, she would have not come here. However, her husband's decision is presented as the decisive one, and he decided to settle in Britain. NM reports her husband's speech – 'we have to get settle there (.) we have to live there' - which presents him as the person who makes decisive statements in the family. This attribution of power to her husband allows her to present herself as relatively disempowered (McKinlay & McVittie, 2011), indicating that she does not have any power over her husband's decisions. Her use of 'have to' twice in one sentence also reflects her role as someone who is relatively powerless, and who is forced to move here because the agency of making this decision was with her husband. Thus she claims that in the past she had no choice than to come to Britain but even now she constructs herself as dissatisfied with living in Britain in spite of the problems in her home country. In line 11-12, she took three long pauses to complete this one sentence which further strengthen her claim of being unhappy and dissatisfied. .

Soon after this she again constructs a condition for her happiness: if the situation for her own religious sect gets smoother in her country then she would be quite happy to live in Pakistan. An interesting thing to note in line 13 is ‘so we:: I will be quite happy’. First she used ‘we’ in which she may have included her family being happy in Pakistan but then she uses self-repair and says ‘I will be quite happy’. Considering her earlier mention of her husband, who is described as wanting to settle in Britain, NM is constructing an uncertainty about his intentions of moving back to Pakistan happily, therefore, she just includes herself in that feeling of happiness. The prolongation of ‘we’ is also indicating that some self-repair is coming ahead.

From the way NM has constructed her own happiness, it is noticeable that the situation which would make NM happy does not presently exist. NM shows that she cannot currently be happy anywhere. According to her, she is not happy in Britain but she is also not happy in Pakistan in its current condition. However, if conditions in Pakistan improved then she can happily live there but right now she is constructing her unhappiness in going back to Pakistan. This presents her as ‘stuck’ in Britain and yet unable to return to Pakistan. Moreover, she has constructed her happiness as conditional on the fulfilment of certain factors, which if not met mean that she will remain unhappy. There is also an apparent preference construction for living in her home country rather than in Britain. This preference of one country over the other is discernible in more detail in the next extract. This extract is from a second generation female, who is describing her preference for living in a Muslim society in spite of being born and bred in Britain.

### *Extract 15*

- 1 I How happy and satisfied are you with your life in Britain after all those  
2 years you have spent here?
- 3 SAN Aeh:: I am satisfied but I would prefer living in a Muslim country cz I think  
4 it would make it more easier (1.0) to:: like follow my religion and stuff (.)  
5 cz sometimes you get distracted along the way by things like (0.5) all the  
6 (1.0) all the things like all the white people how they have so much (0.5)  
7 they have fun, go clubbing and then (0.5) they just live life like happily and  
8 stuff and you have all the rules and stuff but then you know it’s for the best  
9 you just- it’ll be better if you live in that (1.0) I think it would be better if I

10 live in a Muslim country cz then (0.5.) everyone else would be like (1.0)  
11 following the same thing as you follow.

This extract begins with the same question about happiness and life satisfaction in Britain as in the previous extract. SAN has responded to it by presenting herself as satisfied but at the same time constructing a preference for living in a Muslim country. This is somewhat similar to NM in last extract, who also described a preference for living in her own country rather than living in Britain. NM did not give any reasons for this preference in her extract but SAN does present reasons for this preference. The rest of her response is built around this reason rather than explaining her satisfaction in Britain. This shows the importance of this aspect for her in that she turns away from the topic introduced by the question and instead turns to her preference for living in a Muslim country. Moreover, this also indicates the construction of a condition for her happiness in a manner similar to NM in extract 14. Here, SAN is conditioning her happiness and satisfaction on living in an Islamic country.

The reason she constructs for this preference is convenience in following her religion in a Muslim country. This presents Britain as a place where she could not practice her religion with convenience but, as the rest of the extract shows we come to know she bases her preference on personal reasons and not on threats to her religious freedom in Britain. She actually constructs British life style as a distraction for her in following her religion. She appears to present activities of ‘white people’ in a way that seems like a complaint as she compares their relative freedom and happiness, to her life-style which has ‘all the rules and stuff’ (line, 8). But then immediately she justifies the presence of these rules as being for her benefit. Although she first seems to complain about the freedom and happiness of white people whereas her life has more rules, she then immediately justifies those rules as being better for her. At the end of the extract she concludes that it is better for her to live in a Muslim society where everybody will be following the same ‘thing’ and in this way she would not face any distractions in performing her religion. By blaming the ‘white peoples’ life style for distracting her from her religion, SAN is avoiding any potential accountability on her part for not following her religion properly. This

is an interesting feature of the way in which people respond to the question of their happiness and life satisfaction. Ironically, SAN constructs herself as satisfied while living in Britain but then builds the rest of her response by depicting a sort of dissatisfaction and a preference for living in a Muslim country. This points towards the building of compartmentalization of one's satisfaction, which shows there is satisfaction in one compartment while at the same time a parallel dissatisfaction also exists in another compartment of life. This construction of compartmentalization of happiness and life satisfaction is more obvious in the extracts of female Muslims in Britain. The following extract is an example of such compartmentalization in more detail. In following extract, a first generation female demonstrates her struggle to describe her happiness in Britain.

***Extract 16***

1 I What are the things which make you happy and satisfied while living here?  
2 NF There is safety, everything, rules and regulations are being followed here (.)  
3 there is no cheating with you (1.0) so:: according to this we are quite satisfied  
4 aa:: I mean those things are good (0.5) but:: on the other side the problems like  
5 (2.0) the atmosphere of our home country (1.0) missing our things (.) missing  
6 our family (1.5) our:: (.) every:: (1.0) our belongings- now look when we come  
7 here we left our everything behind there so:: (3.0) this is quite big thing that  
8 your- (.) >I still< miss my bed (laugh) (.) ↑I mean I don't like beds here (0.8) I  
9 don't know why (.) I still remember my bed- ↓in the beginning I use to cry a  
10 lot that I at night- I don't know what kind of mattress they have (0.5) my  
11 husband said that there is some fault in your brain (laugh) (0.5) so:: in the  
12 beginning I didn't like the taste of anything here (.) neither I like the vegetables  
13 here nor eggs , mince, meat nothing I liked (.) anyways now we have got use to  
14 of it in all these years (.) but still I mean- (1.0) aa:: (2.0) good things are that  
15 there is security, safety, children's good future, there is security for children as  
16 well, they don't have any problems, we have independence to practise our  
17 religion (1.0) right (.) which our- >I mean< all basic human rights we use them  
18 all (.) but on the other side, that our own:: (0.5) traditions, our family, family  
19 background I mean all that atmosphere (1.5) so that thing (1.0) we miss (1.0)  
20 or we feel sad because of those things and feel dissatisfied.

NF was asked about the things which make her happy in Britain and she responded accordingly with a list of things that make her satisfied while living in Britain. NF has used phrases like ‘so according to this we are quite satisfied’ (line, 3), which shows as if her satisfaction is limited to some extent, and it is only in relation to those limits she is satisfied. Based on this, one will assume that there are other elements to her satisfaction and NF indeed unfolds them later in her response. Moreover, this use of ‘we’ indicates that there are also other people who share this satisfaction, possibly her family or on a larger scale her community. She does not stop after describing what makes her happy in Britain and instead adds a ‘but’, before continuing. So first she tells us what makes her happy but then she goes on to describe what makes her unhappy even though this was not asked of her. This again points towards a compartmentalization of her happiness and also indicates that NF’s description of her happiness remains incomplete without her mention of things that makes her unhappy. These other things include the atmosphere of her home country and absence of her belongings and family. She further expands on this response and says ‘we left our everything behind there’ (line, 7), so this use of ‘everything’ seems to reflect her current situation of emptiness. In this reference, there are a countable number of things in this country which makes her satisfied while living in Britain but on the other hand there is this ‘everything’ which is left behind in her home country that leaves her unhappy and dissatisfied. She also highlights the importance of this loss by saying it is ‘quite big thing’ but then leaving the sentence incomplete. This incomplete sentence marks her claim of the intensity of her loss, which she treats as though it is too big to explain.

Later, she quotes the example of missing her bed and although she indicates via laughter that this might be treated as a non-serious matter, she indicates the severity of this in saying that this loss of her bed made her cry in the beginning because she did not like the mattresses here. As beds are widely used for comfort and relaxation, her example here could be taken as a use of metaphor to explain her lack of comfort and relaxation in Britain. NF also demonstrates the potentially trivial nature of her example by reporting her husband’s speech that ‘there is some fault in your brain’ (line 11) followed with a laugh. Similarly, she mentions the example of food in the following lines, which she describes as having a taste she did not like.

This use of food could also serve as a metaphor for nourishment and energy in life, so this example could be taken as pointing towards NF's description of the fundamental nature of the lack of nourishment which she experienced when she came to Britain. Then after this she provides a summary that indicates her sense of loss is in some way reduced in saying 'anyways now we have got use to of it' (line 13). However, she continues by saying 'but still' and then leaves her sentence incomplete. This appears to show an inability to accept new things completely in spite of her claim that she has got used to them. In some respects, the incompleteness of her sentence appears to reflect a pattern in her description which begins with a problem, moves towards an apparent resolution and then ends up with a problem again.

From line 14 to 20, NF is summarizing her response by performing an evaluation of her happiness through all the things that she is getting in Britain and all the things that she is missing from her home country. In the example listing, she is constructing security and religious freedom as a basic human right which she is getting in Britain. On the other hand, she mentions her family traditions and atmosphere of home country which she lacks in Britain and which results in her dissatisfaction and sadness. Here again we can see a construction of compartmentalization of happiness, one component of NF's happiness included all the good things she is getting in Britain, whereas, the other component of her happiness relates to the things that she used to get in her home country which she has now lost, which are making her unhappy and dissatisfied while living in Britain. This is somewhat in line with the findings of Furnham and Shiekh (1993) that Asian women immigrants' have less social support and they are more psychologically disturbed.

In this section, we have seen three different but connected forms of constructing happiness and life satisfaction in Britain. Now we turn to the respondents' use of rationalizations for their happiness in Britain.

### **Reasons for Happiness**

In this section, the constructions of major reasons for happiness by British Muslims have been analysed. These reasons are not completely exclusive in fact

there are many overlapping constructions by first and second generation British Muslims. Some of the major discursive usages include evaluation talk, temporal discourse (Wodak & de Cillia, 2007), footing (Goffman, 1979) and use of extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986). The following extract is from the response of a first generation Muslim, who migrated to Britain from Ghana about 10 years ago. This extract highlights the importance of faith for Muslim immigrants in Britain.

***Extract 17***

1 I While living here in Britain, how happy and satisfied are you with your life?  
2 AO >With no lying I would say I am happy< (0.8) as an individual and I think  
3 that still is about the same right from the (.) from the way it go (.) I am happy  
4 in the sense that (2.5) it's my aspiration, it's my ambition, it's my wish (0.5)  
5 that I am looking for in life and that is to serve my God (0.5) and so far as I  
6 am getting that to some extent that kind of pleases my heart (0.5) I am happy  
7 (.) and for me I am getting it here I mean (1.0) may be if I am in Pakistan  
8 probably I wouldn't get that (.) if I may be I lived in Arab world (.) I mean I  
9 called it an Islamic state but due to the fact that may be for an instant that I  
10 am an (sect) Muslim I might not necessarily enjoyed but I live in a country  
11 where it's a freedom of religion for everyone (0.5) this is your fundamental  
12 right (0.5) when you come to that point I am happy I mean (0.5) and I go out  
13 and especially as a youth president (1.0) I freely intermingle (1.5) lots of  
14 communities, lots of organization out there because of the work we do trying  
15 to help them and then (.) especially in- I mean charity side of things we  
16 helped a lot and so we meet a lot of people (0.5) I feel I feel I am happy.

The interviewer asked AO about his happiness and life satisfaction while living in Britain. He started his response in a somewhat strange way by saying “with no lying” (line 2). The use of ‘no lying’ suggests that this kind of question might somehow result in an untruthful response. Further the use of the phrase “I am happy in the sense” (line 3), indicates that the scope and extent of ‘this sense’ might require unpacking as an explanation of the reasons for his happiness. So being happy is further clarified by giving the particular detail in which his happiness should be characterized. This also points towards the possible existence of another ‘sense’ in which AO does not consider himself happy. Before introducing the reason for his



happiness, a background is constructed to highlight the importance of this particular reason. He does this through the introduction of a list of emotions i.e., aspiration, ambition, and a wish, and then unfolds these emotions as related to serving God. Moreover, according to him this wish of serving God is being fulfilled while living in Britain, thus his happiness is linked to his wish which is getting fulfilled in Britain but might not get fulfilled while living in his home country. Here the importance of faith is being constructed as something which brings happiness to AO and this particular aspect of faith is said to be enjoyed only in Britain. The comparison he draws is that he is happy in Britain because of the fulfilment of his faith which he probably would not get in Pakistan and in Arab countries. Now it might seem strange that AO, who comes from Ghana, gives an example of these countries rather than his own country. But later when he specifies Arab countries as Islamic states we can understand that he has referred to Pakistan because it is also an Islamic state. Ghana is not an Islamic state and he wants to compare Britain with Islamic states so that he can emphasize his point that the freedom he is getting in Britain would not be available in any Islamic state because he belongs to a certain Islamic sect. A very interesting thing is that AO has not referred to the situation of his religious freedom in Ghana, from where he actually came. Secondly, he describes his relative religious freedom in Britain in comparison to other Muslim countries while indicating that this is based on his own suppositions rather than on personal experience. (At other places in the interview he mentions that he has never been to any Islamic state including Pakistan and Arab countries). In lines 7 to 10, his point that he enjoys religious freedom in Britain is supported by the construction of persecution of his sect in Islamic countries, which he never himself experienced. Britain is, thus, presented as having more religious freedom for him as a Muslim than Islamic states. AO generalizes the idea of religious freedom in Britain by saying that it is enjoyed by everyone in Britain as a fundamental right. Here AO is constructing the importance of religious freedom by referring to it as everybody's most important right. Another important thing to consider is that this religious freedom is presented as considered 'fundamental' in Britain which makes available the inference that it is not fundamental in Islamic countries. Later, he introduces himself as a youth president perhaps of his own community and by doing this he presents himself as someone

having a responsibility and power in his particular group. In lines 13 to 16, he describes his role as a youth president, which according to him involves socializing with different communities and organizations, helping them and doing charity work. This construction of his identity as someone in power acts as an entitlement to tell us about religious freedom in Britain. By detailing his role and duties, he is actually positioning himself as someone who has the authorization to talk about religious matters. Here he is trying to link his position of youth president with his religious freedom in Britain by claiming that he can fulfil his duties of presidency by mixing with other communities and helping them in a freer manner while living in Britain as compared to living in any Islamic country. In this extract, we have seen that how happiness is constructed as revolving around one's faith. Faith is considered to be the central matter in the happiness and satisfaction of one's life. Moreover, religious freedom is constructed in comparison with the sectarian persecution in Islamic countries. In the following extract, we can see this handling of persecution and religious freedom together in more detail. This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation Muslim immigrant female, who is an asylum seeker and migrated to Britain about 5 years ago. In this extract, we will see how religious freedom in Britain is constructed in relation to sectarian persecution in an Islamic country.

***Extract 18***

- 1 I While living here in Britain, how happy and satisfied are you with your life?  
2 NJ I am very happy (smiling) (1.0) because I was in Dubai (0.5) Dubai: (.) is a  
3 very modern country (.) everything is there but because we were not having  
4 religious freedom therefore (0.5) although if you see all the facilities we  
5 were having in Dubai (.) we are not having them here (.) but the religious  
6 freedom we are having here and we go and see our religious leader and we  
7 go there (.) here we have this event or that but in Dubai >we can't even talk  
8 on phone< (0.5) yes (.) even we couldn't carry any register with ourselves (.)  
9 if we were given a paper to read like this paper on that our group leader use  
10 to say that carry it hidden so that nothing happens (.) and to offer prayers if  
11 we have a prayer centre in somebody's home then it was asked that you don't  
12 have to go there wearing caps you don't have to show that <you are doing

In the beginning, the interviewer asked the same question of NJ as was asked of AO in extract 17. NJ responded to this question both verbally and nonverbally. She responded about her happiness while smiling. Like AO, NJ also felt the need to specify the reason for her happiness in Britain, after a pause of one second she began stating her reason. In subsequent lines, she constructs a temporal discourse in which she provides her reason for happiness in a retrospective manner beginning from when she was in Dubai. Although she presented Dubai as a modern country which has “everything”, she indicates that there was no religious freedom there. First she stated that she is happy in Britain, and then she gives as her reason for being happy the nature of her past life in Dubai, which had everything except religious freedom. Here, again we can see that religious freedom of one country is built up through reference to lack of religious freedom in another country. NJ uses the expression “everything is there” (line, 3), which is in the present tense whereas the rest of her sentence is in past tense. This indicates that “everything” is still there, which is possibly not the case here. This is further asserted in line 5 in that all the facilities that she had ‘there’ are not available in Britain. The only thing which she did not have in Dubai and does have in Britain is religious freedom and she is presenting this freedom as the only reason for her happiness in Britain. An interesting thing to note is that NJ is actually an asylum seeker so her construction of persecution in her home country is fulfilling the function of proving her to be a genuine asylum seeker. She is proving herself as deserving of asylum by strengthening her image as a helpless migrant who left her “everything” there and is now living a lower standard life in Britain just for the sake of religious freedom. This religious freedom is further expanded as involving the freedom to meet her religious leader whenever she wants and experiencing different religious events. This is similar to what is suggested by Kirkwood (2012) that asylum seekers deny the existence of problems in the UK because it can raise doubts on the legitimization of their asylum claims.

Later she again takes up the comparison between her home and host country by describing the restrictions she experienced in Dubai because of religious persecution. In lines 7 to 13, she is extending her description of persecution in Dubai

by describing how they were restricted in carrying out their religious activities. So because of this persecution, in the end she again expresses her happiness in Britain. In this extract, we have seen an evaluation discourse at work in which religious freedom in Britain is claimed in comparison to persecution in another country, which is an Islamic state. Moreover, religious freedom is given preference over all other things and is constructed as the source of one's happiness even in the absence of all other facilities. This also presents her as a genuine and honest candidate for asylum. Similar to persecution is the issue of insecurity in one's home country, which is raised and discussed in the next extract. This extract is from the interview of a first generation female, who has migrated to Britain with her family few years ago. In this extract, we will see in detail how security in Britain and insecurity in the home country is constructed as a reason for one's happiness in Britain while using the evaluation discourse.

***Extract 19***

- 1 I What are the things or events that accounts for your happiness and life  
2 satisfaction while living in Britain?
- 3 SAR Most:: most importantly I have shifted here from Pakistan for the better  
4 future of children and for safer life- the disruption spread in our lives in  
5 Pakistan (.) that whether >we are going to live or not< (.) because it  
6 happened with my son two three times that there was a blast near his school  
7 he himself felt that he don't want to study in school (.) and most important  
8 thing is that because all three children studied at missionary schools so  
9 because they are on the main roads so whenever there is a blast they closed  
10 kids' schools we have passed our last two years in the same circumstances  
11 that (0.5) we never know when it's going to be off- when it's going to be a  
12 blast- two- five six such events came in life that:: I felt whether I have to  
13 keep children studying in school or keep them at home (.) this sort of  
14 insecurity that a disruption keeps lingering in one's mind even after the end  
15 of that incidence it finishes your mental:: powers and positive thinking (0.5)  
16 and I- while living there - >we have spent our lives< now it seems very  
17 difficult for children (.) so in this regard I am very happy and satisfied that  
18 the children go to school alone and come back alone there is not any type of  
19 problem and umm there is no fear- on minds there is no fear which was

In the beginning, the interviewer asks SAR about the things or events which account for her happiness and satisfaction in Britain. Instead of talking about the events directly, SAR begins by talking about her reasons for migration from Pakistan, which she explains as “most important”. The motive of her migration is presented as the better future of her children and a safe life. Instead of expanding on these things as her reason for happiness in Britain, she immediately shifts to the conditions in Pakistan. This indicates that in order to explain her life in Britain, she first needs to explain her past life in Pakistan. This is again construction of an evaluative temporal response. She introduces a comparison for the listener between current and past circumstances in that she came here for security because there was no security in Pakistan, insofar as she is presenting her life in Pakistan as full of disruption and uncertainty. The intensity of this construction of insecurity is emphasized in that she talks of “whether we are going to live or not” (line, 5). To rationalize this intense construction of insecurity she immediately gives reasons that there were explosions near her son’s school more than once. These events have also created a sense of insecurity in her son such that he did not want to study. This expands on her initial comment of uncertainty of life by describing a life of extreme insecurity for her children in Pakistan. This extreme insecurity is repeatedly visible in her discourse such as when she questions whether her children should go to school or stay at home. In lines 13 to 15, she relates this insecurity with her mental state through the long lasting effects of such events. She further expresses the intensity of this insecurity by saying “it finishes your mental:: powers and positive thinking” (line 15). SAR thereby indicates a high level of insecurity first by relating it to the uncertainty of life because of the bombing events; secondly, by claiming that even if one survives those events then your mental capabilities are at stake as a result of their after effects. So there is a kind of lose-lose situation, in which there is no way out except the one that she opted for: migration from that country. Thus SAR is making the use of extreme case formulations in order to justify her migration to Britain. She is further justifying her migration by saying that she has spent her whole life in

Pakistan but that now it is difficult for her children therefore she has no choice but to move to Britain.

It is very interesting to note that SAR was asked about the things or events that accounts for her happiness but instead of providing a response to the question as it was posed, she designed her response in a temporal mode. First she explained the reason for her immigration i.e. the future and security of her children, and then she rationalized these reasons by constructing a past life of extreme insecurity in Pakistan. This insecurity is constructed as something that destroys one's physical as well as mental faculties. Then after giving these details she returns to the question and responds that "in this regard I am very happy and satisfied" (line, 17). It is at the end of her response that she actually begins responding to the question but her response appears to have required this prelude in order for her listener to develop an understanding of her response. She further presented her reason for happiness and satisfaction as her children going to school alone without any fear. So, her response apparently would have not been comprehensible without the information which SAR delivered before this point. SAR is constantly evaluating her life in Britain with reference to her life in Pakistan, which is obvious in her further mention of the fear she had in Pakistan which she does not have in Britain.

This was a complex construction of reasons for one's happiness and life satisfaction in Britain. SAR could have responded straight-forwardly that she feels secure in Britain but she built her argument very carefully. First, she has given a detailed description of the insecurity in Pakistan that she was facing and then in comparison to that she presented Britain as a secure place for her and her children. Thus she used the insecurity in Pakistan as the basis of her migration to Britain and her happiness in Britain. This also indicates that an immigrant's construction of security in the host country is may be built in relation to insecurity in the home country. It is somewhat similar to the rhetorical construction that was observed in the first two extracts, where religious freedom in the host country is constructed in comparison to persecution in the home country. Such evaluative talk about one's home and host country might function to justify the genuineness of their migration to a safer place. In the following extract, we will see other areas of comparison in which Britain is considered better than the home country. This extract is taken from an

interview with a first generation male living in Britain for more than 30 years. In this extract, we will see in more detail that how the situation in the home country is presented as bad in comparison to Britain and an account of its relation to one's happiness.

***Extract 20***

- 1 I How your life is better or worse in Britain as compare to your homeland?  
2 MAD Yes (2.0) when we go to Pakistan (0.2) I mean, right now I have not been to  
3 Pakistan for about four years but the experience we get from Pakistan- I  
4 mean I went to Pakistan about fifteen years ago (1.0) after living here for  
5 seventeen years I went there to get settle (3.0) so while living in Lahore in  
6 spite of having no financial problem (0.5) I was not happy there (.)  
7 therefore after about eight months I returned here with my kids and (2.0) the  
8 circumstances we faced there I mean the experience we got here (1.0) so  
9 when we compare both, here it is much better from there (2.0) religiously  
10 and financially and (.) aahm:: the most important here is the system of NHS  
11 (.) it is I mean we don't get there (3.0) secondly personal security children's'  
12 security and then (1.0) aahm:: if you have any work with governmental  
13 (1.0) departments or there is some also some caste system in our society  
14 there that whoever got some money he says no body is like me and it gets  
15 difficult to meet that man for a common person (0.5) so looking at such  
16 things when we compare here from there then (2.0) definitely it is better  
17 here than there.

In this extract, MAD was asked about whether his life is better or worse in Britain as compared to his home country. He began his response with 'Yes', which does not mean anything in relation to the question asked. He may have used it to indicate 'yes, I got your point' or 'yes, I know the answer' because this 'yes' is followed by a detailed answer. Before giving any further descriptions MAD informs us that he has not been to Pakistan in the last four years. Then he starts describing the experience he and possibly his family had in Pakistan (in that he used 'we' in his response) but leaves his sentence incomplete. Then he reformulates his response and shifts to a different way of explaining what he wanted to say. In the following lines, he starts giving an example, with the use of temporal discourse, of the time when he

went back to Pakistan to settle after spending seventeen years in Britain. But he came back after eight months because in spite of a favourable financial situation, he was not happy there. There are two things here: first he suggests that being financially stable is one possible reason for being happy in general, but secondly, he presented himself as unhappy in Pakistan in spite of this financial stability. This might make available a question: what indeed was it that brought him back? And it is to this issue he next turns, when he takes up the incomplete sentence about experiences in Pakistan again and claims that experiences in Britain are much better in both religious and financial terms. Both of these aspects are interesting: MAD earlier claimed that he had no financial problems in Pakistan but at this point in the transcript he is suggesting that it is better to be in Britain for financial reasons as well. Secondly, Pakistan is an Islamic state, and this might indicate that a Muslim would not face religious problems. However MAD describes Britain as being a better place in religious terms as well. Moreover, although he takes the position that his experiences of Britain are much better in terms of religion and finance; his later examples are instead related to social welfare and broader societal concerns. In addition to mentioning the NHS, like SAR in the preceding extract he gives as another example the security of children. In his third example, he refers to government departments and to people who wield financial power. So it is interesting to note that in the beginning of his response MAD claimed to be financially stable in Pakistan but now he is complaining about inaccessibility to people who have financial resources in Pakistan. This functions to warrant his earlier claim that Britain represents a better financial situation for him, in that his previous life in Pakistan prevented him from accessing sources of influence such as government departments and financially powerful people. In this extract, we have seen how bad experiences in his home country are compared with the more positive experiences he has found in Britain. In this sense, MAD's stay in Britain is presented as a rational action, in that he did at least try to go back and get settled in his home country but could not do so because of the difficult situation he found there. An important factor which MAD raises as a positive element of life in Britain is accessibility to government officials, something which is not available in Pakistan. In the next extract, we will see how the government's role is constructed in more detail as a reason for positively evaluating



life in Britain. This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation male, whose parents belong to the subcontinent and who migrated to Britain before the partition of India and Pakistan.

***Extract 21***

- 1 I What do you say, is your life better or worse here in Britain as compare to your  
2 parents' countries?
- 3 MO I would say better (1.0) in the sense that umm (1.5) putting money (1.0)  
4 financial things aside I think its sense of security and having a government  
5 there (.) to (.) listen to the people and protect you know their citizens (1.0)  
6 umm and from what I have seen in Pakistan (1.0) you know there is there is no  
7 sense of security there, there is no (0.5) aa:: satisfaction with the people for  
8 their own government umm and speaking to you know fellow beings, friends  
9 here as well who may have come on asylum (1.0) umm and they they would  
10 say the same in the sense that they feel (1.0) it's better for them to be live in in  
11 this country than it is in Pakistan and all for the fact that there was there was no  
12 (1.0) security, they didn't- lives didn't feel aa:: safe being in that country (1.0)
- 13 I So because of security it is better?
- 14 MO Yeah I mean that's one- that's probably the main factor but also if you look at  
15 the the quality of life here (1.0) you know again one goes to the government  
16 that we have umm aa:: our system in place (0.5) umm they looks out for its  
17 people umm (1.0) you know provides for its people and also protects for its  
18 people abroad as well (0.5) umm I think that's what puts a strong value to  
19 being a British national.

MO was asked about how his life is better in Britain as compared to India and Pakistan. MO begins by stating 'I would say better'. Now he could have simply said 'yes it is better in Britain' but instead he provides this more equivocal response. He then explicitly sets aside, as something that he will not be discussing in his response, financial issues. This is somewhat similar to MAD's response in which he also constructed financial matters as not representing a problem in his life. MO then moves on to present those issues which are the reasons for his better life in Britain. This exclusion of financial matters in MAD and MO's response may be a resistance to being ascribed the identity of a materialistic person, who focuses on money

matters more. Then like MAD and SAR, MO also raises security as one of the reasons for his better life in Britain. But in this extract, MO has identified another source of this security in Britain, which was not present in the earlier extracts. According to him, it is the British government which listens to the people and protects them. So here the role of government is also expanded and one of its roles is to provide security to its citizens. This also indicates a sense of satisfaction with one's government, which, as can be seen in subsequent parts of the extract, is not the case in countries where there is no security. Then MO turns to the situation in Pakistan and constructs a sense of insecurity and dissatisfaction with its government. An important thing to note here is that MO says 'I have seen in Pakistan' (line 6). Setting his description up in these terms presents him as entitled to give this information because it is first-hand and reliable information. Then in line 9, he changes his footing and claims that he has received similar information from people coming to Britain from Pakistan on asylum. Here, MO is strengthening the credibility of his account by providing evidence in its support from other sources as well. According to MO, the people who have come from Pakistan as asylum-seekers also consider Britain a better place to live because of the security situation here. He used the term 'fact' to explain this situation, which further indicates the facticity of his claims about security conditions in Pakistan. Thus, MO claims that life in Britain is better because of the security situation here as compared to the relative insecurity of Pakistan. This insecurity is presented as not just something which MO claims but as a fact which is endorsed by other people as well. So this security matter is being constructed as the major element which makes Britain a better place in to live.

Later MO talks about quality of life, which he again attributes to government. While expanding on this point MO produces a listing of examples in which the government is described as looking after its people, providing for people and protecting its people abroad as well. Interestingly, the government is not only appreciated for protecting its people within the country but also outside one's country. This also indicates the widespread power that the government has, in that it extends beyond the borders of one country. As a result of all these facilities which the government provides MO claims "that's what puts a strong value to being a British national" (line, 18-19). Here not only is an identity of being a British national

constructed but it is also being given a 'strong value'. This reminds us of the positive constructions of British identity presented by FM and MS in the last empirical chapter, as MO's construction of his national identity is also based on a positive discourse about being British. According to MO, being a British national has a 'strong value' because of the government, which is aware of its people's needs. In this extract, MO has attributed agency for the welfare of society to the government. This makes available the inference that if a country suffers from problematic conditions such as the insecurity said to exist in Pakistan; it is because of poor government. On the other hand, if a country has security and a good quality of life then again the government is responsible for that. MO has constructed Britain as a better place to live in comparison to Pakistan and attributed this to good government. He ends his response by attributing to British citizenship 'strong value', which may not be enjoyed by the nationals of other countries. An important factor which was obvious in this extract is that being a British national and having a good government is also a significant reason for one's satisfaction in Britain. In the next extract, we will see how British people are also constructed as a source of one's satisfaction in Britain. This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation female, who is talking about the attributes of British society as a reason for her happiness while living in Britain.

### ***Extract 22***

- 1 I You have visited Pakistan, so what do you think whether your life is better in  
2 Britain or in Pakistan?
- 3 MS OH it's definitely (.) you go to any country of the world and you realize what  
4 you have got in Britain and this is coming from (0.5) the same things that I was  
5 talking about in the beginning (.) that the British society are very  
6 accommodating (.) they let you live your life how they- how you want to live it  
7 (.) they don't force you (1.0) they give you so much freedom to practise your  
8 religious obligations as you should, they are understanding, they won't- some I  
9 mean >obviously there will be aspects of society that don't care< or don't like  
10 immigrants and they don't like (2.0) umm you know people of other  
11 nationalities and the fine example there is a BNP like they (.) you know they  
12 are very racist and you do get people who are racist and I have had

13 circumstances where I have like come in contact with people who are racist  
14 (1.5) but the majority of British society and the majority of the values that the  
15 people have here are the (1.0) they are welcoming, they do respect your views  
16 and >they let you live your life the way you want to live them< and in  
17 ↑Pakistan you are not allowed to do that (.) ↓you know in your own way or  
18 that's supposedly not it's not my country because I wasn't born there so it's my  
19 parents' country (1.0) umm you are not ALLOWED to do what you want, you  
20 are not ALLOWED to live your faith or what you want (.) there are certain  
21 faiths that are persecuted against (.) so we are very lucky to be living in a  
22 society like this and even in (.) I went to Saudi Arabia and our passports got  
23 stolen at the airport and (1.0) the only people who were like angels for us were  
24 the British embassy (1.0) British council sorted our passports out (.) they did  
25 everything for us that we, we were like (0.5) that these peoples are angels here  
26 (1.5) because they had the same British culture and the same British standards  
27 that >we expect, everywhere we go< (1.0) so I think from that kind of point of  
28 view umm (1.0) we are very lucky to be living in Britain because you get a  
29 society that is (1.0) a very accepting and forthcoming society (.) most of the  
30 times (.) I know there are areas where people are not treated very well but (0.5)  
31 the majority of the time it's a very good (.) it's a good society.

MS was asked about whether she considers her life better in Britain or in Pakistan, to which she responded with a definitive expression, as if there could not be any other possibility than what she is going to say. Then instead of just comparing life in Britain with Pakistan, she compares Britain with all the countries of world. She puts this in an interesting way in that she suggests that if one goes around the world, then one realizes this, which potentially indicates that people, who have not gone around the world, including many British residents, may fail to realise this. Then she relates this to her claim that “British society are very accommodating” (line, 5-6). She further explains what she means by ‘accommodating’ through saying that people can live their lives as they want. As with AO and NJ, this relative freedom is also related to religious freedom and to freedom from persecution. MS constructed British society in a very positive way, portraying it as a society that not only understands but also accommodates immigrants.

In line 8-9, while referring to British people as understanding, MS makes a self-repair “they won’t- some I mean obviously”. Although initially she says that British society on the whole is very accommodating she then repairs this by saying that some people in society do not like immigrants or people of other nationalities. She states this as an obvious feature and as an example she refers to the BNP (The British Nationalist Party is a right-wing political organization). It is interesting to note how MS formulates her view of the BNP as racist. Initially she just uses the phrase ‘people who don’t like immigrants or people of other nationalities’ but once the BNP is introduced as an example, she uses the term ‘very racist’ for them. Then she turns her example from specific to general in turning from talk of the BNP to talk of people who are racist. She positions herself as someone who has had experience of racist people therefore presenting herself as entitled to state her claim that there are people who are racist. So first MS portrays British society as very accommodating but then admits that there is a minority in society which is racist as well. But then again she shifts her attention back to the good in British society by saying that the majority of people are welcoming and respect her views.

MS again constructs freedom in Britain as the ability to live life according to one’s will but then brings in the comparison with Pakistan, which was the question originally posed. It is not until well into her responses that she compares this freedom found in Britain with that found in Pakistan, presenting Pakistan as a country where one is not allowed to live according to one’s will. Interestingly, while making this comparison she adds in that Pakistan is not her country because she was not born there stating instead that it is her parents’ country: ‘nobody is allowed to live their lives according to their will, by the way, it’s not my country it’s my parents’ country’. Then she again continues to state that there is no religious freedom there and that many faiths are persecuted there. So here again like AO and NJ we can see a construction of persecution in Pakistan, which lacks religious freedom in spite of being an Islamic state. MS further claims that she is lucky to live in this society but she leaves the sentence incomplete and instead provides an example of another Islamic state, Saudi Arabia. In this example, British people are called ‘angels’ twice and were said to be the only people who were helpful in the event of need. Here MS describes an event outside of Britain in which she and others were helped by British

representatives: 'the British council'. This is in some respects similar to MO's claim in extract 21 that the British government "protects their people in abroad as well". The reason for this, according to MS, can be found in British culture and British standards. Here MS is claiming that the value of helping others is part of British culture and standards. Then she completes her sentence, which she left incomplete earlier, by saying that in this sense she is lucky to live in this society. Thus she uses this example as evidence of her being lucky to live in this society. This also echoes MO's claim that 'strong value is attached to being a British National'. In the last line of her response, she summarizes her argument again by saying that although some people are not treated very well, British society is a mostly accepting and forthcoming society. So in this extract, we have seen that British society is constructed in a very positive light and a sort of minimization of racist people and maximization of welcoming people was achieved. Moreover, persecution in Pakistan is again used as a basis for describing the religious freedom in Britain.

In this section, we have seen how reasons for happiness have been constructed by the participants of our study. Now let us turn to the British Muslims' construction of reasons for their claims of unhappiness.

### **Reasons for Unhappiness**

In this section, the construction of unhappiness is looked at in relation to the reasons given for states of unhappiness and dissatisfaction. These reasons include moral decline and religious detachment in British society, racism and discrimination towards Muslims. Prominent discursive practices which are used in this section are construction of complaints such as references to a decline of moral standards in schools and media bias, reports of institutional and 'street' discrimination and constructions of the identity dilemma of being an immigrant. The first extract here deals with the moral decline and religious detachment of British society. This extract is from an interview with a second generation female, who is constructing moral decline in British society as a reason for her unhappiness and dissatisfaction in Britain.

### *Extract 23*

- 1 I What are the events or things that make you unhappy or dissatisfied while  
2 living here in Britain?
- 3 MS I think the only thing that makes me concerned about society (0.5) is may be  
4 the fact that there is a moral decline (.) within society as a whole in British  
5 society (1.0) but I think that's a result of (1.5.) a decline in their religious  
6 obligations as well because before (1.0) you know in English society  
7 >people use to go to church< regularly and they were quite religious so this  
8 kind of morality issue was dealt with by that kind of attachment to the  
9 religion (1.0) but NOW I find that more and more people are becoming  
10 detached with their religious obligations (.) and so things like Christmas  
11 which is a religious festival and Easter are not really umm celebrated as they  
12 should be and so as we can see there is a moral and religious decline in  
13 society and I think as a result of that umm (1.0) that's where you know this  
14 whole thing though >one thing that makes me unhappy< is you know this  
15 kind of (2.0) lured umm (2.0) like kind of vulgar advertising that we see on  
16 TV and on billboards and of lingerie and half naked woman plastered all  
17 over the place I think that kind of thing is making me unhappy because that  
18 shows a moral decline in society but I think that's a result of lack of religious  
19 (1.0) attachment now that people are having in the society ↑but it's not  
20 everybody (.) ↓I mean there are still some very conservative aspects of the  
21 British society and they maintain that they don't like this kind of stuff.

This extract begins with the interviewer asking MS about any events or things that account for her unhappiness and dissatisfaction with life in Britain. While responding to this question MS has constructed moral decline as the only factor that makes her worried about British society as a whole. Thus from the beginning of her response she established that this is the only factor she is going to talk about in her response. However she replaces the word 'unhappiness' used in the question with the word 'concern', which indicates that she intends her response to be taken as relating to a less intense set of emotions. One interesting thing to note is that she has used 'may be the fact' while raising the issue of moral decline. This indicates a potential ambivalence in what she is going to say next. In lines 4 to 12, MS builds her argument by presenting decline in religious obligations as a reason for moral decline

in British society. And indeed, although she begins by establishing moral decline as a reason for her concern, she continues by claiming that a decline in religious obligations is also a factor. Her use of 'but' as a connector reflects that she is establishing 'decline in religious obligation' as the main cause of her concern, as it is this which produces the moral decline she has described. Then by using 'use to go to church regularly' (line, 7), she presents a temporal claim that this regular church attendance occurred in the past but not in the present. Moreover, MS claims that morality issues were 'dealt with' as a result of that prior engagement with religion. This is again stated in the past tense indicating that it is not currently the case. After describing the situation found in the past, MS turns towards the present situation of British society, which she claims to be 'detachment from religious obligations' (line 9-10). To support her claim, MS gives examples of religious festivals like Christmas and Easter, which according to her are not celebrated in their true spirits now. Then she decisively concludes her early response by saying 'so as we can see there is a moral and religious decline in society' (line 12).

From line 13 to 17, MS presents specific examples of what she meant by moral decline and at this point she picks up the word 'unhappiness' from the question that was initially asked. She uses the example of lurid and vulgar advertisement in TV and billboards as a specific example that makes her unhappy. Furthermore, she returns to her initial argument of moral decline and uses this example as an evidence of such moral decline. But again she says here 'but I think that's a result of lack of religious (1.0) attachment' (line 18). So, as before, she has again used 'but' to make a connection between moral decline and lack of religious attachment in suggesting that it is lack of religious attachment that causes moral decline. In this extract, MS is trying to construct a cause and effect relationship between lack of religious attachment and moral decline. Although MS sets out the general claim that there is currently a lack of religious attachment in British society, she nevertheless refers to 'aspects' of that society that she describes as 'conservative' and indicates that those who make up this element of society do not support the sorts of activities she has described. This sets out a view of society in which there is a general moral decline that is only challenged by those who are conservative.



This response is very well-organized and constructed carefully as MS started it with a general complaint about lack of religious obligations in British society resulting in moral decline and then ended it by referring to the conservative Britons who also don't like this moral decline. Here, first she constructed a complaint about religiosity which is missing in society and then, through reference to conservative Britons, she argues that she is not the lone critic of this decline but they also dislike it. This has also functioned to further strengthen her claim of moral decline in British society. After this somewhat subjective aspect of unhappiness, we turn towards one of the major reasons for unhappiness among British Muslims i.e., complaints of racism and discrimination. This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation female living in Britain for the last 10 years. In this extract, racism and discrimination are presented as a reason for one's unhappiness.

***Extract 24***

- 1 I What are the events or things that make you unhappy and dissatisfied while  
2 living in Britain?
- 3 MUB It is when there is racism (1.0) and it is- I mean- it is not everywhere (1.0) like  
4 where I previously live in another area of Glasgow it was there (.) but where I  
5 am living now (.) area also makes difference that where racism is more (.) and  
6 when this happens then you feel pain that when they see you that they are  
7 Pakistani even I will give you this example that when my husband- when my  
8 husband was jobless- (0.5) my husband is trained in the decoration arts like  
9 painting and fitting tiles in kitchen he had learned this (.) so he almost for three  
10 years searched job a lot (1.0) he used to go to job centre aa:: regularly every  
11 week then job centre staff began to send him to 'roots to work', there he used to  
12 go daily and searched job for two two three three hours and in front of his  
13 eyes- I mean he had seen while going to job centre (.) you know you get to  
14 know who is coming in search of job (.) so:: while giving job as well they  
15 prefer white people (.) they:: they prefer their community's people, their  
16 country's people while giving jobs, ↑they don't look like this (.) ↓apparently  
17 they seem very nice, very sweet and nobody is like them but when such  
18 situations arise like job matters, at that time they show racism, they prefer and  
19 give jobs to their white people and (1.0) push us back.

MUB was asked in the beginning about things that make her unhappy and without any pause she replies 'racism'. However she then immediately adds 'it is not everywhere' (line 3). Then she gives an example of the area where she used to live as one in which racism was more prevalent than the area in which she is living now. So here MUB is constructing a sort of geographical racism i.e. racism in specific areas of Glasgow. Thus according to MUB whether you will face racism or not depends on which area you live in. After this she attributes the emotion of pain to the experience of racism. This pain is specifically related to racism based on one's nationality as she states in her discourse that 'you feel pain that when they see that they are Pakistani' (line 6-7). So up till now in her response she has constructed two factors of racism, first is the area where one lives and second is the country one belongs to. According to this, the most vulnerable person for racism is a Pakistani person living in a racist neighbourhood.

From line 7 onwards, in order to support her claim MUB provides an example of her husband, who is a Pakistani as well. She is also using temporal discourse and starts by describing the jobless situation of her husband in the past. But then before moving forward she breaks her sentence and begins giving detail of her husband's vocation. After describing the vocational training of her husband, she states that he searched for a job for three years. Here we can see that why MUB stopped earlier to describe her husband's vocational training. In presenting her husband as a trained professional, she thereby presents him as someone who might be expected to be entitled to a good job. So if he has been unemployed for three years it is not because he was less able but rather due to some other reasons which she goes on to describe. Before presenting the reason for her husband's joblessness MUB also describes her husband as having actively struggled to find work, which again indicates his entitlement to employment. Then she describes as the reason for his joblessness that 'while giving job as well they prefer white people (.) they:: they prefer their community's people, their country's people while giving jobs' (line 14). Moreover, she is strengthening the authenticity of this claim by saying that her husband is an eye witness to these events. We see here that MUB has very carefully built her claim of organizational racism and discrimination towards her husband. First, she made it clear that her husband is a qualified professional, who struggled

hard to achieve a job. So there is nothing lacking in her husband which would explain why he does not have a job. Instead, there is a fault in the organization responsible for allocating jobs, the job centre. According to MUB, the actual problem lies with the job centre whose staff discriminate against her husband on the basis of his nationality and give jobs to people from their own community. Then she further expands on this and claims that although they seem 'very nice, very sweet' their true nature is unmasked when 'job matters' become relevant, at which time they show racism. It is interesting to note that Safi (2010) has also reported that discrimination is one of the major reasons for immigrants' dissatisfaction with life in Europe.

In this extract, we can see different forms of racism construction at work. MUB begins her response by constructing a geographical form of racism that depends on area of residence, and then she switches to nationality racism and lastly organizational racism. She indicates that one's nationality is the reason for racism experiences both at geographical and organizational levels. According to her, a Pakistani experiences racism both in the streets as well as in organizations thus claiming that racism exists at both micro and macro levels. Here we can see a tension with constructions of British people offered in earlier extracts. In Extract 22, there was a very positive construction of British people as very welcoming and accommodating whereas, in this extract, MUB is claiming that this goodness of British people occurs just at a surface level and underneath they are presented as racists. This is an example of how different constructions of same feature can lead to one's happiness and unhappiness depending on the varied nature of that construction. In this extract, racism at different levels of British society is constructed as a reason for one's unhappiness and dissatisfaction. In the next extract, we will see how such racism results in the production of an identity dilemma for immigrants. This extract is again taken from an interview with a first generation female, who came to Britain from Pakistan.

#### ***Extract 25***

- 1 I How you felt about 'rude attitudes' you mentioned earlier? How you react  
2 to this?  
3 SAL I feel pain from this thing sometimes that when we go to our country-  
4 mean this thing when I went to Pakistan two years back then I noted this

5            thing a lot (.) in fact I felt pain from this thing (1.0) that:: I mean when we  
6            are here then they say us overseas (1.0) or I mean they:: say us refugees  
7            (0.5) right (1.0) but when we go to our country then they say they have  
8            come from abroad (1.5) mean:: they live there (.) so:: when I came back I  
9            said I mean from this point of view we don't have an identity (.) these  
10           people say us that we are, mean we are no matter we have got British  
11           nationality (.) anything happens we are still called Pakistani (1.0) right  
12           (1.0) we are from here mean no matter how much we say that we are  
13           rooted here I don't think so (.) from this perspective I don't think this that  
14           we are rooted here (.) no matter if we live here years after years (.) no  
15           matter how long we live here but no.

This extract begins with the interviewer's question about SAL's earlier mention of the rude attitudes of British people and their impact on her happiness. Like MUB in extract 24, SAL also attributes the feeling of pain to experiencing rudeness from British people. Then she further expands her response by extending the sources of her pain. She mentions her visit to Pakistan two years previously and associates 'a thing' with it, which first she mentions as just noticed but then says 'in fact I felt pain from this thing' (line, 5). She then goes on to provide more detail about the 'thing' that caused her pain by describing a sort of identity dilemma in which she is called 'refugee' in her host country and yet is referred to as having 'come from abroad' in her home country. After explaining this situation she claims that it is because of this that 'we don't have an identity'. She is using 'we' instead of 'I', which indicates that she has added a group of people in her response who are possibly immigrants like her. In this construction of her identity dilemma of being an immigrant she is presenting herself as belonging to nowhere and having no identity of her own. She is constructing a complaint about British society as non-accepting of refugees and also describing a non-acceptance by the home society because of the fact that they no longer live in that country. She presents her case as one in which her home country has accepted her immigration to the host country but the host country is resisting accepting her as a true citizen. This points towards an identity related dilemma in immigrant's lives in which they describe as to have no identity. She further adds to this that even if she has British nationality she would still be called

Pakistani thus undermining the importance of having British nationality, which is quite opposite to the claims made by MO and MS while describing their reasons for happiness. She first says that even if she is a British national she will be called Pakistani and then expands this to cover everything by saying ‘anything happens (.) we are still called Pakistani’. In this construction of having no identity, she builds an identity dilemma and then claims that there is no way of resolving this dilemma. Sadness of some sort is also visible when she talks about being rooted in Britain. Having roots in a country refers to having strong belonging to that country, but in this case even having roots in Britain is not helping SAL to avoid being labelled a refugee. So according to her no matter what happens she is going to have that dilemma throughout her life. At the end of the extract she claims that this situation will remain the same even if ‘we live here years after years’. From the very beginning of her response she introduced a state of pain related to what she is going to say and then that pain continues to be evinced throughout her response in the form of helplessness in resolving her identity dilemma and hopelessness about the future of her identity. Here, a dilemma has been introduced by her as a result of her status of an immigrant, which cannot be resolved by anything including having British nationality or spending a lifetime in Britain. This extract has shown us how the construction of racism and non-acceptance by the host society can lead to formation of identity dilemmas in some immigrants. In the next extract, we will see that there are some Muslim immigrants who look beyond discrimination by British people into the roots from where this hatred is initiated.

### ***Extract 26***

- 1 I What are the events or things that make you unhappy or dissatisfied while  
2 living in Britain?
- 3 MO Well today for example umm (1.0) the the government- I was I was looking  
4 on the website today BBC and the government have announced that they are  
5 going to ban (1.0) a Muslim movement umm (1.0) Islam for UK or >I can't  
6 remember the name< they are basically extremist group who tend to umm  
7 promote extremism in Islam and they are based in the UK so the the (1.0)  
8 the government have decided to ban them from midnight tonight aa:: when I  
9 see a:: negative news stories relating to Muslims it makes me cringe a:: also

10 (1.0) it makes me you know (3.0) try n makes me want to try and understand  
11 how these so called other Muslims (1.0) are being able to umm stand  
12 somewhere on a platform and have their voice heard and there is so much  
13 media cover for it whereas there are other good Muslims in the world a:: in  
14 Britain who are doing much much better work and their voice is never heard  
15 and it's not even on the main media platform (1.0) so:: just things like that  
16 umm give me a negative view.

This extract is from an interview with a Muslim male belonging to the second generation of Muslims in Britain. He claims that it is extremist groups who are the actual cause of hatred of Islam. In the beginning of this extract, MO was asked about the things or events that make him unhappy while living in Britain. MO begins his response with the mention of a very recent event that affected his happiness. He begins his example by referring to 'the government' but then he reformulates his response by mentioning the source of his information. His mention of looking at the BBC website attaches a sort of authenticity to what he is going to say: first, he is the main source of attaining the information to be described as he was himself looking at the website, second, the BBC is considered to be a responsible news source. Then he mentions an announcement from the government about banning a Muslim movement, which he first named as 'Islam for Britain' before claiming that he cannot remember the name of the movement. One way of interpreting his claim of forgetting the name of the movement is that in so doing he conveys that he does not consider the name of that group important enough to remember. However what he does report is that, irrespective of its name, the group is 'basically an extremist group who tend to provoke extremism in Islam' (line 6-7). His use of 'basically' here indicates that being extremist is a fundamental aspect of the group's existence. He has also omitted the term 'Muslim' from his mention of this extremist group, which indicates that for MO the group is first and foremost an extremist group who are not necessarily to be categorized as Muslims and whose only intention is to provoke extremism in Islam. It is set against this particular description of the group that he goes on to describe it as having been banned by the British government. Later in line 11 also, MO has used the expression of 'so-called Muslims' for this group, which further confirms that MO

does not consider these extremist groups to be Muslim at all, in fact, they are just Muslims in name only.

He goes on to present this as a negative news story relating to Muslims, and emphasizes the extent of its negative value in stating that it makes him ‘cringe’ (line 9). The emotional state of ‘cringing is mostly used with reference to extreme discomfort or displeasure, so here MO is expressing the extent of his emotional response when confronted with such negative news about Muslims. After describing his emotional response to this news, MO turns towards his cognitive response, which is to make an effort to understand these ‘so-called other Muslims’. He presents himself as making a mental effort to understand how this group of extreme Muslims have their voices heard. Then MO introduces another group of Muslims: ‘good Muslims’ (line 13). According to MO, the media only cover extremist groups and there is no mention there of ‘good Muslims’ in Britain, who are described as doing much better work and yet whose voice is not even heard on the ‘main media platform’ (line 15). There is a categorization at work in this extract. First, the category of ‘extremist group’ was introduced, whose members are so-called Muslims who spread extremism in Islam. Then a second category of ‘good Muslims’ is then introduced, whose members are doing good work in the world and yet have no voice in the media. This categorization could be seen as a way of resisting the identity of Muslims as extremists: after mentioning news about an extremist Muslim movement, MO introduces a counter-category of good Muslims in resistance to that category.

So, we have seen in this extract that MO claims that there are extremist groups who are spreading hatred rather than claiming that it is British people who are actually discriminating against Muslims. But at the same time, he argues that there are also ‘good Muslims’ in the world, whose voice is never heard because the media only gives coverage to ‘so called other Muslims’. MO is constructing a complaint here against the media and has claimed that this coverage of ‘so called’ Muslims and ignorance of good Muslims has a negative impact on his own outlook.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter, we have looked at the ways in which claims about one’s happiness and unhappiness are handled. The first section focused on constructions of happiness and unhappiness in relation to life in Britain. Almost all participants

attached certain conditions to their happiness, although some claimed to be already happy. There was a common preference found in all the discourses for one's home country as compared to Britain. Moreover, simultaneous existence of happiness and unhappiness in different areas of life was also constructed. In the first extract, NM constructed several conditions to her happiness, which left her unhappy in Britain as well as in her home country. Although she claimed to prefer to live in her home country, at the same time we can hear her complaining of the situation in her home country which made her unhappy there as well. SAN in extract 15 related this preference for a country to religion: she made her happiness dependent to life in an Islamic country. This condition is similar to the preference shown by NM, who also explained preferences on the basis of religious environment. A form of compartmentalization of happiness is visible in SAN's response when she said that she is satisfied while living in Britain but then immediately presents her inclination to live in an Islamic country. This compartmentalization of happiness becomes clearer in NF's response about her happiness. NF's response exemplifies the existence of parallel compartments of happiness and unhappiness based on different life experiences. These different compartments may contain inconsistent features, but they exist simultaneously, and it is this which makes these constructions of happiness a very interesting phenomenon.

In the following section we have seen different reasons being offered for happiness and life satisfaction as constructed in the discourses of British Muslims. Major reasons for happiness presented by the participants were religious freedom, security, good institutional systems like NHS, a caring government and a welcoming British society. It was observed that evaluation talk is used to develop extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986). For example, in the participant's home country extrematization of insecurity is constructed, whereas immigrants minimized fear and insecurity in the host country. This is also related to the concept of 'place identity' as discussed by Dixon and Durrheim (2000). They suggest that 'place identity' is the discursive formation of self-identity in relation to places. For example if the reason given for happiness is faith then religious freedom in the host country is constructed in relation to persecution in the home country. Similarly, if the reason given for happiness is security then relatively high security in the host country is contrasted



with insecurity in the home country. This is also fulfilling the function of presenting participants as ‘genuine’ immigrants to Britain. Similar forms of relation between identity and place have also been described by Kirkwood, McKinlay and McVittie (2013a) with reference to the accounts of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain. According to Kirkwood, et al. (2013a), refugees’ constructions of their home country as unsafe and of the host country as safe actually play the function of validating their status of refugee and their presence in Britain. This comparison between home and host country also indicates that the host country is considered better socially as well as politically as compared to the home country (Baltatescu, 2005). Another important thing was the use of temporal discourse while rationalizing happiness experienced in the home country. The present and future happiness found in the host country is mostly compared with past unhappiness in the participant’s home country.

Moreover, when a claim is made about situations in the home country, this often involves ‘category entitlement’. For example, important claims about persecution or insecurity in the home country were made using closer footings (Goffman, 1981), which entitled the presenter to not only make such claims but also present those claims as being reliable. Other than this, factors like the presence of a considerate government and the welcoming nature of British society are also presented as the reasons for one’s happiness in Britain. Having a welcoming host society is considered to be a crucial factor in the happiness of immigrants by other researchers as well (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Thus, these reasons for happiness and satisfaction in Britain can be divided into two sets i.e., personal factors and national factors. Personal factors include faith, religious freedom and security, whereas, national factors include the nature of government and of British society.

The last section covered different constructions of reasons for unhappiness and dissatisfaction among British Muslim immigrants. Most of the reasons for unhappiness are constructed in the form of complaints by the participants. The section began with the extract 23 about moral decline and detachment from religion among British society as a reason for MS’ unhappiness. This reason was related to morality issues in British society and specifically in media advertisements. The version of British society set out was one in which society is moving away from

religion and consequently losing its morality. In the next extract, British society is constructed as racist and discriminating, which is presented as a reason for unhappiness and dissatisfaction in Britain by MUB. This racism is said to exist in every field of life, for example, in the streets as well as in higher authorities and organizations like Job Centres. This kind of racism and discrimination often leads to an identity dilemma which was obvious in the extract by SAL. This identity dilemma is presented as something which cannot be resolved by any means and identity remains unsettled, which is indeed a pessimistic construction of one's identity as an immigrant. This also presented British society as non-accepting of refugees and immigrants. We can see that most of the reasons for unhappiness are directly or indirectly linked to the constructions of British society but in the last extract we notice a different argument. MO actually goes beyond blaming British society for his unhappiness, to the root cause of this behaviour by Britons. He constructs the 'so-called Muslim' extremist groups as the cause of spreading hatred towards Islam. So MO is actually presenting himself as having identified where the actual problem lies rather than just looking at the reactions of British people. Moreover, he also resists this Muslim extremist identity by introducing a group of 'good Muslims' while at the same time complaining that the media does not listen to the voices of good Muslims. Complaints about media bias of this sort have also been the focus of attention in research in this area. For example, researchers have claimed that there is a use of racist and extremist language in media reports involving Muslim subjects (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013; Sian, Law, & Sayyid, 2012).

This third section has raised some very interesting versions of British society which stand in contrast to those that appeared in the preceding section when participants outlined reasons for their happiness. We have seen that British society and British people were constructed in a positive light in the earlier section but in this section it is British society which is constructed as a cause of one's unhappiness in Britain. This points towards a paradox of rhetorical framework in which the same source can be a cause of one's happiness as well as others' unhappiness depending on its construction in discourse. We have also seen temporal discourses (Wodak & de Cillia, 2007) in this section, where reasons for unhappiness are built upon past experiences. In most of these cases, the reasons for unhappiness were constructed in

the form of complaints. These complaints are directed towards low moral standards in British society, racism and discrimination in British society and government organizations, non-acceptance of refugees by British society and media bias towards Muslims.

## Ch.5. Major Problems of British Muslims

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This chapter is about the problems that participants describe themselves as facing at the time of research. This area is important because Islam is a religion which has been constantly associated with different acts of terrorism and extremism in the past as well as the present. This association with terrorism makes situation worse for Muslim immigrants living in non-Muslim countries and they have to face many challenges and attacks to their religious identity (Griffith & Oneonta, 2013). Racism against Muslims is one of the biggest consequences of this terrorism and it may be expected that when Muslims are asked about their problems they will report racism and discrimination as above all. Indeed, according to Safi (2010), one of the major causes of Muslims' dissatisfaction in Europe is discrimination. However, this is not always the case. As the data here demonstrate, Muslims also recount other problems during their stay in Britain. The current chapter deals with Muslims' accounts of their perceived major problems in Britain.

The extracts in this chapter were responses to the question about major problems of Muslims in Britain but this is not the only place in the interview where Muslims talked about problems. They briefly touched on different problems elsewhere as well but in response to this question they produced the richer accounts of those problems. Therefore, mostly these responses are used in this chapter of problem accounts. This chapter is divided into four sections; a) Segregation across generations, b) Religion and leadership, c) Terrorism and racism, and d) Self-created problems. These sections include the areas which are mostly discussed by the participants of this research. The first section covers the accounts of segregation or lack of interaction between Muslims and their local community as the major problem of Muslims. Moreover, this problem is also said to be passed on to the second generation by the first generation. The second section describes problems related to religion and lack of leadership among Muslims. This problem is mostly discussed by the second generation participants, indicating that they are in need of guidance more than the first generation. The third section is about issues related to terrorism and perceived racism and discrimination towards Muslims by the local community. This

problem is one that is discussed by both generations and such discussions include accounts of being stereotyped. The fourth section also examines racism. However, here participants can be seen to hold Muslims responsible for racism and for negative images of Islam. This is separated from the earlier racism section because it covers a completely different side of the coin in terms of how racism is attributed to different groups.

### **Segregation of Muslims across Generations**

The present section deals with the discussion of a lack of interaction between Muslims and their local community across first and second generations. Different agents have been constructed for this segregation and accused of being responsible for not making efforts to interact with wider society. However, these accusations are handled in a way that helped participants to escape any accountability for making such accusations from the people who are blamed in the accusation for causing segregation. Interestingly, the first generation of immigrants is also accused here for disempowering the second generation and not letting them mix in the society. The first extract is from a second generation Muslim about a reported lack of interaction between Muslims and the local community where blame is equally divided between Muslims and members of that local society.

#### ***Extract 27***

- 1 I What are the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain now days?  
2 HS u::m I think it's just lack of knowledge (1.0) and people don't know what  
3 Muslims (1.0) what proper Muslims are and (1.5) how to interact with them  
4 and I think that's largely due to the barriers put by the Muslim community  
5 themselves as well (0.5) because (1.0) we came here (1.0) we mix with the  
6 football school football team, >we took part in the swimming, we took part  
7 in everything< whereas all of our Muslim friends they will- they don't play  
8 football they just kept themselves to themselves (.) the Muslim people just  
9 you know kind of like clique case, cliques, they form cliques (.) the Muslim  
10 people would mix and mingle with Muslim people (.) then nerds with mix  
11 and mingle with nerds whereas we would mix with the Muslim people (.) we  
12 would mix with the local population and we will mix with all types so that's

13 the main issues facing (.) the barriers that they put up the Muslim  
14 community (1.0) and they (2.0) because of the barriers they don't interact  
15 with the local community so they are kind of seen as foreigners (.) which is  
16 wrong but (1.5) that's the way it is if you don't invite anyone you don't have  
17 (1.0) you don't speak to them (.) you don't interact with them (0.5) that's  
18 exactly what they are (.) foreigners to you (1.0) so (1.0) lack of knowledge  
19 and (0.5) interaction (.) the barriers which is problem of both sides (0.5) like  
20 (0.5) like the local population doesn't make much- a: much of an effort to  
21 get to know Muslim community and the Muslim community (.) likewise  
22 they don't make much of an effort (.) they keep themselves to themselves.

This extract is from an interview with a second generation male. In the beginning, HS was asked about the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain. HS began his response by stating that what is to follow is what he thinks, thereby indicating that what he is about to say may be provisional or merely reflect subjective views. Then he introduces the problem of lack of knowledge on the part of general people. He further explains that what he is referring to is a lack of understanding of general people about what 'proper Muslims' are like. However, HS has simply mentioned 'people' without explaining which people he is referring to. In the succeeding lines, he claims that 'people don't know what...Muslims are' which indicates that this category of people is external to Muslims. This use of 'people' may refer to a variety of people who live in British society but who are non-Muslims. He makes a self-repair in line 3 and uses the word 'Muslims' alone but then after a pause of 1 second he uses 'proper Muslims'. This is pointing towards some categorization of Muslims that distinguishes between those who are just Muslims and the others who are 'proper Muslims'. So, first HS introduced a category distinction between 'people' and 'Muslims' and then he introduced a sub-category distinction within the category of Muslims between 'Muslims' and 'proper Muslims'. Moreover, 'people' lack the understanding of what 'proper Muslims' are like. This in a way points towards a perceived need that people should know 'proper Muslims' rather than general 'Muslims'. Here HS may be indicating that 'proper Muslims' differ from what people may already think they do know about Muslims. Given the broad context of perceived associations between Islam and terrorism, HS may even be

taken to be indicating that ‘proper’ Muslims are better representatives of their religion as compared with other more fundamentalist Muslims. He also states that people do not know ‘how to interact with’ proper Muslims as if there is a specific procedure of interacting with Muslims which general people are not aware of. However, he appears to treat this as of no further importance, since he does not expand on what he means here but instead in subsequent lines turns to a different aspect of his argument. Locals’ lack of interaction is attributed to their lack of knowledge about Muslims; this implies that if local people had knowledge about ‘proper’ Muslims they would interact with them more.

Initially in the first two lines, HS places responsibility for lack of interaction on local people by claiming that they do not know what Muslims are like or how to interact with them. Later, however, this responsibility is taken from local people and placed largely on the shoulders of Muslims themselves. In line 4, the lack of knowledge experienced by local people is attributed to the ‘barriers’ put by the Muslims themselves. In the subsequent lines, HS draws on his own activities to compare those sorts of activities with different activities that other Muslims might engage in. He describes himself as a social person who mixes with everybody. He makes use of ‘we’ to include in his description others associated with him in some way, and positions himself as representing them and how they behave. Here he is hearably referring to other members of his family rather than to a more inclusive group, since ‘our Muslim friends’ are described as behaving in ways which are at odds with the description he provides of how ‘we’ behave. He has already stated that Muslims themselves are responsible for a lack of social interaction. However he then provides a listing of contexts of his own interaction with the local community involving football and swimming and finally the all-encompassing ‘everything’ to indicate how extensive the list of activities is in which ‘we’ socialize with the local community. In this way, HS appears to provide descriptions that exonerate those who are represented by ‘we’ from the responsibility for preventing interaction that he attributes to other Muslims. In comparison, he introduces the behaviour of other Muslims, who are represented as responsible for the perceived lack of social interaction. According to HS, these are the Muslims who interact only with other Muslims. In order to highlight the difference between himself and those others

picked out by 'we' on the one hand and other Muslims on the other, HS provides another listing. This incorporates Muslim people, the local population and 'all types'. This further emphasizes the extent of the interactions that 'we' engage in, in comparison to other Muslims (line 12). This comparison is actually an evaluation of self and others, where the self is presented as non-problematic while others are presented as a source of problems.

In line 13, the lack of socialization and the barriers put up by the Muslim community is presented as problematic in another respect. HS claims that as a result of these barriers, Muslims are seen as foreigners by local people. In line 15, he presents this situation as 'wrong' but at the same time argues that although it is wrong it exists. HS goes on to list properties such as not inviting, not speaking, and not interacting that define what a 'foreigner' is, in that in such circumstances people must remain strangers to each other. According to HS, this is the same situation that exists between Muslims and their local community. So, although he began his response by attributing agency to local people for not knowing Muslims, he subsequently transferred this agency to the Muslim community because of the barriers they create between themselves and their local community. However, by the end of the extract HS can be seen to allocate this responsibility equally to both communities simultaneously. Thus his response concludes by attributing blame to both communities in that neither the local community nor the Muslim community make any effort to know each other and mix with each other.

In this extract, HS has treated both communities as responsible for not making any effort to mix with one another. Although in part HS blamed the Muslim community for not mixing with local people, he himself also belongs to this community. However, he defends himself and those others indicated by 'we' through giving examples of their socialization with local people. This functions to deflect blame from himself and others and to position those picked out as not being a part of this perceived segregation from local community, which he later goes on to describe as 'wrong'. Here we have seen lack of interaction presented as a major problem faced by Muslims in Britain but at the same time the speaker seeks to avoid any personal responsibility for such a lack. Moreover, HS undermines potential criticism from either community by placing the responsibility for not socializing on both



communities rather than levelling blame at one or the other. In the next extract, we will see a further expansion of this problem of segregation on the part of Muslims by a second generation male.

***Extract 28***

1 I What are the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain now days?  
2 AS aa: first of all (0.5) I would thi::nk (0.5) the major problem faced by Muslims  
3 is (0.5) that Muslims are trying to segregate themselves (.) it's not right to do  
4 it (.) basically (1.0) what I was saying to you earlier my whole point went  
5 back into that because they live here they feel they need to be you know extra  
6 religious in some sort of way (0.5) and because of which they go back to  
7 Pakistan over and over (.) I know a lot of ladies who wear hijab and whatever  
8 but in Pakistan it's not as prevalent you know people will go out without the  
9 hijab (.) why is they need to wear it here is it because you trying to show  
10 people you are Muslim or is it for religious purposes (.) ↑for religious  
11 purposes or as a fashion choice (.) fair enough ↓but if you trying to do it to  
12 show people then you are defeating the purpose of wearing a hijab (.) right so  
13 it's pointless that way my mai- I think the main issue facing Muslims in the  
14 Britain is that (1.0) they are trying to be more Muslim (2.0) umm in order to  
15 portray themselves as more Muslims to show that they are Muslims they are  
16 not being Muslims to Muslim values not shown (.) so someone might be  
17 hijabi or someone might have a beard (1.0) but they will still do <all the  
18 wrong things that you are not supposed to- (0.5) a beard> (0.5) going to  
19 mosque, and you know just going through the motions of something isn't  
20 going to make you a better Muslim (0.5) I think that's the main problem but  
21 the (.) younger generation as well cz they get- keep getting taught by the  
22 older generation or (1.0) although they have grown up knowing all these  
23 different cultures the older generation keeps telling them yeah you must be a  
24 certain way you must be a certain way you must be this you must be that (1.0)  
25 and a lot of people you know came into that pressure and that's not the right  
26 thing to do

This extract is also from an interview with a second generation male, who was asked the same question about major problems faced by Muslims in Britain. Like HS, AS also relates what he is going to say to his thoughts, presenting what he

is saying as something that he merely 'would think'. According to AS the major problem of Muslims is segregation, as was claimed by HS in the last extract. Here AS is placing all the responsibility for segregation on the shoulders of Muslims (line 3), thereby accusing Muslims of being agents of this segregation. Interestingly, he is also constructing this segregation as 'not right' in a manner similar to HS's earlier claims. AS introduces a new line of argument that 'because Muslims live here they feel they need to be you know extra religious' (line, 5-6). This is a very interesting argument, here AS puts forward as a reason for the segregation of Muslims their need to be extra religious while living in Britain. This extra-religious behaviour is related to emotional states by using words like 'feel' and 'need'. Moreover, this particular level of religiosity is termed as 'extra', referring to something or some activity that is unnecessary or is added to something else that might otherwise be regarded as normal. Moreover, these activities are related to Pakistan in some way and because of this 'extra-religiosity', people go back to Pakistan again and again (line 6-7). AS is focusing here on religious activities which he considers to be 'extra' and which have some cultural specificity with Pakistan. In subsequent lines, he gives the example of 'hijab' to support his argument. AS claims that although Muslims religiously relate to Pakistan and 'wear hijab', even in Pakistan such religious activities are not that prevalent. Here, AS is presenting a criticism of the religious observances of Muslims, which he constructs as in some sense unhelpful in Britain. HS draws a comparison between religion in Britain and religion in Pakistan suggesting that the Pakistani version of religion is the standard to follow. So if a particular practice is not followed in Pakistan it should not be followed in Britain. AS may be using the example of 'hijab' as it is always a very controversial topic in socio-political discourses in the West. That is, he may be suggesting here that if the wearing of the hijab is a source of segregation, and is also not even performed in Pakistan, then people in Britain should do likewise. Two possible reasons are put forward for wearing the hijab: one is religious obligation (line, 11) and the other is the display of one's religion (line, 12). AS has accepted the former reason by saying it 'fair enough' but the latter reason is constructed as problematic and indeed contrary to the purpose of wearing a hijab. Through this example AS is arguing that performing a religious obligation for the sake of religion is appropriate whereas

performing a religious obligation for the sake of showing off one's religion is not, and this is what he is referring as 'extra-religiosity'. While giving this example, AS breaks off his sentence and then reformulates his earlier statement about showing one's religion. This time he constructs this behaviour as the major problem itself. Initially AS constructed the segregation of Muslims as the major problem and this showing of religion by Muslims merely as the background cause of segregation but now he is presenting this showing of religion as the main issue rather than segregation. So he is reframing the argument by replacing segregation with display of religion as the major problem faced by Muslims.

He further clarifies his point by providing another example of a similar activity that could be construed as merely showing religion: the wearing of a beard. He may be using these two examples because wearing a hijab for females and a beard for males are widely perceived as traditional religious practices in Islam. However, according to AS, someone might wear a beard and 'still do all the wrong things'. He provides, as an example of such activities, attending mosque to offer prayers but doing so in a manner that constitutes merely 'going through the motions' (line, 19). Although this is an easily recognized colloquial expression, it is especially effective as a criticism here because 'motion' may also be taken to refer to the set of prescribed movements that typify Muslim. Thus AS is suggesting here that merely performing a ritualized set of movements does not make one a 'better Muslim'. In providing a set of features that relate to external appearance while indicating that these are insufficient to mark out someone as a good Muslim, AS allows for the inference that what is needed is something that is not external. AS indicates what might be missing in such cases at line 16, where he refers to 'Muslim values'. According to AS, this lack of 'Muslim values' result in a superficial display of religion, which is constructed here as an extra and problematic thing.

From line 21 onwards, AS introduces another dimension of this problem, which is related to second generation Muslims. AS presents the second generation as dominated by the older generation, who keep telling them how they should behave. Here the second generation is constructed as submissive, and as being dominated by the older generation regardless of the fact that they have grown up in this multi-cultural environment. The older generation is presented here as having more power

and authority than the second generation. There is a construction of disempowerment of the second generation and empowerment of older generation, which reflects a power distribution across the generations (McKinlay & McVittie, 2011). This pressure to comply with the older generation is presented as ‘not right thing’ (line 25-26). AS has not clarified what kind of pressure the older generation puts on the second generation. However, within the context of this extract such pressure might reasonably be taken to be a pressure to behave ‘extra-religiously’ or to segregate oneself from rest of the society. So what AS may be referring to here is that the older generation pressurize the second generation to look like and behave in a certain religious way, which could be having a beard for males and wearing the veil for females and may also involve not mixing with local people. But this has been rejected by AS as ‘not right thing’.

At first, AS started his response by claiming that the segregation Muslims place on themselves is their major problem. But the rest of his response revolves around the possible causes of such segregation. According to AS the reason for this segregation is display of religiosity by Muslims, which is presented in so much detail that towards the end of this extract this reason became the main issue itself, replacing the actual problem of segregation. AS suggests that this problem is especially relevant to the second generation because they are being pressurized by a more powerful, older generation. But then he claims this is ‘a wrong thing’, which is may be fulfilling the function of positioning AS as a more open-minded Muslim, who is not like other conservative Muslims. Moreover, like HS this identity of an open-minded Muslim is also protecting him from any accountability for having levelled criticisms against other conservative Muslims. AS also introduced the pressures that second generation Muslims face in Britain, such pressures are discussed in more detail in the next extract.

### ***Extract 29***

- 1 I What about second generation, are they also prefer to mingle with Muslims  
2 or Asian people=  
3 HS =Yea they try and prefer to but I think there is law of a (2.0) what do you  
4 say (1.0) the second generation they are trying to make changes but (2.0)  
5 things are holding them back (.) like their own community and also (.) the

6 outside (0.5) and they don't know how to effectively communicate across (.)  
7 that's the main problem and I find where people are (1.0) you know living  
8 the life style that a normal (.) white- local person would live (.) they are  
9 very (0.5) covered up about it and they don't they don't have the confidence  
10 to say you know it's (0.5) ↑if they want to drink that's fine with them ↓but  
11 they don't have the confidence and to say themself to say you know yes I  
12 drink (0.5) so:: I think the second generation and the- especially the youth of  
13 my age are very hypocritical (0.5) they are trying to please (0.5) both sides  
14 which you can't do (.) you have to make (.) compromises and (1.5) one  
15 example would be drinking or you know sleeping around that's with local  
16 population there's no problem (.) in our community that is a very big thing  
17 so (1.0) those kind of things the second generation is trying to change  
18 mingle more but I don't think both- either sides is doing enough (0.5) to  
19 kind of so that well integrated into British society (0.5) there are some  
20 people are but obviously the majority are still separated yeah.

This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation male. Before this point, HS had been discussing the fact that first generation Muslims mix only with Muslims and do not interact with the local community. In this extract, he was asked if this is the same with the second generation and before the interviewer can finish her question HS had begun his response by accepting this as true for the second generation as well. Although he starts to talk about a law that might be relevant, he breaks off and leaves this claim incomplete and instead, after a pause of two seconds, rephrases his sentence. In line 4, he presents the second generation as 'trying to make changes', but then a limit on such activities is introduced in that 'things are holding them back'. These 'things' are then described by means of a three-part listing. The first factor introduced is their own community (line 5), which is somewhat similar to what we saw in the last extract, where the first generation was presented as pressurizing the second generation to behave in a certain manner (although here there is no specific mention of inter-generational conflict). This again indicates the presence of forces within the Muslim community which stop the second generation from mixing with the local community. Interestingly, a second factor is also mentioned here which stops the second generation from mixing: 'the outside'. This could be a reference to the local community but it is not explained any further.

However, the combination of forces within the community and forces from ‘the outside’ indicates the scope and extent of the pressures that the second generation face. The third factor that is said to hold back the second generation is their lack of ability to ‘communicate across’ effectively. Because no further specification is given of what such failure to communicate involves, this claim might be taken to suggest that the second generation is unable to communicate successfully either with other Muslims, including first generation Muslims, or with the local community. These are the factors that are constructed as hurdles in the interaction process of second generation Muslims. In the following lines, HS expanded on this third factor of lack of communication in more detail.

HS claims that ‘people’ are living the ‘life style’ of a ‘local white person’. So there is a construction of two categories here, ‘people’ and ‘white locals’. Here ‘people’ may be taken to refer to ‘Muslims’ because their life style is compared with another category of ‘white locals’. According to HS, although Muslims are living like local white people in Britain they do so in a hidden fashion (line, 9). It is interesting to note that life style is often taken to be something that is essentially publicly observable, not something which can be hidden from others. This suggests that what is actually being referred to here as ‘life style’ is a set of discrete activities forbidden in Islam. This reading is supported by HS’s claim that Muslims are said to lack confidence to accept the fact that they are doing those things. Moreover, HS gives as an example of what he is referring to as life style the activity of ‘drinking’ (line, 10). ‘Drinking’ here is likely referring to drinking alcohol because this is something which is forbidden in Islam, therefore, Muslims are presented as lacking the confidence to accept that they drink in this way. After giving this example to strengthen his argument, HS is characterizing second generation youth as ‘hypocritical’ and defines it as ‘trying to please both sides’ (line, 13). Thus he is constructing second generation youth as trying to please both Muslims and the local community by living the life style of both communities but hiding this from the members of either community. This is a very negative construction of the second generation in terms of their efforts to please both societies. Moreover, he rejects this behaviour by arguing that such behaviour is not possible and that instead one has to compromise. This rejection allows him to resist being aligned with such youth and to

deflect potential criticisms that he engages in the same activities. This presents him favourably in terms of what the Muslim community might wish, as he is presenting himself as resisting the identity of a youth who does things that are forbidden in Islam.

As another example, he introduces the notion of 'sleep around'. This behaviour of sleeping 'around' is constructed as similar to drinking in that it is acceptable in the local community but unacceptable in Muslim society. These two activities of drinking and sleeping around are associated with the life style of white locals. Moreover, the second generation is constructed as being involved in these activities. However it is because they are unacceptable within Muslim society, that the second generation lack the ability to accept that they do such things and so find themselves in a hypocritical situation. HS ends his response by speaking about the lack of integration efforts by both communities: 'I don't think both- either sides is doing enough' it is because of this that segregation is prevalent. This claim is similar to the one made by HS in extract 27, that both societies should make efforts to in order to prevent segregation.

In this extract, we have seen a construction of a sort of dilemma faced by second generation Muslims that in order to please both societies they are becoming hypocrites. The last two extracts have also shown that the second generation is under great pressure to conform to the guidelines of their older generation while also trying to mix with the local community to achieve their acceptance. So in this section we have seen how segregation has been developed by participants as one of the major problem with British Muslims in Britain. Sometimes this problem is presented as self-created by Muslims and at other times it is attributed to the local community. Now we turn to the problems related to religion and lack of leadership as raised by British Muslims in this study.

### **Religion and Leadership**

This section focus on issues related to religion in the discourses of British Muslims. Religion is an important aspect of Muslims' lives while living in a non-Muslim country. Therefore, many problems in the lives of immigrant Muslims are related to their religious life. It is noteworthy that in most of these interviews,

problems related to religion are attributed to lack of leadership. Therefore, both are combined in this section to focus on the relationship between the two. An interesting phenomenon is also observed in this section, that whenever a religion-related problem is reported, participants often distanced themselves from it by presenting themselves as having no interest of their own in reporting that problem. The perception of religion and leadership as a problem is generally attributed to the general Muslim population rather than specifically to the speaker himself or herself. In extract 30, AO is reporting the problem of an inability to perform all religious obligations which is specifically related to one's life in Britain or the West.

***Extract 30***

1 AO I need to make the choice for God so I make that decision and always  
2 request if you don't give me that day (Friday) thank you I cannot accept that  
3 offer (1.0) then I have to look for another job (0.5) but God has been so  
4 gracious it has always been easy for me but I am talking of the general  
5 public (1.0) they have that one day they have got an immoral life style (1.0)  
6 we just not helping them (0.5) so many things I mean which can drop all to  
7 sin (0.5) is there it's a lot of them out there in (1.0) if you live in a Muslim  
8 society I have lived in Bradford, I have lived in Leeds (0.5) and (0.5) I have  
9 lived Muslims groups and I have felt that how this society is corrupted (.)  
10 the generation that we coming up so that difficulty is certainly there for  
11 Muslims but (2.0) on the other side of the coin, I think they could make it  
12 better for themselves (.) if they are lucky enough to get some good leaders  
13 and and they are gaining some good training I <feel that could have a  
14 massive impact> or unfortunately the Muslim (2.0) who::le sect is not kind  
15 of (2.0) good in that sense that they have got a lot of leaders who are kind of  
16 corrupted some rigid thinking (1.0) which just make your life difficult for  
17 the Muslims in the society if not (1.5) I feel they could balance it some way  
18 and get around it.

This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation male immigrant, who migrated to Britain from Ghana around 10 years ago. This is the response of AO, when he was asked about the major problems facing Muslims in Britain. Before this extract, AO was talking about materialism as one of the major



problems in the British life but he manages to do all religious observances in spite of living in Britain. As an example, he was telling that in a job interview he always request for a Friday off to attend his Friday sermon and congregational prayers. In this extract, AO is claiming that he ‘needs’ to make that decision of taking Friday off for God. This positions himself as an example of following such religious observances by asking for Friday off in job interviews regardless of his current life in Britain. He emphasizes the importance of religion to himself by indicating that he would even refuse an offer of work if such flexibility was not available (line 2). Through this example he is achieving the purpose of identifying himself as a very religious person in spite of living in a non-Islamic culture. So although he himself is able to maintain his religiosity in the face of British life styles, according to him this is a problem for other Muslims whom he describes in vague terms as ‘the general public’ (line 4). There is a stake inoculation (Potter, 1996) at work here in which AO rejects the idea that he himself derives any benefit in speaking about this problem insofar as he claims that he does not personally face this problem. He further goes on to claim that ‘the general public’ have an immoral life style and points out that ‘we just not helping them’ (line, 5-6). This suggests that whoever ‘we’ are, they should offer help to others in this situation although it is not made clear what kind of help he is speaking about. However in moving on, he claims that there are ‘so many things’ that can ‘drop all to sin’. This juxtaposition indicates that the help to which he refers is helping people to avoid dropping into sin. Here AO is taking the role of a rescuer or a leader who takes upon himself the responsibility for saving the people from sin. First he establishes his identity as a strong religious person and then presents himself as a rescuer to other people who without his help would fall into sin. He argues that such people who are in need of help are many in number and this is strengthened by his claim of having lived different societies each of which is corrupted. He is positioning himself as entitled to make such claims as he has himself been living in different societies where he has seen people becoming corrupted and hence in need of help.

After giving the account of this problem faced by Muslims in Britain, he turns towards ‘the other side of the coin’ and suggests a solution to this problem of corruption. AO places all the responsibility for resolving this problem on Muslims by

saying that they could themselves make things better if they ‘get some good leaders’ and gain ‘some good training’. Although earlier he indicated that he might be positioned in a leadership role for helping Muslims to avoid sin, now he is suggesting that it is their own responsibility to ensure that they have good leaders and acquire good training. He emphasizes the importance of this by claiming that the outcome of acquiring leadership and training would be ‘massive’. However he then goes on to argue that Muslims do not have good leaders because a lot of leaders are themselves corrupted in that they indulge in ‘rigid thinking’. According to AO, such corrupted and rigid leadership actually adds to the difficulties of Muslims but if, on the other hand, they could avoid this it could ‘balance it in some way’ Here lack of religiosity is being associated with lack of good leadership: Muslims are described as lacking in religiosity because of poor leadership, but if they acquire good leadership the impact can be ‘massive’.

This extract is a very interesting construction of the problems of the British Muslims. In this scenario, AO set himself apart as a conscientious Muslim who fulfils all religious obligations regardless of living in a non-Islamic society. AO stated that the problem faced by Muslims is one falling into an immoral life. Here AO has separated himself from that problem of Muslims. He even indicates that his religious standing is such that he could save the people from sins, which indicates that he may be offering himself as a possible religious leader. But then towards the end of the extract he places a responsibility on Muslims themselves to choose a leader who is good enough to save them - although he also claims that most of the leaders currently in position are corrupt. One possible reading here is that AO is suggesting that Muslims should have a good leader like himself, who chooses religion over materialistic world, rather than the leaders they presently have. This notion of the importance of leadership for religion is discussed in more detail in the following extract.

***Extract 31***

- 1 I What are the major problems faced by Muslims today in Britain?
- 2 MO umm I think the:: if:: we look at the area that I reside in (.) in (area name) (.)
- 3 this is the:: umm area that has the largest (.) Asian population in Scotland
- 4 and majority people in this area being umm Muslim and the rest are made

5 up of Indian and you know Christians (0.5) the area itself has got a lot of  
6 history to it umm at first there wasn't many Asians to start with over the  
7 years its grown and almost become umm you know eighty per cent  
8 Pakistani population (.) umm (1.5) I would say that the problem facing  
9 Muslims today especially the youth is that (.) there is no umm leadership  
10 they have got (.) umm they don't have a leadership in their faith (0.5) look at  
11 the number of mosques in this area there must be at least a:: four mosques  
12 (.) within this vicinity and (.) you find that from a young age the children  
13 are taught to go and umm you know read a:: Quran and you see them going  
14 to the mosques (.) after school but as soon as they get to the point where  
15 they grow old enough to be able to understand things themselves umm they  
16 are unable to question their superiors and ask the important questions that  
17 are relating to their lives and its turning them away to a life of crime >not  
18 necessarily just crime< but also boredom and dissatisfaction that that their  
19 religion isn't what it made out to be and this is causing a lot of teenagers  
20 especially boys to umm become umm distant from their faith (.) so I think it  
21 is more to do with the (0.5) having the Imam (.) and having the belief and  
22 having the people there who will be able to guide them and guide them with  
23 the right knowledge the truthful knowledge.

This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation male. When he was asked about the major problems of Muslims in Britain, he began his response by introducing the geographical context of his response. He starts by giving a detailed account of the area where he resides, its population and history. In line 2, MO also makes the use of 'I think' thus making his discourse relevant to his own perspective, in a manner analogous to that seen in previous extracts. This reference to one's cognitions seems to be prevalent in these responses, and may fulfil the function of presenting the speaker as someone responsibly making a well thought-out statement. At the same time, it allows the speaker to present what he is saying as something that he merely 'thinks' rather than presenting the claims to follow as having a more factual standing that might be more readily open to challenge.

From lines 3 to 8, MO is giving an account of the area where he is residing. He presents that area predominantly as having the largest Asian population in Scotland. Secondly, while narrating the history of the area he claims that this

population has grown over the years and now it has an eighty per cent Pakistani population. This construction of area statistics is interesting as it is not represented as deriving from official figures but instead is set out just as an independent claim being made by MO. However, as we see later in his response, this descriptive account sets a context for what he will say later on. Another purpose of this account is to introduce to his hearer the notion that, as his area is largely made up of Asian or Pakistani population, the social and cultural practices of those populations can be expected to be prevalent in that area. We can also see development of place identity at work here as MO is presenting his identity as someone residing in this specific area (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000).

It is not until line 9 that MO begins to answer the question that was initially asked. According to MO, the problem faced by Muslims is a lack of leadership and this problem is presented as greater for 'the youth'. In line 9, first MO reports that Muslims do not have leadership and then reformulates this by specifying that they do not have leadership in faith. Here, MO is claiming that Muslims do not have religious leadership and this is their biggest problem. It is interesting that he claims that this problem is especially difficult for young people. The thought in play here may be that it is because young people look for guidance when they are entering different life phases. Thus lack of religious leadership may be a larger problem for them as compared to older people who already know many things about their own faith. At this point he returns to a description of 'this area' by referring to the number of mosques in his locality. The expression 'look at the number of mosques in this area there must be at least a:: four mosques within this vicinity' seems to indicate that mosques are numerous within his locale. This gives emphasis to his description of local socio-cultural practices involving children being made to attend mosque after school from an early age. MO lends further veracity to this claim by stating that 'you see them going to the mosques after school' (line, 13). In this account of cultural practices nothing at first seems problematic. But according to MO, the problem begins when these children grow older and begin understanding things. The account being produced here describes children as going to mosques just because they were told to do so and because they were following the instructions of their elders. But once they are old enough to know things themselves, they find out that they are

‘unable to question their superiors’ (line, 15). There is a construction of power and authority in this discourse, in which power is associated with older people. So, young people are presented here as weak and disempowered; and as people who are unable to question their elders about important matters ‘relating to their lives’. This is similar to what we have seen in extracts 28 and 29 where young people are constructed as dominated by an older, more powerful generation. It is interesting to note that all these discourses are coming from second generation young people, which indicates that they are constructing an identity for their elders as authoritative and dominating people. To this extent, these responses appear to function in part as voicing the troubles of young people. MO goes on to reveal the intense consequences of this dilemma: young people turn towards crime, get bored and become dissatisfied with religion. MO is constructing a sort of disappointment among youth in relation to religion which arises because religion does not live up to their standards. Subsequently MO specifies that the youth who especially experience this dissatisfaction are teenage boys. Here, at first he introduced the category of ‘youth’ who are facing a major problem of lack of leadership and now he has made it more specific by including more detail on age and gender. Towards the end MO again, in a fashion similar to that seen in AO’s response in extract 30, highlights the importance of having available a religious leader. Moreover, he further specifies the importance of the role that such leaders might play in that they are described as providing guidance with ‘the right knowledge the truthful knowledge’. What this indicates is that the problems of teenagers, specially boys, lies in their inability to discover ‘right knowledge’ and that the only way to resolve such a problem is through appropriate leadership which is currently absent from their lives.

Treating lack of leadership as a problem is also a feature of the following extract. This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation male, who has been living in Scotland for the last 10 years. In this extract, the problem of having no leadership for Muslims is discussed more explicitly and extensively.

***Extract 32***

- 1 I What are the major problems faced by British Muslims today?
- 2 MAK General- generally overall the main problem of these Muslims is that they
- 3 have no leader (1.0) they:: are divided into different sects (1.5) they keep on

4 fighting with each other (0.5) actually if any community any group does not  
5 have a leader (.) if they are one lac in number (.) every person has his views  
6 (.) they will not listen to anybody (.) those poor:: people are (1.0) they are  
7 internally divided among themselves (.) they are against each other (2.0)  
8 everyone does whatever come to his mind (.) therefore they are Islam-  
9 according to my view they are giving a bad name to Islam (0.5) in the  
10 whole world from their acts (1.0) that if somebody has some views about  
11 Islam (0.5) if somebody publish a book then they began to protest and set  
12 fire on things (1.0) just now I was reading a news that (1.0) in France (.) a  
13 magazine has printed the picture of Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him  
14 in wrong way (.) so some people have set fire in their office (1.5) so in this  
15 way these people give bad name to Islam (.) Islam never teaches us that  
16 you- Prophet Muhammad's peace be upon him disgrace had also happened  
17 in his own era so (1.0) this way these people do protest (.) >they should<  
18 write books on Prophet Muhammad's life and glory and answer them (1.0)  
19 respond them on media but they further give bad name by setting fire like  
20 this (.) these poor people have no leader, they do whatever comes in their  
21 mind (1.0) in this way they are making Islam unpopular.

In his response, MAK immediately introduces the problem of lack of leadership among Muslims in the very first line of the extract. MAK supports this claim with a list of further arguments. He argues that lack of a single leader results in different sects and differences among Muslims. According to him, if a community does not have a leader, everybody will differ in their opinion resulting in a discordant situation whose extent is emphasized through his use of ‘everyone does whatever come to their mind’. This also implies that if Muslims have a leader then the situation will be improved. In line 6, he describes those involved as ‘those poor people’ which depicts them as in some sense unable to change their situation. In offering up this description, MAK presents matters in terms of an ‘out-there-ness’ (Potter, 1996): ‘they are internally divided... they are against each other’ (line 7). There seems to be no agent in this situation and instead the divisions that are mentioned happen to people rather than being caused by those people. MAK is using all these arguments in support of his claim that lack of leadership is actually a major problem for Muslims. Although MAK has constructed Muslims’ situation as having

no clear agency, according to him their behaviour is itself acting as an agent by 'giving a bad name to Islam'. The depth of this problem is highlighted by its extent, which is described as 'in the whole world from their acts'. MAK goes on to explain the nature of the problematic acts to which he refers: the reactions that Muslims show in response to someone expressing views about Islam themselves defame Islam. He introduces as an example of such acts public marches and acts of arson that might follow on from publication of a book. He then warrants this general claim by specifying first-hand knowledge of media reports where such things are said to have arisen in France. It is very interesting to note here that although MAK is a Muslim he is rejecting such protests and through this he is resisting the identity of a Muslim who might become involved in such violent activities. Moreover, he is attributing to such Muslims responsibility for defaming Islam by arguing that Islam never teaches this sort of behaviour. So this is actually fulfilling the function of separating out those violent acts of Muslims from the actual teachings of Islam in order to restore the peaceful image of Islam. In line 15, MAK argues the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) disgrace has also happened in his own time span, thus indicating that it is not something new to which Muslims react so violently.

In this extract, the importance of leadership was highlighted as was the case like in the previous pair of extracts and lack of leadership among Muslims is constructed as a major problem in their lives. MAK rejected the violent protests of Muslims and attributed them to this lack of leadership. Throughout the extract, these violent acts are presented as having obscured agency, which did not make clear that who is ultimately responsible for the violent actions of Muslims. Moreover, he suggested such activities are responsible for defaming Islam all around the world. By doing this MAK is presenting his identity as a peaceful Muslim who rejects such violent protests by other Muslims, thereby suggesting that MAK is the sort of Muslim who would gain acceptance from the local community as well as from other non-violent Muslims. This is similar to extract 30 in a way: a major problem is introduced by the speaker who then goes on to claim that he is different from other Muslims and so does not face this problem. Again, an element of stake inoculation seems in play here, that MAK suggests that he is describing this problem on behalf of another Muslim group that excludes himself. This is similar to extract 30, where

AO introduced the problem of lack of religiosity in Muslims while at the same time claiming that he does not face this problem himself. In this extract MAK also introduced the problem of Muslims protesting violently but again he separates himself from this violence by rejecting it as being against Islamic teachings.

In this section, we have seen different constructions of religion and lack of leadership presented as problems for Muslims in Britain. The next section turns to a problem that is routinely associated in the media with Islam, terrorism, and the sorts of racism with which such constructions can be found to be associated.

### **Terrorism and Racism**

In this section, those extracts are considered in which racism is specifically mentioned as the major problem of Muslims in Britain. Terrorism and racism are heated topics and Muslims form an integral part of this equation. Mostly, wherever racism is discussed, terrorism is also discussed by participants and at some places racism is constructed as a result of terrorism. So terrorism and racism are discussed together in this section because they are often related to each other in the discourses of Muslims. Another interesting point here is that whenever participants are blaming somebody of racism agency is often obscured and it is not made clear who it is who is engaging in racism. This reluctance in making direct accusations towards specific individuals indicates that it is a very sensitive issue for the participants. In the first extract in this section, the speaker talks about misconceptions of Islam and its negative image, which is constructed as the major problem Muslims facing in Britain.

#### ***Extract 33***

- 1 I What are the major problems of Muslims in Britain now days?  
2 MUB (20.0) look first of all these people don't consider Muslims good (1.0)  
3 biggest problem is this (1.0) the image of Islam in their minds is very bad so  
4 the biggest problem Muslims face here is this (.) because their image is not  
5 good (0.5) when their image is not good then the rest comes after (0.5) after  
6 listening:: after listening the name of Islam they think that these are some  
7 terrorist people and <they will only do terrorism> (1.0) so:: you know that  
8 umm some that some people have also done bad things because of which



9           this image has gone worse (0.5) and mostly Pakistani people (.) so therefore  
10           here:: first of all these people think like this so therefore (1.0) according to  
11           this every- (1.0) I mean they push you back (0.5) therefore racism develops  
12           because they then think that these are Pakistani people so:: (2.0) I think it is  
13           this problem that:: (1.5) this is major problem of our religion that it is- it has  
14           bad name (1.0) I mean our country also (.) our religion also (1.0) so this is  
15           the matter (0.5) although we are (sect) Muslims by the grace of God (0.5)  
16           there is nothing like that in us (.) we are very different from other Muslims  
17           very much in every aspect (.) but it is the biggest issue in my view (0.5)  
18           which everybody has to face as a Muslim.

This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation female immigrant living in Britain from more than 10 years. MUB initially treats the question posed with silence which seems to indicate the thoughtful manner in which she wishes to frame her response. She then begins by using the expression ‘first of all’, indicating that she is going to speak about more than one problem or that the problem she is going to talk about is the most important of all in that she is discussing it first. According to her, the major problem is ‘these people don’t consider Muslims good’ (line 2). The use of ‘these people’, although possibly a term that refers to local people, establishes early on MUB is leaving matters of agency unclear or at least unstated. At the same time Muslims are presented here as passive recipients of the considerations of this vaguely-defined group. Now why do these people consider Muslims bad? She responds to this question in her next line by stating that ‘the image of Islam in their minds is very bad’ (line 3). The importance of this negative image is highlighted here by MUB’s earlier use ‘first of all’. After this she provides further detail of the kind of bad image of Islam these people have: ‘they think that these are some terrorist people’. It is interesting to note that at several points MUB positions herself as being aware of what is going in the minds of ‘these people’: ‘the image of Islam in their minds’ (line 3), ‘they think’ (line 6), ‘these people think’ (line 10). In order to support her argument she does not present any externally visible or behavioural examples which might prove that such people discriminate against Muslims. She is simply constructing this problem as if she is aware of local people’s cognitions. Although when she produces these claims they

are treated as self-evident, she moves on to provide an explanatory account for why people might think such things, in terms of 'bad things done' by some people or Pakistani people. In the first line of her response she held 'these people' responsible for the problem who have a bad image of Muslims but now such responsibility appears to be transferred to Pakistani Muslims who are described as acting in a way that makes Islam's image worse. It is also noteworthy that she first used the word 'bad' and now she is using a superlative degree of bad, 'worse', to refer to the extent of negativity that is associated with Islam as a result of the bad acts of Muslims. These bad things done by some Muslims are constructed as a reason for the specific bad thinking of other people about Islam (line, 10). The phrase 'some people have also done bad things' may be used here to indicate that although it is only some people who have done bad things, all Muslims have to face the consequent hatred. Thus, the purpose of this discourse could be seen as conveying the message that not all Muslims are engaged in negative behaviour, which acts as a potential corrective for others' misconceptions about Muslims.

In line 11, she introduces a description of the activities of some people in saying that they 'push you back'. Before this point she has been referring to the cognitions people hold about Muslims but at this point she moves on to provide a description that is more behavioural in nature and that indicates a kind of active rejection of Muslims from society. This, together with the problems of image discussed earlier, are then presented as resulting in the development of racism against Muslims (line 11). It is in this way that MUB has constructed the major problem of Muslims as starting from a bad image of Islam and resulting in racism.

MUB has constructed a cause and effect relationship between terrorism and racism. According to her, if some people do bad things, all Muslims are considered as terrorists and this results in racism towards them. Moreover, in line 14 she argues that even her country has a bad name, which lays greater emphasis on the nationality of those from Pakistan who do engage in bad acts. In this way, she extends the scope of the difficulty she is describing from religion to include nationality as well.

Interestingly, she also separates herself from this problem in later lines by mentioning the religious sect to which she belongs, which she describes as not being involved in violent acts and as being different from other Muslims. This is similar to

some earlier extracts where participants presented a problem but then separated themselves from that problem by saying that it affected Muslims in general but did not affect them. MUB is doing the same thing here in that first she has constructed a problem, and then she separated herself from the problem by associating herself with a group of people who are different from general Muslims and do not have such a problem. This again displays elements of stake inoculation in that she is claiming that she does not herself have the problem of belonging to a violent group but is, rather, recounting problems of violence found in other groups. This places her in a favourable position as an immigrant, who has relatively few problems while living in Britain and thus may be more acceptable to the local community. In the end, she finishes her response by again saying that this issue is the biggest one that is faced by all the Muslims. This repetition further emphasizes the importance of this problem for MUB, although her claim that ‘we are very different from other Muslims very much in every aspect’ indicates not only that they do not suffer from problems of violent behaviour among her own sect but possibly even that the consequent problem of racism is one that does not affect her sect to the same extent as other Muslims. This discourse is functioning for MUB as an effort to remove misconceptions about the Muslim community, who are all considered terrorists and treated with racism as a result of bad acts by some people. This phenomenon of stereotyping Muslims is seen in more detail in the following extract.

***Extract 34***

- 1 I What are the major problems faced by the Muslims in Britain today?
- 2 AK What are the problems:::? umm (1.0) due to all this:: may have this
- 3 happened in the past few years for example you know like the twin towers
- 4 you know anyone that is Muslims getting blame for terrorism and stuff like
- 5 that umm (1.0) it's it's an isolation because what's happened there is they
- 6 have isolated us because now we feel that we can't stand up for being who
- 7 we are because we will be criticized and we will call terrorists and stuff >for
- 8 example if I wanted to grow beard< (.) you know (0.5) they look at me now
- 9 and they think normal if I had a big beard it would be like ‘oh he is an
- 10 extremist’ (.) automatically I have been given the title terrorist (.) in the
- 11 sense so (.) that's you know we are being stereotyped and that's the biggest

12           problem that we encountering (.) they don't see us as individuals they see us  
13           as a whole that you are Muslims so you are terrorists you know you are  
14           radicalists you know you believe in all that things and you think that it's  
15           right (.) when it's not true (.) you know that- >even in Islam alone there is a  
16           split between what's right and what's wrong< in regards to you know  
17           suicidal bombs (.) me I know because I have grown up reading Quran and  
18           everything that (.) to me the suicide is *Haram* you are not meant to do it (.)  
19           in a sense so it's like this- even in our own culture there's differences (.) I  
20           tell you the biggest problem was- would be we are being stereotyped.

In this extract, the question dealing with the major problems faced by Muslims was asked of a second generation male. He begins his response by restating part of the question and then he uses temporal discourse to set out what he views as the problem to be considered (Wodak & de Cillia, 2007). In presenting the present problems faced by Muslims he makes reference to past events such as the attack on the 'twin towers'. According to him, as a result of those events 'anyone that is Muslim' is 'getting blame for terrorism' (line 4). AK is claiming that to be blamed for terrorism all is needed for one is to be a Muslim regardless of what sort of Muslim he is. He further argues that this has resulted in the 'isolation' of Muslims. Similarly to extract 33, Muslims are presented here as victims of discrimination and the agency of this discrimination and isolation is located with somebody referred as 'they' in the discourse. He has not specified who he meant by this use of 'they', but it hearably refers to non-Muslim people and might be taken to include those in Britain. According to AK, this blaming has left Muslims as isolated and fearful of criticism. So they are presented as afraid of raising their voice as Muslims because they will be called terrorists. Although Muslims are constructed here as victims of discrimination, no clear agency has been mentioned for such blaming. Because AK has obscured agency for such blaming in this way, he is less likely to receive criticism from any specific quarter about attributing responsibility for blame. In a sense this exemplifies what he has been talking about in saying that Muslims are afraid of being called terrorists so they don't 'stand up'. Thus although he is articulating a problem of discrimination, he is careful not to attribute this to a specific source.

He further supports his claims using the example of wearing a beard. According to him, he is considered as normal without a beard in his current appearance but if he had a 'big beard' he would be given the title of extremist and terrorist. So initially he claimed that if you are a Muslim that is sufficient to be blamed as a terrorist but now his claim is that if you also have a specific appearance like having a 'big beard', you will be blamed as a terrorist. Thus although relevant criteria might change from category label to features of appearance, for AK it is nevertheless that this word is routinely ascribed to Muslims.

In line 11, AK is claiming that Muslims are being stereotyped and for him this is the biggest problem that Muslims encounter. Moreover, he argues that Muslims are considered as one homogeneous group, so everybody who is Muslim is also considered a terrorist. He produces a list of examples to prove the certainty of his claim that some unknown people see Muslims as terrorists and radicalists. AK claims that all these things are associated with Muslims when in reality they are not true and they are instead the results of the stereotyping which Muslims have to face. As AK claims that these things are not true he further supports this claim with examples from his religion. He uses Islam as a reference to prove that Muslims do not believe in such things as suicidal bombs. In line 17-18, he is positioning himself as someone who has grown up while reading the Quran. This presents him as entitled to talk about topics such as suicide in Islam as he is closely footing himself with his religion (Goffman, 1979). After adopting this position, he claims that suicide is forbidden in his religion as well as in his culture. AK is making the use of all these resources to validate his claim that Muslims are being stereotyped, which he also repeats in the end to conclude his response. AK has used all the three tenses in his last sentence indicating the temporal aspect of this problem that Muslims are being stereotyped in past, future and present, which gives this problem greater significance (line 20).

Interestingly, AK has built his response around the victimization of Muslims as terrorists but he has managed to obscure agency throughout the extract. He has not blamed any particular group of people for excluding Muslims as a result of past events. In this way, he has managed the agency carefully that he has described victimization of Muslims but has not named anybody responsible for this. In the

following extract, the consequences of such stereotyping are constructed in further detail.

***Extract 35***

- 1 I What are the major problems that Muslims are facing in Britain now days?  
2 MS a:: I think fro::m after nine eleven I think Muslims have faced more  
3 problems (0.5) I have certainly seen it as well because I wear the hijab (.)  
4 there are some people who won't look at you right oh or they will you know  
5 treat you like you are a third class citizen (0.5) but I think that's I think that's  
6 more to do with media (0.5) presenting Islam in a bad light (0.5) ↑but the::n  
7 it's up to you to show people that Muslims are not like that (0.5) ↓and to  
8 show that Muslims are good people (.) you know you obviously you get  
9 some areas of (1.0) umm <society even in the Muslim world (0.5) who are  
10 terrorists> and the majority of us are not (0.5) the majority of us are  
11 peaceful, you know we love to tell people about our religion and tell people  
12 what we are really like.

This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation female. As was the case with previous participants, here she presents what she is about to say as something that she merely 'thinks' to be the case. According to MS, the turning point for Muslims was 'nine eleven', which can be heard as a reference to the bombing of the New York World Trade Centre. Her claim is that after this event Muslims faced even more problems than before. This is similar in format to the last extract, where the same event was marked as important by AK in terms of creating more problems for Muslims. In her next line, MS positions herself as entitled to make such a claim by saying that she wears a hijab so she has certainly seen such problems. Here, she is constructing a first-hand experience of problems such as people looking at her or treating her as a third class citizen and thereby adding to the apparent veracity of her claim. Secondly, an interesting thing here is the agency management that can be observed. As in previous extracts, MS is attributing agency to 'some people' for treating Muslims as third class citizens without making clear who these 'some people' are. But then in her next line she shifts this responsibility from 'some people' to the media, in that the media are guilty of 'presenting Islam in a bad light' (line 6).

At first MS blames ‘some people’ for mistreating Muslims after nine eleven and then later she shifts this blame towards the media. But then in line 7, she goes on to argue that Muslims themselves should take on the responsibility for showing people that Muslims are not ‘like that’. So there is a rapid shift of responsibility from ‘some people’ to the media and to Muslims themselves. Although she eventually places responsibility on Muslims to prove other people wrong by showing them that ‘Muslims are good people’, she also admits the existence of terrorists within the ‘Muslims’ worlds’. However, at a later point these terrorists are claimed to be in the minority as compared to the majority who are described as ‘peaceful’. She then works up this claim by describing how this ‘majority’ behaves in that they ‘love to tell people about our religion’ and to ‘tell people what we are really like’. Here MS has constructed this list of attributes of the majority Muslims in order to prove her point that the majority of Muslims are not terrorists. This is similar to extract 33 and 34, where it is argued that only some people are responsible for terrorism but all other Muslims have to face the consequences. In a manner similar to previous speakers, here MS uses her argument to present herself as a peaceful Muslim, who is different in kind from others who may engage in violent activity.

In this extract, we have seen that the major problem facing Muslims is again a negative image of Muslims for which first people and then the media are held responsible. This is similar to extract 34, in which Muslims’ problems are also presented as associated with the bombing of the New York World Trade Centre and with the resulting racism. But in this extract, MS claims that majority of Muslims are peaceful Muslims, which further present her identity as a peaceful Muslim as well. However, at other points participants drew upon a different range of difficulties in setting out the sorts of problems Muslims face, and it is to these we now turn.

### **Self-created Problems and the Negative Image of Islam**

This section is related to the preceding section in its focus on the problem of racism. In the preceding section, the agency involved in racism was attributed to some group or groups of people whose nature was left unstated. In this section, however, the extracts show that on occasion Muslims are accused of instigating racism through their own actions. This is important because when people level blame

for difficulties they experience, it often involves levelling such blame at others who stand outside the speaker's own group. Here, however, we see the opposite. We can see this process at work in Extract 36, where the speaker describes Muslims as responsible for the problems they face in the West.

**Extract 36**

1 I In your view, what are the major problems that Muslims are facing in  
2 Britain now days?  
3 NF The Muslims of Britain are:: facing problems with Muslims themselves  
4 (1.0) right (1.0) because Muslims for themselves aa: (.) creating problems  
5 (0.8) right (0.5) instead of saying that <the rules of west or their:: other  
6 things or behaviour (.) is changing> towards Islam so the major role in this  
7 is being a Muslim is of Muslim that he has started to develop his image in  
8 such a way that on viewing some Muslim only:: extremism or bombing or  
9 hate (.) these things' images comes in others' minds (.) right (.) so overall as  
10 whole UK or west or you can say whole world about Islam suddenly- that if  
11 something happens anywhere so without investigation they:: say to everyone  
12 that Muslims will be involved in this (0.5) right (0.5) if anything happened  
13 bad anywhere (.) so:: (.) in this regard in this if western media or other  
14 people have twenty per cent role then Muslims have eighty per cent role in it  
15 (0.5) right (.) so few extremist or other- ↑extremism::↓ is there but the  
16 mainstream Muslims also:: (0.5) idealize them more who are extremist (.)  
17 they make them their hero (0.5) they don't know even what he did (0.5) like  
18 just now there was a case of Mumtaz Qadri (.) Salman Taseer's (.) ↑now↓  
19 you see into its depth- I mean you should think what he did (.) they have  
20 made him hero without any reason (1.0) right (.) so only by thinking that he  
21 did insult to Prophet hood so he killed him so the one who killed him is  
22 better (0.8) now neither we know how was his whole life nor anyone know  
23 about Mumtaz Qadri (.) that what he did in his life (1.0) so these things are  
24 there that we people (.) I- in this (.) extremist are there in every religion (.)  
25 right (.) but we make our extremist our heroes (2.0) so this point that here  
26 what are the problems of Muslims so here Muslims have problems with  
27 Muslims (2.0) right because they propagate extremism.



This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation Muslim woman living in Britain from more than 10 years. According to NF, Muslims' problems are 'Muslims themselves'. After stating this claim and engaging in an almost 2 second-long pause, she clarifies her response further by adding that Muslims are creating problems for themselves. This indicates that according to NF, the problems faced by Muslims have no external source; in fact, the agency of these problems is with Muslims themselves. It is interesting to note that in this response, NF here is constructing the same people as agent and victim. Thus, Muslims are victims of the problems which they have themselves created. In line 5 and 6, she rejects other possible agencies of Muslims' problems such as change in the 'behaviour of west'. NF goes on to expand on this response in the following lines in stating that Muslims have developed such an image of themselves that 'on viewing some Muslims only:: extremism, bombing or hate (.) these things' images comes in others' minds'. At this point, NF treats her claim to know about the 'images' that 'comes in others' minds' as self-evidently true. But in what follows, she amplifies her claim by describing a behavioural consequence that follows on from people having such a negative image of Muslims: if 'something happens', Muslims are blamed. The unthinking nature of such actions that reflect inner 'images' is emphasized here in that they are said to arise 'without investigation'. At the same time, the scope of this problem is also emphasized, in that she generalizes this behavioural response from Britain to the West as a whole, and then to the whole world. NF does not further specify who 'they' are, and so this extract is similar to what we have seen in earlier extracts in that agency for blaming Muslims is obscured. NF further emphasizes the extent of the problems that Muslims create for themselves by suggesting that Muslims are responsible for creating such a bad image of themselves that if anything happen anywhere in the world, Muslims are blamed for it. NF has categorized people into two categories - Muslims and 'they'. Muslims are the people who get blamed and the other group, picked out by 'they' and apparently encompassing everyone else in the 'whole world', are the people who lay the blame on Muslims. And yet, rather than accusing others in the world of blaming the Muslims, NF is accusing Muslims for creating such a situation for themselves.

In line 13, NF again presents Muslims as responsible by enumerating levels of responsibility. According to her, if western media or people are 20% responsible for blaming Muslims, Muslims are 80% responsible for this. This again highlights the extent of Muslims' role in creating this problem, which is presented in numerical terms as much greater than the role played by those who blame them. In a sense, then, NF is blaming the group being victimized for their victimization. In defending what might, in other contexts, seem a paradoxical claim in that extremists are presented as only few in number, and yet all Muslims somehow bear responsibility for the difficulties they cause, NF introduces two more categories of 'extremists' and 'mainstream Muslims'. According to her, mainstream Muslims are creating problems for themselves by supporting extremists. Here extremists are constructed as the ones who are responsible for extremism but mainstream Muslims are actually responsible for idealizing them and making them 'their hero' without knowing what actions such people have actually carried out. NF is rejecting the idea of mainstream Muslims unwittingly supporting extremists and positions herself as the one not supporting extremists. Rather, their actions in supporting extremists are presented as arising 'without any reason' and it is this that is ultimately responsible for the Muslims' poor image world-wide. Through this rejection, NF is at the same time positioning herself as the one who does not support extremists and rejects such idealization. In order to support her claim she gives an example of the events surrounding the murder of a politician in her home country (line 18-23).

Towards the end of her response NF argues that the existence of extremists can be generalized to all religions. But according to NF, what is different in her religion is that people make their extremists heroes and that is why Muslims are creating problems for themselves. NF is criticizing this act of identifying extremists as heroes by mainstream Muslims: according to NF in this way they 'propagate extremism'. Therefore, everything boils down to one thing that Muslims are constructed here as responsible for the problems they are facing throughout the world. This is a very different kind of problem account than we have seen heretofore, given that NF is a Muslim herself. However, she also presents her own identity as an unbiased Muslim who is unlike other Muslims in not supporting extremism. To this extent, she positions herself as an acceptable immigrant to Britain who condemns

extremism and resists identification with people who support extremism. In the following extract, Muslims are again constructed as agents of bringing bad name to Islam, however, AM further specifies the source of such problems: religious priests among Muslims.

***Extract 37***

1 I What are the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain now days?  
2 AM yea::h (2.0) a:: I think obviously there is racist in this country but I think a::  
3 also its you know they follow some Muslim people just because of the way  
4 they portrayed you know our religion because to say that you have to kill  
5 somebody to go to heaven (0.5) you know how can one accept such a  
6 religion so obviously most of them come from the Muslims themselves (1.0)  
7 which I know is totally wrong you know (.) Islam never teaches that you  
8 have to kill somebody you know or that's not what (0.5) we say when we  
9 say Jihad so obviously (1.0) it's Muslims who have made it so and now it's  
10 difficult you know to let people really understand (1.0) you know (1.0) that  
11 Islam is really a very good religion and Islam doesn't really teaches that  
12 (0.5) and one side (1.0) there's Maulvis of today who are you know teaching  
13 people and you know portraying Islam in this way (0.5) ↑just because of↓  
14 you know (1.0) because they want to gain something or (.) you know they  
15 are doing it for a purpose but that is not really the true teaching of Islam (.)  
16 Islam never teaches that yeah (0.5) so I will say probably because you  
17 should understand ↑how many people↓ you know (.) know about Islam?  
18 (0.5) even Christianity in this country (1.0) ↑all of them are↓ you know  
19 celebrating Christmas but (0.5) how many of them are Christians you know  
20 and whenever it is you know (1.0) Christmas everybody celebrates it (1.0)  
21 you know so (2.0) so I think it's (0.5) you know it's the it's the fault of the  
22 Muslims.

This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation female. When she was asked about the major problems faced by Muslims, she began her response by mentioning 'racist in this country'. But immediately afterwards she introduces a condition to this in that this is the result of Muslims' negative portrayal of religion. So like NF in extract 36, AM is also presenting Muslims as responsible for their own problems. Muslims are the agents of other people's racist view towards them. Then

AM presents the rationalization that nobody can accept such a religion in which one has to 'kill somebody to go to heaven'. AM is justifying the racist behaviour of people by constructing a negative description of 'our religion' that is presented as being clearly unacceptable. So here, AM places agency on Muslims themselves just as NF did in extract 36. However, AM goes on to evaluate this portrayal of Muslims as 'totally wrong' in that according to her, Islam does not teach violence or that this is not what is meant by 'Jihad'.

Since the beginning of her response, AM has blamed Muslims for spreading incorrect teachings of Islam but now she reveals the actual source of this problem: Maulvis (priests). According to AM, it is priests who teach Muslims to portray such image of Islam and she further claims that this is done because 'they want to gain something'. This functions to potentially undermine such people and their claims in that what is suggested here is that they make the claims out of personal interest, rather than because they are true. By doing this she is actually shifting agency from Muslims in general to their priests, who are ultimately presented as responsible for the negative image of Islam.

From line 17 onwards, AM raises the question 'how many people you know (.) know about Islam'. She then draws a parallel with Christianity by asking a related rhetorical question, in reference to other people in Britain who celebrate Christmas: 'how many of them are Christians'. This indicates that the problems of ignorance about Islam extend to other religions too, even among those who profess to follow such religions. Towards the end of her response, she reiterates her claim that the blame for Muslims' problems belongs to Muslims themselves.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter, we have looked at different constructions of problem accounts by British Muslims. They were asked about what they think is the major problem for Muslims in Britain and in response they reported that major problems were segregation of Muslims, faith matters and lack of leadership, terrorism and racism and self-created problems such as the negative image of Islam.

In the first section, Muslims and local society were both blamed for not mixing with each other. In the first extract, Muslims were constructed as segregated

and mixing only with Muslims and not with the local community. In the second extract, the reason for such segregation was introduced as the extra-religiosity displays produced by Muslims, which set them apart from the rest of the society. Another important analytical point in these extracts was that participants presented themselves as the Muslims who were less problematic than those they were describing, and thus developing a sense of themselves as being more acceptable and favourable, thus, avoiding any consequent accountability for the problems they are describing. In extract 27, HS allocated responsibility for lack of socialization to both locals and Muslims, thus seeking to reduce the potential for accountability from either side. In extract 28, AS presented himself as an open-minded person in order to avoid accountability that might ensue from the actions of conservative Muslims. Similarly, in extract 29, HS is resisting the identity of a young person who performs acts forbidden by Islam, thus, presenting himself favourably among his own community. We have also seen variations in the agency management of problems in this section. Another way to view these matters is in terms of agency. Firstly, the agency in the creation of problems is attributed equally to Muslims and local community. Secondly, agency is attributed to Muslims by presenting them as responsible for segregation by overly-displaying their religion. Thirdly, the second generation is constructed as agents because of their lack of communication.

The pressures faced by second generation Muslims were introduced in the second extract, and were further elaborated in extract 29. In extract 29, the dilemma of second generation Muslim youth was constructed as their inability to adjust in either Britain or their own cultural society because of their lack of effectively communicating across different groups and their relative disempowerment by older Muslims. In extracts 28 and 29, first generation Muslims are presented as having power and authority over the second generation, preventing them from mixing with those in local society. So in consequence, what we see presented here is a lack of integration across generations, in which neither generation is presented as purely integrated into British society.

In the second section, we have seen that how religiosity and leadership are constructed in a conditional relationship such that if there is good leadership then the community will be more religious and vice versa. However, the current situation of

Muslims is portrayed as lacking in leadership because of which they are presented as less religious than they should be or misguided about their religion. In the first extract, AO established as a major problem the indulgence of Muslims in the materialistic life of Britain, which distracts them from performing their religious obligations. This in turn is attributed to the lack of leadership among Muslims. Similarly, in extract 31 MO constructed lack of leadership as a major problem, but he specifies that this need for leadership relates mainly to young people. In extract 32, MAK gives a list of problems faced by Muslims because of a lack of leadership. In this extract, MAK presents Muslims as 'poor' victims who have no guidance and so they behave inappropriately. By presenting Muslims as 'poor', MAK has obscured the agency of their violent acts thus indicating an out-there-ness quality to the source of their behaviour (Potter, 1996). But later he blames Muslims for defaming Islam through their violent acts. This is an interesting construction in which one problem is presented as the agent of another problem while the source of agency in the initial problem remains unidentified.

An important point to note in all these extracts is that while constructing their accounts of relevant problems, Muslims separate themselves out by claiming to have no such problems themselves. This is a kind of stake inoculation in which participants claim to have no personal interest or stake in reporting a problem as they themselves are free from this problem. Therefore, they claim to have no personal interest in the solution of that problem. This fulfils the function of presenting them in a favourable light as an immigrant because if did report problems, they might be treated as 'whingers' who should return to their country of origin (Kirkwood, McKinlay, & McVittie, 2013b). Presenting themselves as problem free actually enables them to avoid such criticism.

Racism and stereotyping are also constructed as a major problem faced by Muslims in Britain today. Interestingly the agency of such racism and stereotyping has also been obscured in all the extracts. In extract 33, agency is constructed vaguely by using phrases such as 'these people'. Similarly, agency is obscured in extract 34 and 35 as well, where participants used terms such as 'some people' and 'they' without clarifying who they actually meant. This performed the function of protecting the participants from any consequent accountability for levelling

criticisms at specific people or groups as they do not clarify the people who are responsible for discrimination towards Muslims. Moreover, in extract 33 a cause and effect relationship is constructed between terrorism and racism. They both are made conditional to each other and racism is claimed to be a response to terrorism. In extract 34, AK expanded this point by describing the ways in which Muslims are considered by some people to be a homogeneous group of terrorists. AK claimed that the actions of a few people wrongly results in the stereotyping of a whole community. In extract 35, agency behind this negative image of Islam is extended to the media but at the same time Muslims are presented as peaceful and not terrorist as the media portrays.

In the last section, interestingly we have seen that Muslims are held responsible for creating problems for themselves. So the agency of their problems is attributed to Muslims themselves. This is very different from what we have seen in previous extracts where agency is placed on some other, albeit unspecified, people. In extract 36, NF attributed the agency of problems to Muslims because of their support for extremists and in extract 37, AM attributed this agency to Muslims because of their support of incorrect teachings such as suicide bombing, although such failures are later attributed to Muslim priests. Both of these attributions perform the function of presenting the participants themselves as more acceptable to British society as the direction of blame is towards Muslims and not British society for being discriminating against Muslims. By rejecting the idea of extremism they are presenting them as favourable immigrants into Britain and displaying their positive image to others.

## Ch. 6. Enhancing the Wellbeing of British Muslims

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In the previous chapter, participants' discourses about the problems they faced as British Muslims were discussed while in this chapter participants' own solutions to their problems are presented, which help in finding out the ways of enhancing their wellbeing. Many researchers focus on the accounts of problems that Muslims produce but far less attention is given to the ways in which Muslims present solutions to those problems. This chapter is aimed at filling this important gap. As we have seen in chapter 1 that there are many factors that affect the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants in Britain. Most of the research focused on discrimination and racism resulting from the attacks on World Trade Centre as the ultimate cause of Muslims' stress in the West (Padela & Heisler, 2010; Kalek, Mak & Khawaja, 2010; Baker, 2007). However, there are also some other factors associated with the psychological distress of Muslim immigrants, which include marital and visa statuses, English language difficulties, lack of social support and ability to use coping skills (Khawaja, 2007). The current chapter will focus on the solutions that Muslims construct in order to deal with this stress and enhance their wellbeing while living in Britain.

Participants were asked about the ways in which the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be enhanced while living in Britain. In response they produced a number of potential solutions and in this chapter we focus on the most frequent themes that arose in such talk. This chapter is divided into two main themes: 1) Personal improvements and 2) Media responsibility. The theme of personal improvement relates to participants' suggestions about how Muslims in Britain might usefully engage in individual change. This section is further divided into three sub-categories: a) Religion, b) Interaction and integration, and c) Leaving mainstream Islam. The theme of media responsibility is then discussed, with a single focus on participants' claims about the responsibility of the media to include positive portrayals of Islam. In this chapter, extracts are all responses to a single question that was asked in the end of the interview: 'How can the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be enhanced while living in Britain? Although some solutions



were also discussed during the problem discourse, they were elaborated in detail as a response to this question. The discursive concepts which are at work in these extracts are avoiding accountability, reference to cognitive processes, extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986), place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000), accusations and identity management.

## **Personal Improvements**

This section covers those extracts in which participants argued about the need for personal improvements by British Muslims in order to achieve happiness in life. The three sub-categories covered in this section are religion, interaction and integration and leaving mainstream Islam.

### **1. Following Religion and Culture**

In the previous chapter, one complete section was devoted to the problems related to religion as constructed by Muslims in Britain. This section is dealing with solutions to such problems. In this section, we will see that Muslims made the happiness of Muslims conditional on being able to practice their religion. It is worth noting here at the start that, as we saw in earlier chapters, some participants make use of 'religion' and 'culture' interchangeably. Thus one is said to achieve happiness if he or she follows religion properly. In this section, the focus is on how this claim is made out in practice during participants' responses. The following extract is taken from an interview with a second generation male.

#### ***Extract 38***

- 1 I So do you also consider is this the way to enhance the happiness and life  
2 satisfaction of Muslims in Britain?
- 3 UY Absolutely yeah because (3.0) it just all comes back to understanding it's just  
4 (2.0) you know now we are at is education (.) is educating yourself about - like  
5 I said before it's about your culture, about your faith and then (0.5) if you got  
6 these things right they become your life because if you have no understanding  
7 of these things then we become confused and then you let the society of the  
8 UK that begins to have an effect on you then (.) it's like (2.0) well >my friends  
9 are going out on Friday night should I not be going out< (.) >my friends are

10           doing drugs should I not be doing drugs<, my friends are going there and  
11           drinking should I not be drinking, that these basic principles that you know  
12           from beforehand, alcohol is *haram* (.) we can't touch it (1.0) that's it (.) it's  
13           finished so any future problem you might have there (.) they are non-existent  
14           (.) but it needs to be our- we need to have our understanding ourselves so then  
15           we can go and give understanding to our children so that they won't face these  
16           problems (1.0) but it all comes back to (2.0) if you got faith in your life- (.) if  
17           your faith is your life (1.0) you are happy.

UY was asked about how the happiness and life satisfaction of Muslims in Britain might be enhanced. Before this point in the interview, UY had been talking about the personal changes that are required by the Muslims in order to improve their situation in life. So in this continuation UY was asked whether he considers this also as a means to enhance the happiness and life satisfaction of Muslims. UY responded affirmatively with 'absolutely yeah', which implies that there is no doubt about this. However, although he begins to provide what is to be heard as an explanation, in that he goes on to say 'because', he then produces a lengthy pause. He continues by making reference to the cognitive process of 'understanding' but then reformulates as 'education' before reformulating this in turn as 'educating yourself'. Taken together with the lengthy pause, these reformulations indicate that despite his initial confident affirmation, UY is displaying some hesitancy in precisely how to fill out in his answer. He then gives detail of the kinds of education that are required for one's happiness: culture and faith. He emphasizes the significance of education about one's culture and faith by claiming that if these things are correctly in place 'then they become your life', and if not then 'we become confused'. This confusion is then constructed as a sort of vulnerability to the effects of British society. This is an interesting construction of relation between one's awareness about his culture and faith and its relation to British culture. UY here presents knowledge of one's culture and faith as though it can result in to make one's identity becoming strong enough to face the influence of external forces such as British culture. From line 8 to 11, UY is supporting his argument with a list of examples that result from this confusion. He begins the list with a somewhat minor item: going out on a Friday night but moves on to the more weighty examples of drugs and drinking. Here we can see UY using

the increasing severity of problems that accrue in order to highlight the importance of his claim.

He further marks the importance of his claim by establishing that it refers to 'basic principles' and provides further detail on this when he states 'alcohol is *haram*'. Within this local context, he appears here to be referring to the basic principles of his religion in which alcohol is considered forbidden. These basic principles are presented as though their unquestionable nature is a matter-of-fact affair. He claims that if alcohol is forbidden then 'we can't touch it (1.0) that's it'. So he is kind of applying the all-or-none law to his religious principles by claiming that if something is forbidden in his religion it is out of question to touch that thing. Moreover, he is suggesting that in this way any problems related to that particular forbidden thing are also non-existent so long as one does not touch that thing. In this way, UY is describing the benefits of following one's religious principles by claiming that it helps avoid any future problems related to things that are forbidden in his religion. So there is a positive example associated with following one's religion.

In line 14, in order to further emphasize the importance of this, he repeats what he said earlier about the understanding of his faith. Furthermore, he makes it conditional that it is only if one has this understanding that he can give this to 'our children' so that they do not face problems. Here, he is again highlighting the importance of having religious understanding by relating the problem free life of future generations to the religious understanding of this current generation. He concludes what he is trying to convey in the last line by stating the conditional formulation that 'if you got faith in your life- (.) if your faith is your life (1.0) you are happy'. We can see that first he merely describes faith as one component part of one's life but then, using self-repair, he strengthens this claim by stating the conditional claim as one in which faith is identified with life. It is in terms of this stronger formulation that he concludes that the presence of faith makes one happy. Here again happiness is made conditional to one's faith, which implies that for happiness one has to follow his religion.

In this extract, we see an interesting way of describing how Muslims' happiness can be enhanced. UY has actually focused on the extremely negative

consequences of not following one's religion in order to highlight the importance of having religion in one's life. Although he has focused more on the consequences of not following one's religion, he does also go on mention the benefits of following one's faith. This positive is presented in a more generalized fashion in respect of there being an absence of future problems, as compared to the negative consequences which are more specific societal problems such as the taking of drugs. So by providing the precise details of what could result if religion is not followed UY establishes the specificity of his claim. On the other hand, the generality of his more positive claims about absence of problems leaves his claim, because of its relative vagueness, somewhat less susceptible to undermining. In the next extract, there is a similar reference to religious understanding and its links to happiness. But here, the speaker goes on to explain how such understanding can be achieved.

**Extract 39**

- 1 I In your view, how the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be  
2 enhanced?
- 3 SK Umm (2.0) simply:: following the teachings of their religion (.) because their  
4 religion teaches them how to live in a country which isn't Muslim (.) and if they  
5 follow that they will be perfectly fine and:: (0.5) yeah (0.5) this is a problem  
6 because we don't we don't read what our religion has taught us and we don't  
7 umm look at the example of the Prophet *Sallela ho Allehe Wasalam* (.) I mean  
8 you know they were in a country in which Islam wasn't a religion (0.5) but they  
9 conquered the country and they conquered even more so if we all we need to do  
10 is to look at our religion (.) read (.) >this is the problem< we don't like to read  
11 now a days (smile) but if we read then maybe we will be much much happier  
12 than we are right now (1.0) because a lot of people (.) I mean listening to  
13 scholars is great but we also need to read because these scholars have read that  
14 is why they speak so if we read as well then it will be much better for us.

This extract is taken from an interview with a second generation female, who was asked the same question about enhancing the happiness of Muslims in Britain. SK responded to this by presenting the solution of 'following the teachings of their religion', whose ease of implementation she emphasizes through the use of 'simply'. In the next line, she explains her reason for presenting this method of enhancing their

happiness. According to her, Muslims' religion teaches them how to live in a non-Muslim country. This implies that while living in a non-Muslim country following the teachings of their religion as a guide can make Muslims happy. As in extract 38, SK also introduces a conditional relationship between following religion and Muslims' happiness. At lines 4-5, she claims that 'if they follow that, they will be perfectly fine'. SK is here making religious practice a condition for achieving the state of being 'perfectly fine'. But at the same time this also implies that if people do not follow their religion they will not be perfectly fine. An interesting thing to note here is the use of 'perfectly', which suggests the superlative condition. So if Muslims do follow their religion, they will not only be 'fine' but will achieve this state to its maximum degree.

After providing this solution to the problem of how to achieve happiness, SK turns towards the account of a related problem: 'we don't we don't read what our religion has taught us'. Here SK's use of 'we' indicates that although it is she who has proposed the earlier solution, at the same time she is also including herself among the people who do not follow the recommendations set out in her proposed solution. One possibility here is that she includes herself in this group in order to lessen the perception that she is criticizing others for lack of faith. In what follows, she appears to move on to address a possible counter to her criticism: that people might find it difficult to follow their faith in a non-Muslim country. She begins with the claim 'we don't look at the example of Prophet'. She then establishes the relevance of this by pointing out that the Prophet (PBUH) also lived in a non-Muslim country and yet he 'conquered the country'. At the same time, this indicates the extensiveness of the outcomes that can accrue from involving faith in one's life.

In line 10 onwards, she turns back to the problem of not reading about one's religion. So SK is constructing reading as a source for gaining knowledge about one's religion. She again makes this reading behaviour a condition for Muslims' happiness in claiming that 'if we read then maybe we will be much much happier than we are right now'. Then she turns to another source of gaining religious knowledge, i.e., listening to scholars. According to SK, listening to scholars is 'great' but at the same time represents only a partially effective strategy that must be supplemented by reading. Here, then, SK emphasizes the active agency that each

Muslim should employ – in addition to the passive exercise of listening to scholars; it is the responsibility of each Muslim to actively pursue reading as well. In extract 38, UY emphasized the importance of people having religious understanding and education, but did not expand on how one might obtain this education. SK in this extract goes one step further and constructs the source of such religious knowledge in terms of the active pursuit of reading.

In this section, we have seen that religious understanding is presented as a means of ensuring Muslims' happiness and satisfaction in Britain. In both the extracts, the participants have used examples in order to support the efficacy of their suggested solutions. In extract 38, UY lists a series of problematic activities that can be avoided by following one's religion. In extract 39, SK takes the example of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) from history and relates it to the present circumstances of Muslims. A notable thing is that whenever, a solution is suggested; its absence is constructed as a reason for the problem - if Muslims are not following religion they are not happy. Similarly, the happiness of Muslims is made dependent on their knowledge of religion. In this way, a conditional relationship between following religion and happiness of Muslims is constructed in these two extracts. Moreover, in extract 39, SK presents the activity of reading about religion as a measure for improving the happiness and life satisfaction of Muslims in Britain. This describes a practical solution that each Muslim could in principle actively take up in order to improve one's life as compared to the more generalized response found in extract 38. So in extract 38, UY claimed that education about religion is conditional to Muslims' happiness, and in extract 39, SK has established reading as the mean of getting that education.

## **2. Interaction and Integration**

Interaction with local people is an expectation that is constantly placed on Muslims in Britain. We have seen how Muslims construct their relations with the local community in chapter 3. In this section, interaction and integration are presented as the solution to Muslims' problems and as a key to their happiness. Let us see how MUN, a second generation male, achieves this in the next extract.

*Extract 40*

- 1 I In your view how the happiness and life satisfaction of Muslims in Britain can  
2 be enhanced?
- 3 MUN My opinion would be that (2.0) I think more understanding and integration, and  
4 effective communication between the you know the cultures is very important  
5 because even now a lot of the UK British population have a very very kind of  
6 basic understanding of (1.5) what it means to actually be a Muslim and what the  
7 reality is (0.5) so I think a combination of education and communication would  
8 (1.5) you know make everybody's life a little bit easier and better.
- 9 I On the part of Muslims?
- 10 MUN Well Muslims as well because Muslim people can be be just as ignorant (0.5)  
11 we we can be very secular and very umm (2.0) you know self-absorbed (.) you  
12 know we worry about our self and wanted to convert everybody to Islam but we  
13 don't really pay attention to what the problems are outside our culture (.) all we  
14 are concerned with is what's happening in our own culture and we want to  
15 change everybody else.

MUN's initial pause, followed by 'I think' indicates that the request for his view is something that he is attending to carefully. Then he continues his response by stating the importance of 'more understanding and integration' and he further adds the need of 'effective communication' between cultures. His suggestion that 'more' understanding and integration are required and that communication must become more 'effective' implies that understanding, integration and communication are at a less than optimal level in society at present. Initially, MUN does not specify whose responsibility it is to produce such communication and integration. However, in lines 5-6, MUN describes the understanding of British population about Muslims as 'a very very basic kind of basic understanding'. Here the repetition of 'very' and 'basic', together with the phrase 'a kind of' all indicate the currently limited state of the understanding of what it means to be a Muslim that is possessed by the British population. This juxtaposition indicates that the 'effective communication' required is one in which such understanding would be improved. So rather than focusing on the Muslim immigrants' responsibility to integrate into the host society, MUN is highlighting the local community's difficulties in understanding Muslims. As was the

case with previous extracts, here it is interesting to note that MUN constructs the problem as one in which Muslims should promote their own culture rather than talking about Muslims learning more about British culture. This implies that British Muslims can be happy only by spreading the understanding of their identity and culture. However, this one-way form of education and communication is constructed as the source of making ‘everybody’s life a little bit easier and better’. Here MUN has not specified that who are considered ‘everybody’ here, whether all Muslims or local people or both, but the expression is designed to be heard in some way as all-inclusive, even though MUN does not explain further why this would be the case. MUN argument of people having knowledge about ‘what it means to actually be a Muslim’ is very similar to the argument seen in the last chapter about the understanding of the ‘proper Muslim’ that was introduced by HS in extract 27. So again there is reference here towards widespread misconceptions about Muslims because of which people are not aware of what actually ‘Muslims’ are.

MUN suggested that local British people do not have understanding of what Muslims are, so they need to be educated about it in order to enhance the happiness of everybody. In lines 10-11, he responds to the further probe produced by the interviewer about Muslims in particular. Here MUN produces a list of the shortcomings of Muslims in describing them as ignorant, secular and self-absorbed. The use of ‘we’ in these lines implies that MUN has included himself in this group of people. Like SK, he has included himself in the very group he is criticising, and again this may indicate that he is seeking to deflect potential criticism for being heard to level blame at others. In addition, at line 10, MUN has used the expression that Muslims can be ‘just as ignorant’. As this is a comparative phrase, it implies that he is regarding some other group as ignorant as well. Given that in his previous turn he was arguing about the lack of understanding by local people about Muslims, the immediate context indicates that here he is comparing Muslims’ ignorance with that of British people. Thus Muslims are constructed here as being ignorant to the same extent as British people with regards to communication and knowing each other. Moreover, Muslims are also attributed the characteristic of being self-absorbed. This claim is highlighted through expansion in that self-absorbed people are described as those who merely worry about themselves and want to ‘convert everybody to Islam’.



However, it is noteworthy that there is a discrepancy here in MUN's claim: in line 11 he describes Muslims as 'secular', whereas in the following line of the extract they are presented in a relatively extreme fashion as very religious in that they seek to 'convert everybody to Islam'. One possible reading may be that he is treating self-absorption and a concern only with oneself as 'secular' aspects of the self that are not consistent with following one's faith. On this reading, the expression of self-absorption provided, that such people 'want to convert everybody to Islam' can be read as an ironic emphasis on the difficulties that such self-absorption presents. This reading, that Muslims are secular and self-absorbed in they want to make everybody just like them by converting them is supported by what he goes on to say at lines 14-15. Here, he claims that Muslims are just concerned about their own culture and seek to change everybody else. In one sense, then, MUN is pointing towards an insensitivity in the approach of Muslims in not thinking about others and just remaining self-focused.

In this extract, MUN initially focused on the need for educating and communicating with local people about the identity of actual Muslims. He has not highlighted the same need on the part of Muslims, i.e., to know about British people. However, later he goes on to equate Muslims with locals in terms of their ignorance, and concludes by blaming Muslims for being self-absorbed and insensitive to others' cultures. Overall, communication between cultures, including more sensitive treatment of others' views, is presented here as a means of enhancing Muslims' happiness by reducing the harmful effects of one-way communication. We can see this example of self-focus and one-way communication in more detail in the next extract.

***Extract 41***

- 1 I In your view, how the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be  
2 enhanced?
- 3 RJ I think the society in which we live (.) we should not isolate ourselves (1.0) we  
4 should include all of these people in our events (.) tell them it is our customs  
5 and traditions, for example there is Eid, on Eid (0.5) or any religious events  
6 or:: you have any marriage or (.) there is any traditional event at your place  
7 (1.0) so you should highlight your culture (1.5) in games through your kids

8 (0.5) there are countless ways that you (.) ahm there is another problem with  
9 our people that (0.5) they make their own separate group (1.0) so:: they don't  
10 involve themselves (.) and I say that they create some problems themselves  
11 (1.5) look it is multicultural and it has black and white and also brown and  
12 everybody and all live together and and they have same style of life (1.0) look  
13 the society in which you are living if you will live together (1.0) then:: you  
14 definitely have its effects on your life (.) it is not possible that your one like  
15 (1.0) there is a metaphor that >making one and half inch mosque of your own<  
16 so how can you live happy in that if you cut yourself, if you want to live in this  
17 country (.) you want to use all the facilities, want to take everything, also want  
18 to boost your life and if you think that (.) you will live separately by cutting off  
19 from everybody so in this way you will neither get any heart satisfaction nor  
20 you will get any happiness so you (1.0) you (2.0) get involved, there are all  
21 sorts of NGOs here and there are playgroups your children can go and  
22 participate but your own education you should give to your children whether it  
23 is religious or social you manage it in your way but also get others involved in  
24 your way (.) tell them that we have this culture, if we have a birth in family  
25 then we have this tradition (.) we have these traditions in marriages, you get  
26 your neighbours and community members involve in this so:: (2.0) you get  
27 happiness by spreading happiness (.) so I think we should be social.

This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation male living in Britain for the last 40 years. As with previous extracts, RJ starts his response by giving reference to what he thinks, indicating that his response is a well-considered one. Here RJ's preliminary response is that happiness can be enhanced if Muslims do not isolate themselves. Like extract 39 and 40, his use of 'we' indicates that RJ has included himself in the group of people about whom he is talking, thereby achieving the effect of deflecting potential criticisms associated with being heard to accuse others of behaving inappropriately. Here the act of isolation is associated to the type of society that one is living in. So according to RJ, Muslims should include 'these people' in their events and tell them about their customs and traditions. Considering the context of question, here 'society' and 'people' although left unspecified may be taken as referents to local British society and local British people. Here, RJ is emphasizing that local people should be included in 'our events'. However, he does

not state that ‘we’ should attend their events. So, British people should be invited to ‘our events’ and thus be made aware of the customs and traditions RJ’s culture but not other way around. He further supports his argument by giving a list of examples of religious and traditional events and games in which they should highlight their culture. He ends this list of examples by mentioning that there are ‘countless ways’ of doing this, which indicates the extensiveness of this list. Again, it is interesting to note that these examples comprise a list of elements that typify his own culture only. This may imply a form of resistance to participating in others’ customs and traditions or a lack of interest in knowing about their culture. So RJ is describing a sort of one-way communication by stating the importance of having others know about his culture but not describing any efforts on his part to understand their culture. He has kept this argument throughout his extract as we will come across this later as well in the extract. This is somewhat similar to what we have seen in the extract 40, where MUN was also focusing on educating local people about what Muslims are, with no focus on gaining knowledge about British culture himself.

In line 9, as in previous extracts RJ provides an account of a problem while also presenting its solution. According to him, ‘our people’ ‘make their own separate group’. Here RJ’s use of ‘our people’ can be heard as referring to his own Muslim community. This restates his earlier claim that Muslims isolate themselves but more clearly highlights the responsibility that Muslims bear in that he states that ‘they self-create some problems’. This echoes comments seen in the last chapter about the sources of problems faced by Muslims. In what follows, RJ gives an explanation for why Muslims should not isolate themselves. He constructs ‘it’, which in this context hearably refers to Britain, as a multicultural place. He lends emphasis to this claim by going on to describe the varieties of colours that typify this multiculturalism. However, this variety is contrasted with homogeneity of life style in which people are described as ‘all live together’. This may reflect RJ’s place identification with Britain (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). He has constructed Britain as multicultural in order to prove that Muslims are an integral part of the multicultural fabric of society. So by giving Britain the status of a multicultural society, Muslims’ are positioned as residents of that society rather than immigrants into an English or Scottish society. After giving this description of the place, RJ argues that Muslims will ‘definitely

experience its effects such that it is impossible for someone to be 'one' (line 14). Here the use of 'definitely' and 'not possible' indicate the intensity of his claim about the effects of society on Muslims and the extent to which such effects are unavoidable for Muslims (line 14). At this point, he returns to the question originally posed to him, but now reformulates it as 'how can you live happy in that if you cut yourself'. So he is constructing a conditional relationship by making Muslims' happiness dependent on their interaction with local community. He further expands on a list of things which are dependent on Muslims' interaction with local community such as living in the UK, using 'all the facilities', taking 'everything', and being able to 'boost your life'. All these things are constructed here as something which is beneficial for Muslims and this is highlighted through his use of the maximizing terms 'all' and 'everything'. And yet they are described as only available if Muslims stop isolating themselves. It is in this sense that he concludes that happiness is only available when isolation is absent, a claim that he strengthens through his use of 'heart satisfaction'. An interesting thing to note is that in the beginning RJ used 'we' while addressing the solution for Muslims' happiness but now he is using 'you'. This indicates that now he is blaming others for separating themselves and excluding his self from this blame, which positions him as a person who does not isolate himself from local community.

From line 20 onwards, he further suggests the ways in which one can mix with the local community such as involvement with NGOs and playgroups. Although, he emphasizes religious as well as social education he nevertheless indicates that the need to 'get others involved in your way' (line 23). Here once again RJ has suggested telling others about his community's culture and traditions on different events like child birth and marriages, however the partial nature of such involvement is highlighted in that the involvement is described as involving others 'in your way'. This indicates again that RJ has more interest in getting others involved in his community's culture rather than becoming involved in their culture. At the end of this extract, RJ is summarizing his response by suggesting that his community should be social as one will get happiness if he spread happiness. Here getting happiness is also made dependent on spreading happiness, although in this

context this is an activity that is limited to engaging others in one's own religion and culture.

So in this extract, RJ is trying to establish the importance of Muslims' socializing with local community in order to gain happiness and satisfaction. He has made the happiness of Muslims dependent on their efforts to socialize in this community through teaching local people about Muslims' culture and traditions. In some sense this appears to instantiate what MUN was claiming in extract 40: he talked there about Muslims being self-absorbed and just focusing on themselves. In extract 41, RJ is in one sense performing the actions that MUN was criticising in extract 40.

In this section, communication between cultures and understanding is constructed as the source of happiness of Muslims in Britain. Although the focus was mainly on spreading understanding of Muslim culture and identity among local people, at some places Muslims are also blamed for being self-absorbed and failing to make any efforts to integrate. So, primarily responsibility is placed on the shoulders of Muslims for educating the local community about the identity of actual Muslims and their culture. This is said to be the way of enhancing their happiness and life satisfaction while living in Britain.

### **3. Modern Islam**

The title of this section draws on a term used by one of the participants while talking about ways of enhancing Muslims' happiness. The claim set out below in the next two extracts is that one should leave mainstream Islam and embrace modern Islam, in order to increase the happiness and life satisfaction of Muslims. The rejection of mainstream Islam is constructed very carefully in the following extract by a second generation male participant.

#### ***Extract 42***

- 1 I So in your view how the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can
- 2 be enhanced?
- 3 MO I think the:: the majority of the Muslims need to:: umm move away fro::m the::
- 4 mainstream:: umm Islam you know it's coming out of the loud speakers from
- 5 all the mosques in the UK and they really need to (0.5) question themselves

6 and ask themselves that the Muslim world as it is today (0.5) is it getting any  
7 better? (0.3) and if not then go back to the roots that umm where things have  
8 started going wrong umm and you know question their leaders and not having  
9 the fear of questioning being able to ask anything they want a:: whether it's  
10 based on other sects of Islam whether it's based on umm things that are classed  
11 as blasphemy to the the spiritual leaders of their communities and other than  
12 that from there they can progress and have more respect in the society they live  
13 in and the communities they live in (1.0)

14 I How they can progress?

15 MO Well the way I- personally think you know other than that I really think that  
16 they can progress is by umm adapting to the (0.5) culture the British culture  
17 that they live in umm adapting to umm the other charities, go out and trying to  
18 capture the hearts of the you know the people umm for example the current  
19 poppy appeal (0.3) the remembrance day is typical example where some  
20 Muslim- one Muslim organization will go out and collect money for this  
21 remembrance day and give out poppies and whereas the other Muslims will  
22 look at this as (0.5) an act against Islam because you are again remembering  
23 the dead of the British army (.) and the Muslims again hold on the view that  
24 these very same people are the one who are fighting wars in their Muslim  
25 countries umm so again it's having that understanding and being able to  
26 establish what's right and wrong umm they can make them progress but just  
27 simple actions by doing community work can gain them the trust of the  
28 majority of the community as well.

As in the last extract, here the respondent uses 'I think' to his answer the status of a well-considered response. According to MO, the 'majority of Muslims' should 'move away' from mainstream Islam (Although perhaps unexpected, coming from a Muslim, this suggestion in fact appeared in the discourses of other participants as well). The use of 'majority of Muslims' indicates that currently the majority of Muslims form a part of this 'mainstream Islam'. This use of 'mainstream Islam' also indicates the existence of another Islam, which may somehow be different from this 'mainstream' Islam. In line 4, mainstream Islam is defined as something 'coming out of the loud speakers' of UK mosques, which points towards the nature of mainstream Islam: it is the form of Islam that is promulgated via

‘official’ bodies such as mosques and priests. This also implies a rejection of a common understanding of Islam in the UK which is that priests preach Islam in UK mosques. According to MO, in order to achieve happiness Muslims need to ‘move away’ from this conventional Islam. It is noteworthy that this phrase itself is somewhat limited in scope – moving away does not, for example, imply complete abandonment but rather separating off. He further explains the ways in which Muslims can ‘move away’ in terms of a specific activity: Muslims can ‘question themselves’. MO then provides an example of the sort of question this might involve: ‘is the Muslim world as it is today getting any better? He continues by indicating a candidate response to such a question, via ‘if not’, and by suggesting a potential solution involving ‘go back to the roots’ which he indicates the point where things ‘start going wrong’. Note that here he does not address an alternative candidate response in terms of someone who might think things are getting better with mainstream Islam. This performs the function of orienting the listener’s focus to view that things are not getting better.

According to MO, Muslims should go to the root of this problem and this can be achieved by questioning ‘their leaders’. However he also indicates the thoroughgoing nature of such questioning through the use of ‘anything’, which here indicates a potentially extensive and possibly sensitive list of topics that could be addressed to ‘their leaders’. The sensitivity that might be involved is further emphasized by his mention of ‘other sects’ and ‘blasphemy’, both of which have in the past been publicly associated with popular accounts of Muslim disquiet. Moreover, he makes it clear in line 11 that by leaders he means spiritual leaders so these can be taken to be the same people who are preaching Islam in mosques. So MO is here encouraging Muslims to leave conventional Islam, which is preached in the mosques by religious leaders, and question those leaders fearlessly even about sensitive issues like blasphemy. According to him, this could make Muslims more successful and respectable in society and in their communities. Thus leaving the mainstream Islam and questioning religious leaders is constructed here as a way of increasing Muslims’ happiness and life satisfaction while living in Britain. One important thing to note here is that this is related to the reports of the major problems of Muslims in the last chapter about the media picking on the violent protests of

Muslims in response to blasphemy. By mainstream Islam, MO could also refer to this sort of violence which gets media attention and thus brings bad name to Islam. So one possible reading could be that by leaving this kind of violence Muslims can restore the positive image of Islam and achieve happiness.

In line 14, interviewer requested more elaboration on how Muslims can progress by going away from mainstream Islam to which MO sets out his account of how Muslims should behave after leaving mainstream Islam; although once again he presents this as something he himself ‘personally’ thinks. Muslims’ ‘progress’ is related to the adoption of British culture. Here MO is using the metaphor of capturing the hearts of people, which refers to winning people’s trust in oneself. He is suggesting that this could be done by adopting British culture and more specifically by supporting charities. To support his argument he gives the example of the ‘poppy appeal’ in which one group of Muslims is engaged in fund raising for this charity compared with another group of Muslims who consider this as ‘against Islam’. This is indicating a split of Muslims into two categories, in which one group is collecting money for the dead of British army and the other considers this fund-raising to be ‘against Islam’. Although MO does not express his own view, he does juxtapose his description of these two categories of Muslims with the claim that ‘it’s having that understanding’, which he suggests involves ‘being able to establish what’s right and wrong’. So although he does not express his own view, he indicates that when considering the actions of these two groups, one may do so in terms of rightness and wrongness. Towards the end of the extract, a clearer indication of what he himself believes is given when he states that gaining trust from the community involves ‘doing community work’, which can be heard as referring to the sort of activities that other Muslims might consider to be ‘against Islam’.

So in this extract MO has claimed that in order to gain happiness and progress in society, Muslims need to leave the conventional Islam which is taught by priests in mosques. Then he turns towards British culture and argues that Muslims should become involved in that culture in order to gain the trust of its people and to make progress. So in a way Muslims happiness is here presented as associated with acceptance by the local community. By rejecting mainstream Islam, MO is also resisting being associated himself with the sort of Islam that is ‘coming out of the



loud speakers' and instead positions himself as someone who supports the notion of engaging with the local community and its activities. This concern with mainstream versus other forms of Islam is also echoed in the following extract, in which we find the participant presenting a view of 'modern Islam'.

**Extract 43**

- 1 I How can Muslims=  
2 SG =Show them?  
3 I Yes  
4 SG I think we show them as in like (2.0) they should they should even publish the  
5 good things like how Islam is peaceful (.) what we got told- (1.0) how we  
6 wanna change and how is like Pakistan is changing now with time Pakistan is a  
7 modern place (.) if you go to like Lahore and the bigger places (.) there is not  
8 (1.0) as it's more like (.) people are more advanced there (.) they are more  
9 different (.) education is a big thing they are doing there (.) girls are starting  
10 and becoming doctors etcetera but (0.3) they- we need to understand that yeah  
11 we are changing and moving all the time and they need to understand and move  
12 on with time to and (1.0) we should just embrace the change of Islam coming  
13 to a modern Islam now yeah.

This extract is from an interview with a female belonging to the second generation of Muslim immigrants originating from Pakistan. Just before this extract SG was asked about ways of enhancing Muslims' happiness and satisfaction and in response she held the media responsible for presenting a negative image of Islam and blamed local people for failing to understand that all Muslims are not all the same. In the later part of her response, presented here in Extract 43, she takes up the interviewer's subsequent probe about how Muslims can clear up this misconception. She begins by stating that 'they', a group which she does not further specify, should 'publish the good things'. This use of 'they' could be for Muslims in general as interviewer asked SG that how Muslims and she immediately completed the sentence with 'Show them' the peaceful image of Islam. Here 'them' could be read as mentioning the British local community and British media that she was talking about just before this extract. SG then offers, via 'like', a list of examples of such good things: 'how Islam is peaceful', 'how we wanna change', and 'how is like Pakistan is

changing now with time'. The first item in this list, the peacefulness of Islam, may reflect the concerns expressed by previous participants that Islam has become associated with terrorism throughout the world. So SG is rejecting the association of Islam with terrorism by claiming that Islam is actually a peaceful religion. However, she goes on to deal with any potential lingering doubts by expressing the view that, anyway, Muslims themselves want to change. She then strengthens this claim by suggesting that not only do Muslims want to change, in Pakistan changes are actually occurring. To warrant this claim she offers the example of Lahore: 'people are more advanced there (.) they are more different'. Although she does not specify which other people are relatively speaking non-advanced, this description of Pakistan as 'a modern place' whose people are 'more advanced' nevertheless helps to support her claim that Pakistan has experienced change. As a further example, she refers to the way that girls are now 'becoming doctors'. This directly addresses a widespread belief that Pakistani girls are not given the freedom to receive education. So here SG is establishing that change is occurring in a Muslim society by claiming that even Pakistan, which many might consider a third world country with reactionary policies towards female education, is becoming modern and adopting more progressive policies towards women.

In line 11, she returns to the people whom she refers to as 'they' and who were earlier accused of failing to publish 'good things' about Islam. Having set out her description of the changing world of Islam, she now claims that this is something that such people 'need to understand'. This could be a mention of the group of Muslims who stick to the more conventional Islam. This indicates that these Muslims should now leave the conventional Islam and embrace the modern Islam. This is further confirmed at the end of her response, where she concludes by arguing that it is 'we' who must 'embrace the change'.

So here, as in the preceding extract, we see change and movement being taken to represent a kind of progress and modernization. Moreover 'they', which in the present context can be heard as referring to the general Muslims, are also encouraged to understand this change and progress with time. Moreover, in the last line these changes in Islam are encapsulated as a move towards 'a modern Islam' which is constructed in a positive way by suggesting that it should be embraced.

In extract 42, MO suggested that Muslims should leave mainstream Islam in order to gain progress and in this extract, SG is talking about embracing ‘modern Islam’. In similar respects, then, both speakers indicate a need for change within Muslims such that they reject conventional Islam and instead embrace modern Islam. Furthermore, these two things are constructed as the source of Muslims’ happiness and progress in this society.

### **Media Responsibility: Positive Portrayal of Islam**

Since the terrorist attacks in America, notably the attack on the New York World Trade Centre, Islam has received a lot of public criticism and the media in particular have produced a variety of negative representations of Islam. In this section, Muslims are talking about the media’s responsibility for portraying a positive image of Islam in order to deal with racism. Thus the eradication of racist attitudes through more responsible media activities is presented here as crucial to Muslims’ happiness and life satisfaction in Britain.

#### ***Extract 44***

- 1 I How can we enhance the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims?
- 2 RK I would only say this that media here (0.5) should not make their people racist
- 3 by falsely highlighting the news against Muslims (0.8) because whatever they
- 4 publish the common reader will also think on the same lines (.) if they publish
- 5 positively while:: considering all the Muslims:: part of this society and write
- 6 normal things about them like (.) should be written commonly then I think
- 7 nobody- because all the people are sitting in their homes, nobody directly
- 8 fights with a Muslim (0.8) and no other fights and if we see then the relations
- 9 are also almost good (.) hello hi is there (0.5) so I think that the things
- 10 included in media like in TV or in newspaper like publishing a woman with
- 11 veiled face (0.5) below they publish any article, so any one person's prejudice
- 12 spreads in the whole society (0.5) so this should not be happening aa::
- 13 positive should be spread out.

RK is a first generation female Muslim immigrant living in Glasgow for over 10 years. When she was asked by the interviewer about ways of enhancing the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims, she began her response by

indicating that the media's role was the only thing she would be discussing. She begins with the claim that the media 'should not make their people racist'. As this is presented without further reference to evidence, RK here treats this claim as self-evident. Moreover, RK indicates here that a connection exists between the media and 'their people' which in the current context hearably refers to local British people. She then moves on to offer a candidate explanation for how such racism arises. First, she claims that the media present an untrue version of Muslims in that the media engages in 'falsely highlighting the news against Muslims'. Second, she expands on her earlier indication that the media stand in a particular relationship to 'their people' by focusing on the importance of the media's role in building people's perceptions about Muslims. According to her, 'the common reader' will 'also think on the lines' that are indicated in media publications. Here RK is constructing the media as having the power to influence people's perceptions, a claim that further establishes the responsibility of the media for developing certain perceptions about Muslims. It is not just that the media publish untrue stories, but that 'the common reader' is unduly influenced by such stories.

However, at line 5, RK introduces an alternative scenario that might arise out of the media's influence on 'the common reader'. RK suggests that if the media 'publish positively' then 'nobody directly fights with a Muslim'. Of course, given the current context in which she has previously accused the media of publishing untrue stories, the question of the veracity of what the media might 'publish positively' is also relevant. RK addresses this in three ways. First, such a process should consider 'all the Muslims'. This indicates that the falsehood of less positive stories may lie in part of the partial nature of the reporting involved. Second, she states that positive publishing would involve the media in writing 'normal things about them'. This indicates that the positive stories she is recommending would be accurately reflecting the everyday lives of Muslims. Third, she claims that relations will improve 'if we see normally'. This implies that the positive reporting she has recommended would constitute perceiving things as they are, unlike by implication, the perceptions that are involved in the production of the negative stories she has earlier criticised as incurring racism. It is by following this more positive, and more accurate, reportage that the media can avoid racism and instead create relations that are 'almost good'. It

is noteworthy, though, that her use of ‘almost good’ indicates that the relationship is not completely good but it is merely approaching that state. This implies that although a perfect relationship is not attainable between local people and Muslims, some kind of good relationship could exist between them. RK concludes by providing some detail on how delicate such relations are. She returns to her earlier claim that the media may unduly influence people by introducing as an example a media picture of a ‘woman with covered face’. She may here have used this specific example because the issue of whether it is appropriate for Muslim women to be veiled in this way has received much recent media attention. According to RK, the difficulty with publishing pictures of this sort is that ‘any one person’s racist attitude’ can spread ‘in the whole society’. This reiterates her earlier view of the power of the media by indicating that people are not directly in touch with Muslims but instead develop their views about Muslims based on the media’s news. This is given emphasis by her use of ‘spread’ which suggests an almost plague-like, irrational transfer of racist attitudes from one person to the next. So this is enhancing the responsibility of the media in a sense in that whatever they publish has a powerful effect on common people. It is because of this potential for spreading racism, RK concludes, that the media should ensure that ‘positive should be spread out’.

RK was asked about ways of enhancing the happiness of Muslims in Britain and she accused the media of playing a major role in making people racist towards Muslims. Muslims are constructed here in a more positive way as it is suggested that negative news about Muslims is falsely highlighted by media. This also implies that for RK Muslims are unhappy because racism is being spread by the media. Therefore, by removing this source of racism, Muslims can be made happier. In this extract, RK has repeatedly established the responsibility of the media in terms of its negative impact on the perceptions local people have of Muslims. RK’s discourse indicated that there is a need of positive portrayal of Islam in the media in order to tackle racism towards Muslims. In this sense, such positive portrayals of Islam may also represent a way of enhancing Muslims’ happiness and life satisfaction in Britain. In the next extract, MUB explains in further detail the role of the media in portraying Islam and Muslims.

*Extract 45*

1 I How the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be enhanced?  
2 MUB There is a need for improvement on all levels like there is need on government  
3 base as well that they (1.0) I mean:: on government level they tell about our  
4 religion (0.5) look at government level (.) you can take media (1.0) ↑on media  
5 alone (0.5) how wrong publicity and brain washing media does↓ (.) against  
6 Islam if you listen, news or anything, about Iraq and Afghanistan and different  
7 examples of Pakistan all this is news (1.0) it is media that give so much (.) air  
8 against Islam, against religion (.) look majority of people, population, common  
9 people (.) they are because of media (.) media has done brainwashing it is my  
10 view (.) that major role is of media (.) if government make such policies  
11 government (.) and especially media if you tell about Islam on it that what the  
12 truth is (0.5) what is Islam (1.0) if you tell the truth about Islam that these are  
13 not teachings of Islam (0.5) that to take someone's life, suicidal attacks, these  
14 are not Islamic teachings (.) if you tell this (.) on media then I don't think that  
15 (1.0) the way these people do racism, the way they feel (1.0) so it will all be  
16 finished (.) in my view there should be such policy that it should be told on  
17 media about Islam that what Islam teaches and what is written in Quran (1.0)  
18 what Quran says (.) because our Quran doesn't tell us to take someone's life  
19 and do all this (.) it is only brainwashing because of which all these people  
20 consider us so bad (0.5) they think us so bad (.) >if you go and tell to common  
21 people< like our peace conferences (.) if you take any guest in these peace  
22 conferences, take your neighbours, take your friends, then believe me when  
23 the peace conference ends, people listen to our Imam sahib's speeches and  
24 everything, after that if you ask people's views they are astonished, they say  
25 that 'we came to know only today that what true Islam is (1.0) right (1.0) what  
26 are the teachings of Islam (.) we were so brain washed (.) we were told this  
27 since childhood, we were brought up like this, we have been told that these  
28 Muslim people do this, do that.

This extract is taken from an interview with a first generation female Muslim immigrant in Britain. When MUB was asked how the happiness of British Muslims can be enhanced she constructed a need for improvement 'on all levels'. Then she starts explaining which levels she is talking about in line 3 and the first thing in that

list is 'government level' with the function of the government being described as 'they tell about our religion'. However, rather than expanding on how the government might carry out such a function, MUB instead turns to the media. This juxtaposition leaves unclear precisely what, in her view, is the relationship between the government and the media. However, as in the earlier extract, the role of the media themselves is clear: they produce 'wrong publicity' and engage in 'brain washing ... against Islam'. This suggests not only that the media brain-wash people but perhaps also that in some way the government colludes in such activities. This is again performing the function of presenting Muslims as innocent victims of negative media portrayals. In order to further support her claim, MUB gives examples of news that is broadcast on the media 'against Islam'. This includes news about Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. This listing of three is presented here as sufficient evidence for supporting her claim that the media 'give so much (.) air against Islam'. Then she comes back to the concept of 'brainwashing' that she had mentioned earlier. By constructing local people as victims of brain washing by the media, MUB positions them as in some respects analogous to the Muslim community who are also the victims of media behaviour. In so doing, MUB implies some sort of commonality across the two communities. Moreover, by putting the blame for local people's racism on media, she is avoiding being heard as directly accusing the members of that local people. So rather than directly blaming the local community of deliberately harbouring racism against Islam, MUB is blaming the media for creating this racism.

In line 12, MUB suggests an alternative sort of activity that the media might take up. Instead of showing negative portrayals of Islam through incorrect reportage, the media should 'tell the truth about Islam'. She supports this claim by arguing that events that might be portrayed in the media such as taking someone's life or 'suicidal attacks' are not 'Islamic teachings'. As with previous speakers, MUB here appears to orient her response to beliefs that might be commonly held about the relationship between Islam and terrorism. In this way, she is herself rejecting being associated with terrorists and with the identity of being a religious fundamentalist (such resistance was very common in the majority of the interviews, as was seen in the preceding chapter as well). MUB is further claiming that if the media began to spread the true teachings of Islam, this would result in the eradication of racism. This is

similar to what we have seen in extract 44, that if the media starts spreading a positive image of Islam, people would stop being racist. Like RK, MUB is also blaming the media for making people racists by brain washing them against Islam. Moreover, she is putting the responsibility for reducing this racism on the media in that by presenting a positive image of Islam, the media can stop this racism. By placing all the blame for racism on media, MUB is thereby avoiding potential accountability for her criticisms that might arise either from other Muslims or from the local British community. This is because if MUB blames Muslims for creating extremism in Islam, she will be accountable to them, whereas, if she blames British people of racism then she could be held accountable by them. Therefore, this attribution of blame to a generalized medium such as media is functioning to protect MUB from any accountability from either community.

From lines 16 to 19, MUB again repeats her suggestion that media should broadcast what Islam teaches and what the Quran says. The effect of this is to contrast what the media might say about Islam with what is presented in a hearably more authentic source of Islamic teachings. It is in terms of this contrast that she returns to her claim about brainwashing of people by the media and its responsibility for the negative impression of Muslims among the local community. This repetition serves the purpose of highlighting the importance of this argument for MUB.

From line 21 onwards, MUB is positioning herself entitled to make claims about the brain washing of people by describing her experience of peace conferences. She is suggesting that if one takes their friends or neighbours to peace conference and they listen to the priest's speeches then it can change their view about Islam. From lines 24 to 28, MUB is using the reported speech by British people attending the peace conference to support her claim of brain washing. So, local people are constructed here as admitting themselves that they were brain washed (line 26). By using this reported speech of their acceptance of being brain washed since childhood, MUB is further supporting her claim of media brain washing against Islam. Moreover, this is also presenting her position as entitled to make such claims as she has direct contact with such people who have been brain washed.

In this section, we have seen how the media are constructed as a source of racism against Islam through portraying falsely negative images of Islam. This



attribution to the media functions in part to protect the participants from any accountability by the Muslim community. Moreover, the media are presented here as responsible for spreading racism against Islam among local people. This attribution of racism to the media also protected the participants from any further accountability to local people in terms of the racist criticisms that are being levelled. This blaming of media also places both Muslims and locals in the role of victims of media manipulation. As an alternative to the current negative portrayal of Islam, both participants have constructed the need for a positive portrayal of Islam by the media in order to eradicate this racism. In both the extracts, local people are also constructed as victims and instead it is the media who are held responsible for sowing the seed of hatred between Muslims and local British people.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter, we have looked at Muslims' views on how their own happiness might be enhanced. Most of the participants focused on individual improvements required in Muslims themselves in order to make their life happy and more satisfied. In this pursuit of personal improvement, one important feature was the carrying out of religious obligations. Participants constructed a conditional relationship between following religion and happiness. Extreme case formulations were used in order to establish the negative consequences of not following religion, which helped participants to support the significance of their claim. Evaluations of the consequences of following or not following religion were presented in order to support the speakers' claims. Participants also made a frequent reference to their cognitive process such as directly mentioning that what they were about to say was what they think, in order to establish the status of their argument as well-considered and thought out.

The second important suggestion that came up in the section of personal improvement was interaction and integration. Participants claimed that there is a need for Muslims' interaction with local people in order to enhance their happiness. However this was said to be achievable only by including locals in Muslim traditions but not by Muslims participating in local culture. This is very interesting to note, that although participants admit the need for integrating within the local community but want to do this on their own terms. They do not want to mix in the events of local

people but instead want locals to mix in their events. In this way, Muslim participants are in some respects rejecting the idea of mixing in the British cultural events. Moreover, Muslims are also presented here as more self-focused and self-absorbed, and as people who just care about themselves and not the society outside their own community. References of this sort were sometimes used to establish the importance of mixing with the local community. Thus the current status of Muslims who were presented as self-absorbed was possibly also being presented as a reason for their unhappiness; to enhance their happiness some speakers here suggested Muslims would have to interact more with the local community. Participants also tried to avoid the accountability potentially associated with levelling criticisms by reducing the intensity of their blaming with the use of 'we'. So they included themselves in the category of people under discussion so that they were less likely to be held accountable for blaming their own community.

Another way to enhance happiness suggested by these Muslim participants was to leave mainstream Islam and embrace the modern Islam. By advocating the rejection of 'mainstream' Islam these participants may also have been presenting themselves as not being susceptible to extremist influences. Moreover, they also present themselves as more open-minded, and as people who accept British culture and the modernization of Islam. Basically, 'modern Islam' is a term which is introduced by the participants in the face of fundamentalist Islam. So according to them modern Islam is much more open minded and flexible as compared to rigid and conservative mainstream Islam. It is this modernization of Islam that the participants of this study appear to appreciate and accept.

A completely different category of media also emerged as a frequent theme in the discourses of Muslims. Participants often accused the media of creating and spreading racism against Islam by publishing false news about Islam. This functions to protect Muslims from responsibility for racism they may experience by positioning them as the victims of false publicity in the media. Furthermore, local people were also presented as the victims of misinformation about Islam in the media, which results in them developing racist attitudes. This blaming of media and portrayal of both Muslims and local communities as media victims helped the participants to avoid any resulting accountabilities from either society that might

accrue from such talk of racism. A need was also established that the media should start portraying Islam in a more positive light, based on the true Islamic teachings, so that racism could be eradicated.

## Ch. 7. Discussion

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This thesis was an effort to bridge the discursive gap in research about British Muslim immigrants. In this research, we have looked at the discursive formulations, maintenance and negotiation of different ideologies, integration efforts and place belongings in the talk of British Muslims. Moreover, different accounts of their wellbeing and difficulties while living in Britain were also explored. In this chapter, we will bring together all the major results of this thesis and discuss their implications, possible methodological limitations, suggestions for future research and evolve a final conclusion.

The third chapter is the first empirical chapter in the thesis and examines the constructions and negotiations of identities in relation to home and host societies and the process of intertwining this identity work with claims about integration. Major results of this chapter included: first generation British Muslims formulated two types of identities while living in Britain i.e., rigid and flexible identities. These identities were constructed in such a way that they helped participants secure acceptance in the relevant culture. For example, a flexible identity was constructed to gain acceptance from British society as a favourable immigrant, who is ready to adapt to a new culture by making necessary changes in one's lifestyle. Similarly, rigid identities secured the same favourable status in relation to the participant's home society as a result of strictly adhering to requirements of the home culture while rejecting the host culture completely. In both these cases participants constructed their formulation of identity as normal in comparison to others' abnormal or incorrect choices. On the other hand, second generation Muslims represented their identity as hyphenated by including their national, ethnic and religious identities. An interesting point is that all these identities were presented as not only compatible with each other but also as facilitating each other in a positive way. Many researchers have focused on the multiple identities taken up by British Muslims (Hopkins, 2007; Din, 2006) and the findings of this present research are in line with their results. However, an addition to these findings is that in this current research, it was the British identity which was formulated as the facilitative identity for maintaining

one's religious identity. Moreover, these participants also made positive references to British society and while drawing on place identity they evaluated their having being born in Britain in an extremely positive manner. This positive association with Britain was not limited to the second generation, who generally have a reason for this in having lived in Britain all of their lives; it was also visible in the discourses of first generation Muslims. First generation Muslims also evaluated Britain positively in comparison to their home countries based on the religious freedom they enjoy in Britain. In some cases, as a result of this they even reformulated their attachment to the home country. An important function that this positive evaluation of host society fulfilled was to present these immigrants in a favourable light and thus open more ways for them to gain acceptance by British society (Kirkwood, McKinlay & McVittie, 2013a).

This pursuing of acceptance by the local society also presented these immigrants as active seekers of integration, which was another important finding of the chapter. These participants endorsed the idea of extensive interaction between themselves and local society, indicating their effort to integrate. However, this idea of extensive interaction was always presented as guided by the limits set by their religion. This claim of extensive interaction within religious limits actually functions to make participants acceptable to both societies without any resulting accountabilities from either side. This finding is somewhat in line with Ali's (2008) mode of 'partial acculturation' in which American Muslims tried to adapt to both cultures in order to be accepted by the host society and by their parents. However, in the current study culture is replaced by religion, which was given more prominence as compared to culture. The reason constructed by the participants for this preference for religion over culture is similar to the one found by Jacobson (1997) that British-Pakistani Muslims consider their religion as well-defined compared to their culture. Likewise, in this study, British Muslims constructed their culture as vague and their religion as the guiding principle in all areas of their life. As we saw in the first chapter, research has shown that Muslims do not reject the idea of integration, but deal with it in a complicated manner (f.e. Nagel & Staeheli, 2008; Maxwell, 2006). This study has further supported these findings as British Muslims in this study also appreciated the idea of extensive interaction but at the same time imposed some

religious boundaries on this interaction with local society. Further, these findings pointed to the importance of religion in the lives of participants, which is also visible in the additional finding that religion was constructed as dominating the culture of home and host society. This predominance of religion over other forms of identities is also discussed by Saeed, Blain and Forbes (1999) in their study with Scottish Muslims. They suggested that if given the option to choose only one identity, Muslims would choose their religious identity over their ethnic and national identities. Likewise in interaction with locals, culture is also said to be defined by religious boundaries. These participants indicated that there might be room for negligence in following culture but not in following religion. Researchers have suggested a similar kind of overlap between ethnicity and nationality. For example, Eriksen (2010) termed the ethnic and national identity as 'kindred concepts' and Lesser (1999) phrased this as 'shifting sands of nationality and ethnicity'. This overlap is further related to the blurring of religious and ethnic identity as reported by McKinlay and McVittie (2011), which is in line with the findings of current research. So this is an important finding: although these participants are constructing active efforts to integrate into British society while maintaining both home and host cultures, everything is guided by rules that are defined by their religion.

The fourth chapter focused on the wellbeing of British Muslims and on how their claims of happiness and unhappiness are handled in discourse. An important finding of this chapter was their conditional construction of happiness along with a preference to live in their home country or in an Islamic country. Almost all participants constructed their happiness as conditional to the fulfilment of certain factors, and the major factor was their preference for living in an Islamic or home country. This was a very interesting construction of happiness from immigrants in a non-Islamic country but when we look at the immediate context of the discourses we find that happiness and unhappiness were presented as co-existing. Although a preference to live in the home country or Islamic country was made conditional to one's happiness by both generations, there were also factors that were presented as responsible for one's happiness in the host society. In this regard, the major reasons put forward for happiness in Britain included personal factors such as religious freedom and security; and national factors such as the presence of a good

institutional system such as the NHS, a caring government and a welcoming British society. Interestingly, this reference to religious freedom is comparable to that made by participants in chapter 3 while producing a positive evaluation of Britain. Its repetition indicates the importance of such freedom for British Muslims. These reasons put forth by participants are an addition to the already existing list of predictors of wellbeing in this area. Many of these predictors are identified in previous research (f.e. Khawaja, 2007) but religious freedom and security have been, until now, relatively unexplored.

In this chapter, the discursive focus was on emotional categories of happiness and unhappiness, which are difficult areas considering the epistemological status of emotions as something unseen and internal. However, every effort was made to keep the analysis discursively oriented, with a focus on the rhetorical constructions of participants while they talk about their emotions of happiness and unhappiness. In this regard, a range of discursive strategies were used by participants while describing their reasons for happiness. Mostly, participants relied on evaluation talk to compare their home and host society in order to establish their claims. Moreover, extreme case formulations were used from both societies as an evidence for one's happiness claims. For example, participants used extrematization of religious persecution and insecurity in their home country, whereas, they minimized the existence of such issues in their host society. This is also related to the concept of place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000), in which one place may be constructed as insecure in comparison with another that is constructed as secure. This description of the home country as unsafe helped participants to build up an identity of being a victim in their home countries. Likewise, such claims of insecurity and persecution in the home country also functioned to present participants as 'genuine' immigrants to Britain, who had no other choice but to migrate from their home countries. Kirkwood, McKinlay and McVittie (2013a) also described this sort of relation between place and identity in accounts of asylum seekers and refugees, who construct their home countries as unsafe and the host country as safe. They further suggested that this performs the function of validating immigrants' status as refugees and also their presence in Britain. This comparison between home and host country also indicated that the host country is considered socially and politically superior in

comparison to the home country, which is in line with the findings of a large scale study conducted by Baltatescu (2005) on the subjective wellbeing of the immigrants and natives of 21 countries. He suggested that although immigrants enjoy less subjective wellbeing than natives of the country, at the same time they are more satisfied with national conditions than nationals themselves.

British Muslims constructed all these reasons while positioning themselves as entitled to make such claims because of their first-hand knowledge or experience of the phenomenon. This use of closer footing (Goffman, 1981) functioned to establish the reliability of their claims as correct. Moreover, participants also made use of temporal discourse in order to rationalize their happiness in the host society in such a way that they established their current happiness and future hopes in Britain in relation to their past unhappiness in their home country. This temporal connection between past, present and future has been pointed out by Wodak and de Cillia in a series of studies about Australian national identity (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999; Wodak & de Cillia, 2007). However, the relationship between wellbeing construction and time references has not, until now, been explored.

Another important set of findings in this chapter was the construction of unhappiness of Muslims in Britain. Major factors presented as the reasons for unhappiness included moral decline and detachment from religion among British society, racism and discrimination, identity dilemmas, the existence of terrorist groups and the media's ignorance of peaceful Muslims. Participants claimed that British society is becoming more secular and this has resulted in a moral decline in society. This concern about decreasing standards of religiosity and a decline in morality as a reason of psychological distress for Muslims has been less prominent in previous research findings in comparison with other suggested causes. This construction of the religious identity of British people by Muslim immigrants relates to the range of discursive strategies available to the speakers, as pointed out by McKinlay and McVittie (2011). They suggested that in discourses people not only construct their own religious identities but also attribute certain religious identities to others, a claim that is supported by this present research.

Additionally, the existence of racism and discrimination was claimed by participants to be another reason for their unhappiness, and was said to exist in all



areas of life in Britain, ranging from prejudiced life in the street to organizational racism. This is in line with the findings of previous research, which demonstrated that racism and discrimination has negative impact on the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants (Padela & Heisler, 2010). An important implication of such racism was the development of an identity dilemma among these British Muslims. This identity dilemma was presented as resulting from the existence of discrimination and from the non-acceptance of immigrants by British society, which leads these immigrants to experience a dilemma of having no identity, in that they are estranged from both home and host societies. Although many participants blamed British society and the media for discrimination and racism, some participants also looked beyond that and attributed blame for the existence of racism to the activities of terrorist groups. However, at the same time they blamed the media for not listening to the voices of peaceful Muslims and for giving more prominence to fundamentalists. This construction of the media is also found in recent research about media discourses, which indicated that the media does not consider peaceful Muslims as newsworthy, whereas fundamentalists are viewed as more important in news-making terms (Kabir, et. al., 2012; Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013; Sian, Law, & Sayyid, 2012).

All of these reasons for unhappiness were constructed in the form of complaints and accusations towards the relevant source of unhappiness. An interesting irony is notable here about participants' constructions of British society: British society was constructed as the cause of one's happiness as well as one's unhappiness. This points towards the varied and anti-essentialist nature of discourse. Moreover, similar to the construction of happiness, participants also made use of temporal discourse in the construction of their unhappiness in such a way that present unhappiness in Britain, was constructed in relation to past happiness in their home country.

The fifth chapter turned to discursive accounts of the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain. Participants talked about the following topics in describing their problems: segregation of Muslims from local community, faith issues and lack of religious leadership among Muslims, terrorism and racism and self-created problems such as representing a negative image of Islam. These problem accounts were constructed using the discursive strategies of blaming and agency management

but no direct attributions of blame were made to individuals, which served the purpose of allowing participants to avoid any potential criticism or undermining from those being criticized. For example, segregation of Muslims was blamed on displays of extra-religiosity performed by Muslims and on the lack of knowledge in British society about what ought to count as a 'proper' Muslim. This balancing of blame by assigning it to both societies performed the function of protecting participants from resulting accountabilities from either that might have arisen if blame was being seen to be levelled in one direction but not the other. This is an interesting finding in which Muslims blame their own people for not integrating, as a normal practice in levelling blame is to place such blame on 'others'. Moreover, in chapter 1, research indicated mixed results about the segregation of Muslims depending upon research methods selected and on the type of participants recruited for any given piece of research. For example in one study, Phillips (2006) suggested that the lived experiences of Muslims do not suggest that they are segregated. However, in this study, Muslims themselves blamed other Muslims for segregating themselves. This departs from findings of much previous research, which has claimed that the majority group blames Muslims for not mixing but Muslims construct themselves as well-integrated (Bisin, et. al. 2007).

In other problem accounts, agency was obscured and an out-there-ness (Potter, 1996) was created in order to avoid issues of accountability. Moreover, in some situations a more generalized form of agency was constructed, such as attributing to 'the media' the responsibility for spreading racism and promulgating a negative image of Islam. In this regard, Muslims were presented as the innocent victims of such problems. Similarly to what was seen in the fourth chapter, racism was also presented as a major problem, but here such claims were accompanied by talk of terrorists and terrorism. This repetition of racism in participants' discourses on their problems and their unhappiness highlights the significance of its negative impact on Muslims. This turned out to be not only a problem for them but was also associated with negative emotions of unhappiness. However, in this chapter a conditional relationship between racism and terrorism was constructed, in which racism was claimed to arise as a result of terrorism. This is in line with previous research in which discrimination is mostly related to terrorist attacks carried out by

extremist groups (Abu-Ras & Abu-Bader, 2008; Kalek, Mak, & Khawaja, 2010). Moreover, as we observed in the last chapter, in this chapter the media were also blamed for highlighting such extremism and thus aggravating racism in society. A variety of research has reported similar results about media coverage of Islam (Abbas, 2001; Brown, 2006). Conversely, in some situations Muslims were also blamed for giving rise to terrorism by supporting the actions of such terrorists. This finding moves away from the findings of previous research where only the media or terrorists were blamed for adversely affecting the reputation of Islam. In the present study, participants in addition levelled blame against Muslims who idealize terrorists as ‘heroes’.

An important discursive observation in the construction of problem accounts was that participants separated themselves from the problem being described and attributed its existence to the experiences of other Muslims. In this manner, they engaged in stake inoculation, by claiming that they themselves did not have any interest of their own in reporting this problem. This fulfilled the fundamental function of not presenting themselves as ‘whingers’, who might in consequence be told by British society to return to their country of origin. Similar findings were reported by Kirkwood, McKinlay and McVittie (2013b) in their accounts of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain. According to them, refugees construct accounts of racially motivated violence without accusing anybody in particular of having perpetrated such violence. These findings relate to the results of the current study, in which racism is not attributed to specific people but instead is attributed to more generalized agents such as the media or institutions such as Job Centres. In addition to this, problem accounts were also constructed without any clear indication of the source of the problem, which helped participants to present their image as grateful of the host society and also as favourable immigrants.

After looking at the major problems of British Muslims, chapter six focused on possible solutions for such problems that might be associated with enhancing Muslims’ wellbeing. In this chapter the major solutions put forth by the participants comprised the need for personal improvements such as following one’s religion, improving interaction with local society, rejection of fundamentalism in Islam and acceptance of ‘modern Islam’. At a more general level, the media’s responsibility

was highlighted in terms of its responsibility to portray a positive image of Islam. Participants constructed a conditional relationship between religion and happiness in order to establish the importance of religion to one's happiness. An interesting use of the extreme case formulations was made in order to explain the negative consequences of not following one's religion. This functioned to strengthen the claims of the participants regarding the happiness of Muslims. Gardner, Krageloh and Henning (2013) also suggested that religious coping of Muslim immigrants tends to have a positive relationship with their quality of life and lowered levels of stress. Other research also emphasizes the positive relationship between religious coping and subjective wellbeing among Muslims (Tiliouine, Cummins, & Davern 2009).

Another suggestion to enhance the wellbeing of British Muslims was the need for Muslims to improve interaction with the local community and to try to integrate better. Although earlier results showed participants describing their active efforts to integrate into British society, in this section such interactions were presented as uni-directional. The idea of local people attending the socio-cultural events of Muslims was evaluated positively but no mention was made of Muslims attending events led by the local community. This was criticized by a few participants, who blamed Muslims for being self-focused and for caring only about themselves and not the outside community. This view is compatible with the interactional perspective of identity, immigration and wellbeing suggested by Phinney and his colleagues (2001). This model suggests that in order to understand national and ethnic identities and their role in adaptation one has to look at the interaction between attitude and characteristics of the immigrant, and the responses of the new receiving society, and this interaction is moderated by the circumstances and contexts surrounding immigration into this society. Based on this perspective, Phinney and colleagues reported that secure and strong ethnic identity and an integration mode of acculturation predicts psychological wellbeing among immigrants.

Another important suggestion was the rejection of mainstream Islam which was described as extreme and rigid; and approval of accepting 'modern' Islam which was portrayed as more flexible. This is an interesting finding in that a new version of Islam has been introduced by the participants. This 'modern' version of Islam was constructed as opposed to the more conservative and fundamental version of Islam

which was described as more likely to encourage people in acts of terrorism. As we saw earlier, the media was blamed by participants for spreading racism, and in this chapter participants also attributed to the media a responsibility for portraying a positive image of Islam rather than focusing on negative images which might engender racism. Here again the media were used as an agent of spreading racism among the general public and Muslims and local community were presented as the victims of such media manipulations. These results are also in line with previous research in this area that has established that the media has a positive role in spreading racism in society by using words such as ‘terrorist’, ‘fundamentalist’ and ‘other’ in their discourses about Muslims (Saeed, 2007; Kabir, 2006). An important highlight in the findings of this chapter is that solutions were sometimes formulated in relation to problem accounts, while in other cases problems were described without reference to possible solutions. Moreover, at different points participants made use of ‘we’ while blaming Muslims for something. This inclusion of self in blame discourse played the function of protecting the participants from the potential accountability and criticism by the blamed Muslims.

These findings drawn from each chapter in turn are not mutually exclusive; instead they tend to be inter-connected in one or the other way. For example, participants’ construction of a flexible identity and their construction of British society as a welcoming society can both be seen as an effort to gain acceptance from British society, thus, ultimately pursuing the goal of integration. Similarly, religious freedom was constructed as a positive aspect of British life in chapter 3 and as a reason of one’s happiness in Britain in chapter 4. The construction of racism and discrimination was also a frequently occurring topic in the discourses of unhappiness and problem accounts. One major finding which was visible throughout the analysis was the construction of categories and categorization membership. Participants made use of many categorizations in order to construct their identity, integration, wellbeing, and problem accounts. Moreover, different category distinctions were introduced to support the claims being made, such as, ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, Muslims vs. ‘proper Muslims’, flexible vs. rigid Muslims, good vs. bad British people, and racist vs. welcoming society. This use of categorization played the function of making the world simpler for the participants. As suggested by Potter and Wetherell (1987),

categorization is often associated with over-inclusion and simplification phenomena. Moreover, they also argued that categorization is used in discourse to accomplish certain social goals which, in this study, include the construction of distinctions between different groups based on parameters of correctness such as Muslims and terrorists, racist and non-racist people, or 'Us' and 'Them'. This leads us to the next section dealing with the theoretical implications of the current research in the field of social psychology.

### **Theoretical Implications**

The present research has strong theoretical implications with many inter-group and intra-group theories in social psychology but in this section I will restrict discussion of its implications to its relation to the 'social identity approach'. This study related directly to many proposals of social identity approach and also raise question mark on few others. The social identity approach involves two major theories about social identity, group processes and group relations: Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). I will briefly introduce these theories before discussing their relevance to the present research.

Social identity theory was mainly developed to describe one's self-concept or identity in relation to one's membership of a social group and it was originally developed as an attempt to explain intergroup conflict and social change (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) this theory predicts intergroup behaviours on the basis of perceived differences in group status and the perception of legitimacy and stability in those differences along with permeability of movement from one group to another. Self-categorization theory was initially developed by Turner and his colleagues (1987) to address questions that arose out of social identity theory. Self-categorization theory describes how people categorize themselves and others into groups and the behavioural and attitudinal consequence of such categorizations and group memberships. According to this theory, this categorization of self and others leads us to perceive ourselves as prototypical embodiments of the relevant social group, a process termed 'depersonalization'. A prototype is a set of attributes that describe one group and

distinguishes it from relevant other groups. Self-categorization theory has also been influential in describing social influence, group cohesion, group polarization, leadership and collective actions.

In the present research, we have seen many examples of self-categorization and inter-group relations which bear some relevance to the social identity approach. First of all, the division of self and others into categories based on their attributes and actions was repeatedly observed. Categories such as proper and bad Muslims, flexible and rigid Muslims, good and racist British people, peaceful and extremist Muslims are a few among many other examples of 'Us' and 'Them' categorization. This form of self-categorization was more obvious in the first generation Muslims, who chose to belong either to their home country or British society and as a result of this constructed their actions in accordance to that particular group. For example, in order to adjust to British society one participant described her 'moderate veil' practice, which is closer to the norms of British society than other more extreme forms of veil-wearing. At the same time, this conformity to one group results in the rejection of another when the same participant criticized the 'rigid veil' practises of 'other Muslims' in UK.

According to social identity theory, in order to attain or maintain positive social identity individuals can adopt an array of different behavioural strategies, chosen on the basis of their beliefs about the relationship between their own and other groups. A 'social mobility belief system' inhibits group action on the part of subordinate groups and encourage individuals to move from subordinate to a higher status group and to try to gain acceptance in that group. For this belief system, permeability of the boundaries between the groups is a condition. On the other hand, if the group boundaries are considered impermeable then the 'social change belief system' comes into action. If the status quo between groups is considered stable and legitimate then members adopt different social creativity strategies to achieve positive social identity such as comparison on novel dimensions which are in favour of the subordinate group, changing the consensual value of an in-group characteristic and changing the out-group for comparison. Whereas if the status quo between groups is unstable and illegitimate then social change occurs and the subordinate group indulges in direct conflict with the dominant group, such as can occur in

popular social movements (Tajel & Turner, 1979). According to this approach, members strive for positive distinctiveness for their group in order to achieve high self-esteem and attain self-enhancement. In this way, group membership becomes a means of acquiring positive social identity for that particular individual. In the present research, when participants compared the in-group with the out-group, they presented their group choices as normal in comparison to others' abnormal or incorrect choices, which points towards the processes of in-group favouritism and out-group bias. This shows the inherent nature of categorization that individuals accentuate the positives within group and the negatives in the out-group in order to achieve positive distinctiveness and high self-esteem. Another example of these group processes is through the construction of places as secure and insecure in comparison to each other. As places can be secure or insecure depending upon the attributes of the people comprising those places, so this could be viewed as the construction of in-group vs. out-group comparison. Many participants who are now residing in Britain, constructed their home countries as insecure and Britain as secure place to live. The attribution of security to Britain where the person belongs now could be seen as in-group favouritism as compared to the attribution of insecurity to the out-group from where person has moved. This is also an example of social mobility belief system in which the individual has moved from a subordinate group (insecure home society) to a high status group (secure Britain) not only psychologically but also physically. This psychological move from subordinate group to high status group could be a consequence of the physical move itself from one place to another.

Self-categorization theory describes the determinants of group categorization as used by individuals to form certain groups. According to Turner and his colleagues (1987), an individual relies on two forms of determinants in order to categorize self and others; social categories that are (a) chronically accessible to us (in memory or belief systems) and (b) accessible in the situation. The latter is further divided into (a) comparative fit and (b) normative fit. Comparative fit works under the meta-contrast principle which determines the belonging of a person to a group based on his average similarity and differences with in-group and out-group in the given frame of reference. Normative fit is the extent to which that individual



conforms to the in-group norms (Turner, et al. 1987). The use of these strategies was also obvious in the present study, one example being the construction of different categories such as the category of terrorists. Participants constructed terrorists as an out-group based on the above mentioned principles of chronic and context accessibility. According to the comparative fit principle, they presented terrorists as extremists and so-called Muslims in comparison to the in-group made up of flexible and peace loving Muslims. Likewise, according to the normative fit principle they rejected the activities of terrorists as a norm in Islam. This use of categorization determinants was obvious in other category formations as well, for example, good vs. bad Muslims, flexible vs. rigid Muslims, and good vs. racist British society.

Self-categorization theory also assumes that self can be categorized at various levels of abstraction (Turner & Penny, 1986). These levels of abstraction are related to the meta-contrast principle described earlier. In this study, participants have also used various levels of abstractions at certain places. For example, while describing racism and discrimination participants categorized themselves and British society at various levels. When only one out-group of British society was available then participants highlighted the differences between their group and British society and showed out-group bias by blaming others of racism. However, when another group, Media, made available, the earlier out-group of British society became part of their in-group as the common victim of media manipulation. In this instance, media became a common out-group for Muslims and British society for spreading hatred and discrimination. This level of abstraction also manifested itself depending upon the availability of out-groups. If the available comparison group is other Muslims then participants utilized in-groups and out-groups such as 'proper' and improper Muslims based on the attributes of religion. However, when another group of British society became relevant then all Muslims became one in-group in comparison to the out-group of British society.

Self-categorization is comparative, inherently variable, fluid and context dependent (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty; 1994). In my research, participants changed their categorizations depending upon different contexts and available frames of reference. For example, first generation Muslims reformulated their attachments to their home country in the context of their current membership into British society as

British citizens. As they are living in Britain now, they considered themselves as more attached and associated to Britain in comparison with their home country. This research further illustrates that participants kept changing their group membership depending upon the available frame of reference. In one frame of reference participants struggle to seek membership of British society, whereas, in a different frame they seek membership of their own community. This was especially true when British society was compared with Islamic countries, where participants chose either one group or the other and in consequence accentuated the positives of their in-group and negatives of the out-group. This was also true for the comparative attributes at hand, i.e., if the comparative attribute was religiosity then participants related more to their own community or the Islamic community and constructed out-group (British people) as morally deficient and less religious. However, when the attribute under question was security and safety then participants related more to Britain while criticizing the out-group for insecurity (home or other Islamic countries) in that context.

According to one version of self-categorization theory, the rationale for categorizing self and others into groups is to reduce uncertainty as people are motivated to know who they are, what to think, how to behave and so on (Hogg, 2000). Uncertainty reduction could be interpreted, in this vein, as the main reason for the participants of the current research choosing their religion as the dominant factor in their lives in Britain. Participants constructed extensive interaction with British society but within religious limits. Here by adhering to religious limits participants constructed their membership in a religious group which is different from British society. Thus belonging to a religion based in-group, here works as a way of reducing uncertainty for the participants as it provides them with the knowledge of who they are and how they should behave. Indeed, some of the participants explicitly mentioned that religion provides clearer principles for living in comparison to culture.

However, there are also some aspects of this present research which do not support the social identity approach. Firstly, the social identity approach faces difficulties in explaining parallel membership by an individual of multiple comparative groups such as hyphenated social identities taken up by the second

generation Muslims in this study. In this regard, identities taken up by first generation Muslims were one-dimensional: they were either British or Muslim in one particular context, a feature easily describable through the single ingroup-outgroup approach of social identity paradigm. On the other hand, second generation Muslims constructed their identity as Muslim and British at the same time, and it is harder to rationalize this through the paradigm of the social identity approach. Indeed, this has led social researchers in the social identity tradition to introduce the construct of ‘Social identity complexity’ (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This construct refers to an individual’s subjective representation of the interrelationships of his or her multiple group memberships. Thus the hyphenated identities taken up by second generation Muslims in this research relate to the construct of social identity complexity, which reflects the extent of overlap perceived to exist between groups to which a person simultaneously belong (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Secondly, self-categorization theory refers to a process known as ‘referent informational influence’. In this process, pressure to conform to a group is not one of merely gaining approval from the group but reflects one’s level of belongingness and attachment to that group in that one adopts the norms and beliefs of one’s group as being one’s own norms and beliefs. However, in this study we have seen that the drive to conform to British culture came from a need for approval from British society. This seems more akin to the normative influence hypothesis (Nail, 1986), which states that individuals may conform in their actions not because of their private beliefs but in order to achieve public acceptance. Whenever participants spoke about their efforts to adjust to British society, there was a mention of need for acceptance by British society, rather than such preferences being expressed as though they were the participants’ own. Therefore, the present research confirms the normative influence hypothesis in group processes rather than the referent informational influence hypothesis embedded within the social identity approach.

The present research has many conceptual links to broader areas in the field of social psychology of group interactions. Some of them have been discussed above in relation to inter-group relations and the social identity approach. The results of the research presented here are consistent with some elements of the social identity research. However, this research also points out gaps in the social identity approach

which need more attention from theorists in the area, such as multiple in-group memberships. Moreover, this research also explains how these multiple memberships are constructed and maintained in a multicultural society. For example, the introduction of 'modern Islam' which fits into the cultural framework of both groups is a manifestation of these multiple group memberships. Another important implication of this research is in relation to describing the process of influence between a subordinate (minority) and dominant (majority) group. According to the present research, members in a multicultural society try to conform to the majority group not because they feel attached to it, but to get acceptance from that majority group. Based on these findings, the social identity approach to be successful would need to focus on group processes and intergroup relations in a multicultural society, where group status quo is inherently unstable. After viewing the theoretical implications of the research, now I turn to the practical implications.

### **Practical Implications**

This research has provided us with important practical implications for enhancing the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants in Britain and for enabling them to better adjust into British society. These implications could be divided into three important aspects 1) Improving the integration practices of British Muslims, 2) Reducing racism and discrimination against them and 3) balancing media coverage of Islam.

British Muslims in this research raised many concerns regarding the segregation of Muslims within British society. Many reasons were put forth for this segregation including their pre-occupation with their religious displays, rigidity of religious beliefs and British people's lack of knowledge about 'proper' Muslims. This suggests the need for important measures to be taken by British government and also by Muslim priests. Muslim priests can arrange different lectures in mosques for Muslims regarding the teachings of Islam about peacefully mixing with the society in which they live. Moreover, some participants suggested that fundamentalist Islam is the one that comes out of the speakers of the mosques, which relates this extremist version of Islam to religious priests. In order to deal with these hatred speeches national organizations of Muslims such as Mosques and Imams National Advisory

Board (MINAB) should take steps to monitor the type of sermons that are being given in mosques. In this way, they can play a positive role in encouraging Muslims to integrate into British society. Furthermore, they can also organize more frequent peace conferences as one of the participants belonging to a Muslim sect suggested, which might help in spreading a positive image of Islam across British society and in enhancing inter-religious peace and understanding.

On the other hand, this also places an important responsibility on policy making carried out by the British government. It is suggested by many participants that British society is not fully aware of the peaceful image of Muslims because of the over-representation of extremist Muslims in the media and in political discourses. According to the present participants, the media portrays a negative image of Islam by focusing on fundamentalist Muslims, which leads to hatred and racism against Muslims and consequently results in segregation of Muslims from British society. This raises concerns about the effectiveness of current government policies on integration and indicates that more effective approaches are required. In policy making, policies are required to be put in place that focus on practical measures for spreading knowledge and understanding of Islam, the second largest religion in Britain. The majority of British society is still not aware of what Islam preaches: extremism or peace? This suggests a need for events such as inter-faith meetings and peace conferences in order to develop inter-religious knowledge and tolerance.

Similarly, measures should also be taken to ensure a more balanced coverage of Islam in media. Previous research in this area has demonstrated a preoccupation in the media with the fundamentalist image of Islam. This indicates that the media face a responsibility to turn its attention towards peaceful Muslims as well in order to dispel the feelings of racism and discrimination from the society.

## **Limitations**

This study is based on a qualitative research design; therefore it is not intended to be 'representative' in the way that, for example, survey research is often described. It has the following possible limitations which can be addressed in future research: 1) sample size was relatively small; 2) the sample was limited to British Muslims, and 3) the necessity for translation.

In common with most discursive studies, the sample size of this study was small. In this respect, it might be described as less representative of British Muslims in general than, say, survey research that might incorporate thousands of responses. However, Willig (2001) suggested that as language is a shared cultural and social phenomenon, similarity of particular discursive constructions implies that they are available to others and thus generalizable. On the same lines, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggested that while designing discursive research, the researcher's focus should be on variability rather than representativeness. In the current research, an effort has been made to increase the variability of the research by recruiting participants across gender and generations. Moreover, representativeness of research findings is often associated with the issue of reliability, and qualitative researchers have dealt with this issue in a different way. It is suggested by qualitative researchers that reliability and validity of qualitative research can be achieved by the trustworthiness and soundness of data and results that are well-grounded through strong links between the research claims being made and the data themselves (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Nevertheless, this is something which can be improved in the future research by increasing sample size. It is consistent with the qualitative approach that a multiplicity of studies might be carried out in the same area so that results from a variety of studies can be co-evaluated.

Secondly, in this research data is only taken from the British Muslims and not from local British people. This has given a one-sided perspective of Muslim immigrants. A greater understanding of the integration process and racism can be achieved by exploring the perspective of British people about Islam and Muslim immigrants. However, the impetus for this research came in part from the fact that there is a variety of research about majority discourses on Muslim immigrants but relatively little research available on Muslim discourse. Nevertheless, much previous research has focused on 'elite' discourses such as politicians' talk or representations in the media, and so more work could be done on exploring ordinary people's view on this matter, including those of local people. So this limitation of focusing only on a one-sided story can be dealt with in future research on Muslims and Islam in the UK by drawing in local non-Muslim people as participants.

Thirdly, this research has also relied on translated transcripts of the interviews conducted with some of the participants, who did not feel comfortable communicating in English. That this could be a limitation for a discursive research project was suggested by Nikander (2008), who argued that translating transcripts includes a range of practical and ideological questions concerning the level of detail required in the extracts and the way in which transcripts will be physically presented. However, in the present study efforts were made to deal with this limitation. In this regard, translations were kept as close to the original speech as possible and reliability of translated data was ascertained by having all final translated transcripts reviewed from a bi-lingual researcher. Moreover, original un-translated transcripts were regularly consulted during the analysis. In order to enhance transparency, bi-lingual readers are here provided with the original transcripts in Urdu which are presented in the appendices (see Appendix 7).

### **Future Research**

This research has focused on the identity, integration, wellbeing and major problems faced by British Muslims in the current socio-cultural context of Britain. Many research directions could be taken from here onwards but I will focus here on a few related directions. These include 1) Use of naturalistic data, 2) Wellbeing of British Muslims, and 3) Evaluation of integration policy and practice.

I have used interview data in this study because of the nature of the research questions, which asked sensitive information regarding racism and discrimination, British Muslims' problems and their reasons for unhappiness while living in Britain. These are the sort of topics which people do not openly discuss routinely. Therefore, interviews were suitable for the current research; however, Potter and Hepburn (2005) criticized interviews for their limitations and argued that a researcher should look for naturalistic data in discursive research. In this regard, the identity and integration of Muslims can also be studied through the use of more naturalistic data from the field, which can include speeches delivered by religious leaders and priests at different occasions. Although some work has already been done in this field (f.e. Kahani-Hopkins & Hopkins, 2002; Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2004), there is still a need to explore this area further. This will also enable researchers in the field to

relate the identity constructed by religious leaders with the identity taken up by the followers of those religious leaders.

Secondly, there has been very little work done in the field of discursive psychology regarding the wellbeing of British Muslims. Previous research in this field has approached this matter using non-discursive approaches while addressing the preconceived relationship between terrorist attacks and the wellbeing of Muslims (f.e., Abu-Ras & Abu-Bader, 2008; Padela & Heisler, 2010). Considering the growing number of Muslims in the West and the extent of their negative reputation, it is very important to understand the factors associated with the wellbeing of this group. This will help mental health professionals as well as policy makers to improve Muslims' integration into their host society. In this research, we have seen that wellbeing is handled in a complicated manner by the participants, which implies that future research could benefit from further exploring Muslims' own concept of the wellbeing of Muslim immigrants in the West. Moreover, future research about the wellbeing of Muslims can also be carried out while taking guidance from positive psychology's notions such as subjective and psychological wellbeing and experiences of flow. This will enable us to expand our understanding of the range of practices that can be used to improve the adjustment and integration of Muslim immigrants into Western culture.

Lastly, this research has drawn implications for the improvement of current policy about and practices involved in integration. Future research could usefully focus on evaluation of existing integration policies in order to point out areas of improvement with regard to the wellbeing and integration of Muslims. Further research in this area can open up more ways of spreading harmony in Western societies by creating positive contacts between different religions. This evaluation should incorporate a bi-directional approach that evaluates policies not only in respect of the integration of Muslims into society but also in respect of the discourses of the host society about Muslim immigrants.

## **Conclusions**

This research was a discursive analysis of the identity, integration and wellbeing of British Muslims. It has tried to fill a gap in extant research regarding the



discursive constructions of integration and wellbeing of British Muslims. This was an effort to not only give platform to the voices of this minority group but also to understand the processes of integration and wellbeing of British Muslims through the discursive approach. Results indicated that participants used categorizations to construct the distinctions between them and others. These distinctive categories were usually presented as a dichotomy of right and wrong, for example, fundamentalist and peaceful Muslims. They also relied on the concept of place identity in order to construct their integration in the host society and belongingness to the host and home country. This allowed them to make different identity claims such as portraying themselves as the victims of persecution in their home country and as ‘genuine immigrants’ in Britain. Participants also used temporal discourse in order to construct their current happiness or unhappiness in Britain in relation to their unhappiness or happiness in the home country. Participants obscured agency while constructing their problem accounts and manipulated accusations of racism in such a way that their accounts did not include any direct blaming that were attributed to specific people. Instead, the blame for problems arising and for racism was attributed to more generalized sources such as the media and governmental organizations. Most of the accusations produced by participants in the thesis were handled by them in a way that avoided any potential personal accountability. On a positive note, British Muslims constructed their identity as relatively flexible, positioning themselves as people who are not only willing to integrate but are making special efforts to integrate into British society. They constructed racism and terrorism as a major problem, which is aggravated by the media’s negative representation of Islam and by terrorist activities. This hinders their efforts at integration and has a negative impact on their wellbeing. Religious coping and interacting with local people were suggested as ways to enhance the wellbeing of British Muslims. These results have practical implications for the wellbeing and integration of British Muslims, which were discussed above.

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## Appendix 1A



# THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

## ***PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS IN UK***

### **PROJECT TITLE**

Conceptualization of Subjective Well Being among Muslim Immigrants in UK

### **INVITATION**

You are being asked to take part in a research study on the Subjective Wellbeing and life satisfaction of Muslim Immigrants living in Britain. The study will focus on how happiness and life satisfaction is perceived by Muslim immigrants in relation to their religious and cultural identity and in relation to discrimination in the UK. I am undertaking this research for my PhD in Psychology at the University of Edinburgh. Dr Andrew McKinlay (University of Edinburgh) and Dr Chris McVittie (Queen Margaret University) are my supervisors in this research.

### **WHAT WILL HAPPEN**

In this study, you will be asked to take part in a one-to-one interview with the researcher regarding your perceptions and experiences while living in the UK. Particularly, you will be asked about:

- Your views about happiness and life satisfaction;
- The factors inhibiting and facilitating your happiness and life satisfaction while living in UK;
- Your view of your own cultural and religious identity;
- Discrimination experiences faced by Muslims in general and their coping skills;
- Discrimination experience faced by you any time in past and how you managed to cope with it.

The interview will be private and confidential.

### **TIME COMMITMENT**

The interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes, depending upon the length of your answers.

### **PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS**

You have the right to withdraw from study at any point in time without any explanation. You can also ask the researcher to eliminate or destroy the data you provided up till that point.

You also have the complete right to skip or refuse to answer any of the questions that are being asked in the interview without any penalty.

Moreover, you have the right to ask any questions you have about the procedures of the research unless they are interfering with the results of the study. If you have any questions in mind as a result of reading this information sheet ask them before the interview starts.

**BENEFITS AND RISKS**

There are no known benefits or risks associated with taking part in this study.

**CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY**

All the data, provided by you, will be kept confidential and no one will be able to link the data with your demographic information. The collected data will be used in the researcher’s PhD thesis, in published articles and in conference presentations. None of these will allow the individual identification of participants through any means.

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION**

If you require further information on this study, you can contact the researcher, Saliha Anjum on following address:

Email: .....

Postal Address:  
.....

Alternatively, Dr Andrew McKinlay will be pleased to reply your queries regarding this study. His contact details are:

E-mail: .....

Postal address:  
.....

If you wish to know about the results of this study, you should provide contact details to the interviewer or e-mail Saliha Anjum at.....

## Appendix 1B



# THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

برطانیہ کے مقیم مسلمانوں پر کی جانے والی تحقیق کی معلوماتی شیٹ

تحقیق کا عنوان

برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی

دعوت نامہ

آپ کو برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی کے بارے میں ایک تحقیق میں حصہ لینے کو کہا جا رہا ہے۔ اس تحقیق میں برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں سے اُنکی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی کے بارے میں رائے لی جائے گی اور یہ پوچھا جائے گا کہ اُنکی ثقافتی اور مذہبی شناخت اور برطانیہ میں موجود امتیازی سلوک، اُنکی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی پر کیسے اثر انداز ہوتا ہے۔ میں یہ تحقیق ایڈن برگ یونیورسٹی سے اپنی پی ایچ ڈی مکمل کرنے کے لیے کر رہی ہوں۔ ڈاکٹر اینڈریو مکینیلے (ایڈن برگ یونیورسٹی) اور ڈاکٹر کرس مکونٹی (کونین مارگریٹ یونیورسٹی) اس تحقیق میں میرے سپروائزر ہیں۔

کیا ہوگا

اس تحقیق میں آپ کو برطانیہ میں رہنے کے دوران اپنے نقطہ نظر اور تجربات کے بارے میں انٹرویو دینے کو کہا جا رہا ہے۔ آپ سے خاص طور پر پوچھا جائے گا:

- خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی کے بارے میں آپ کے خیالات؛
- آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی کو کم اور زیادہ کرنے والے عناصر؛
- آپ کی مذہبی اور ثقافتی شناخت کے بارے میں آپکی رائے؛
- مجموعی طور پر مسلمانوں کو درپیش امتیازی سلوک اور اُنکی اس سے نمٹنے کی صلاحیت؛
- اس امتیازی سلوک کا آپ کا اپنا ذاتی تجربہ اور آپ اس سے نمٹنے میں کیسے کامیاب ہوئے۔

انٹرویو انفرادیت اور رازداری میں کیا جائے گا۔

وقت درکار

آپ کے جوابات کی لمبائی پر انحصار کرتے ہوئے، انٹرویو تقریباً ۲۰-۳۵ منٹ میں مکمل ہو جائے گا۔

## شرکاء کے حقوق

آپ کو حق ہے کہ آپ کسی بھی وقت بغیر کسی وضاحت کے تحقیق سے الگ ہو جائیں۔ آپ محقق کو کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ وہ اُس وقت تک آپ سے لیے گئے مواد کو ضائع کر دے اور اُسے تحقیق میں استعمال نہ کرے۔ آپ کو مکمل اختیار ہے کہ آپ کسی بھی شرط کے بغیر انٹرویو میں پوچھے جانے والے کسی بھی سوال کا جواب دینے سے انکار کر دیں۔ اس کے علاوہ، آپ تحقیق کے طریقہ کار کے بارے میں کوئی بھی سوال پوچھ سکتے ہیں جب تک کہ وہ تحقیق کے نتائج میں مداخلت نہ کر رہا ہو۔ اس معلوماتی شیٹ کو پڑھنے کے نتیجے میں اگر آپ کے ذہن میں کوئی سوالات ہیں، تو انہیں انٹرویو شروع ہونے سے پہلے پوچھ لیں۔

## فوائد اور نقصانات

اس تحقیق میں حصہ لینے سے کوئی بھی فوائد اور نقصانات منسلک نہیں۔

## رازداری

آپ کی طرف سے فراہم کردہ سارا مواد مکمل طور پر صیغہ راز میں رکھا جائے گا اور کوئی بھی اُس کو آپ کی شناختی معلومات سے جوڑ نہیں سکے گا۔ جمع کی گئی معلومات محقق کے پی ایچ ڈی مقالہ لکھنے، شائع کردہ مضامین اور کانفرنس میں پیش کرنے کے لیے استعمال کی جائے گی۔ ان میں سے کسی بھی ذریعے سے شرکاء کی انفرادی شناخت ممکن نہیں ہو گی۔  
مزید معلومات کے لیے

اگر آپ کو اس تحقیق کے بارے میں مزید معلومات کی ضرورت ہو تو آپ محقق، صالحہ انجم، سے مندرجہ ذیل پتہ پر رابطہ کر سکتے ہیں:

Email: .....

Postal Address:

.....

متبادل طور پر، ڈاکٹر اینڈریو مکینیلے اس تحقیق کے بارے میں آپ کے سوالات کا خوشی سے جواب دیں گے۔ اُن سے رابطے کی تفصیلات یہ ہیں:

E-mail: .....

Postal address:

.....

اگر آپ اس تحقیق کے نتائج کے بارے میں جاننا چاہتے ہیں تو آپ محقق کو اپنے رابطے کی تفصیلات فراہم کر دیں یا صالحہ انجم کو ای میل کریں۔



## Appendix 2A



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

## INFORMED CONSENT FORM

### *CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SUBJECTIVE WELL BEING AMONG MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS IN UK*

#### PROJECT SUMMARY

You are being asked to take part in a research study on the Subjective Wellbeing and life satisfaction of Muslim Immigrants living in Britain. The study will focus on how happiness and life satisfaction is perceived by Muslim immigrants in relation to their religious and cultural identity and in relation to discrimination in the UK.

In this study, you will be asked to take part in a one-to-one interview with the researcher regarding your perceptions and experiences while living in the UK. Particularly, you will be asked about:

- Your views about happiness and life satisfaction;
- The factors inhibiting and facilitating your happiness and life satisfaction while living in UK;
- Your view of your cultural and religious identity;
- Discrimination experiences faced by Muslims in general and their coping skills;
- Discrimination experience faced by you any time in past and how you managed to cope with it.

By signing below, you are agreeing that: (1) you have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet, (2) your questions about participation in the study have been answered satisfactorily, (3) you are aware of the potential risks (if any), and (4) you are taking part in this research study voluntarily.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Name (Printed)\*

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's signature\*

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of person obtaining consent (Printed)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of person obtaining consent

*\*Participants wishing to preserve some degree of anonymity may use their initials (from the British Psychological Society Guidelines for Minimal Standards of Ethical Approval in Psychological Research)*

**Personal Information**

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: \_\_\_\_\_

Education: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Monthly Income: \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status: \_\_\_\_\_

No. of Children: \_\_\_\_\_

Country of Origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Length of Residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Current Visa/Immigration: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2B

### رضامندی برائے شرکت فارم برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی

#### تحقیق کا خلاصہ

آپ کو برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی کے بارے میں ایک تحقیق میں حصہ لینے کو کہا جا رہا ہے۔ اس تحقیق میں برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں سے اُنکی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی کے بارے میں رائے لی جائے گی اور یہ پوچھا جائے گا کہ اُنکی ثقافتی اور مذہبی شناخت اور برطانیہ میں موجود امتیازی سلوک، اُنکی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی پر کیسے اثر انداز ہوتا ہے۔

#### کیا ہوگا

- اس تحقیق میں آپ کو برطانیہ میں رہنے کے دوران اپنے نقطہ نظر اور تجربات کے بارے میں انٹرویو دینے کو کہا جا رہا ہے۔ آپ سے خاص طور پر پوچھا جائے گا:
- خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی کے بارے میں آپ کے خیالات؛
  - آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی کو کم اور زیادہ کرنے والے عناصر؛
  - آپ کی مذہبی اور ثقافتی شناخت کے بارے میں آپکی رائے؛
  - مجموعی طور پر مسلمانوں کو درپیش امتیازی سلوک اور اُنکی اس سے نمٹنے کی صلاحیت؛
  - اس امتیازی سلوک کا آپ کا اپنا ذاتی تجربہ اور آپ اس سے نمٹنے میں کیسے کامیاب ہوئے۔
- ذیل میں دستخط کرتے ہوئے آپ اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ:
- ۱۔ آپ نے شرکاء کے لیے دی گئی معلوماتی شیٹ کو اچھی طرح پڑھ اور سمجھ لیا ہے؛
  - ۲۔ تحقیق میں شرکت کے بارے میں آپ کے سوالات کا تسلی بخش جواب دیا گیا ہے؛
  - ۳۔ آپ ممکنہ نقصانات سے آگاہ ہیں (اگر کوئی ہے) اور
  - ۴۔ آپ اس تحقیق میں اپنی رضامندی سے حصہ لے رہے ہیں۔

آپ کا نام

دستخط

تحقیق کنندہ کا نام

تاریخ

تحقیق کنندہ کے دستخط

رازداری کو برقرار رکھنے کے خواہاں شرکاء اپنے نام کے ابتدائی حروف کا استعمال کر سکتے ہیں۔

## ذاتی کوائف

عمر \_\_\_\_\_

جنس \_\_\_\_\_

تعلیم \_\_\_\_\_

پیشہ \_\_\_\_\_

ماہانہ آمدنی \_\_\_\_\_

ازدواجی حیثیت \_\_\_\_\_

بچوں کی تعداد \_\_\_\_\_

اصل ملک \_\_\_\_\_

برطانیہ میں کتنا عرصہ ہوا؟ \_\_\_\_\_

موجودہ ویزا/امیگریشن \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix 3A**

### **Interview Protocol – English**

- Q1.** Where do you feel more related/attached, your country of origin or Britain?
- Q2.** What different things of both cultures do you follow?
- Q3.** How would you define your religious identity as a Muslim in Britain? (What things make up your religious identity?)
- Q4.** While living in Britain, how religious do you consider you are and which religious beliefs and practices do you follow regularly?
- Q5.** You have different cultural and religious values than British culture, so how you manage to adapt/adjust in this country?
- Q6.** What do you feel about mixing with local people?
- Q7.** How happy and satisfied are you with your life as a Muslim living in Britain?
- Q8.** What are different things and events in your life that make you happy and satisfied?
- Q9.** What are different things and events that make you unhappy and dissatisfied with life?
- Q10.** While living in Britain, how happy and satisfied do you see yourself after 5 years?
- Q11.** What is the role of your religion and culture in affecting your happiness and life satisfaction?
- Q12.** What expectations did you have when you came to Britain? To what extent are they fulfilled?
- Q13.** Considering everything how your life is better or worse in Britain as compare to your homeland?
- Q14.** What in your opinion are the major problems faced by Muslims in Britain?
- Q15.** Racism is said to be one of the major problems faced by Muslims living in Britain, especially after 9/11 attacks and 7/7 London bombings. Has this racism ever affected you in your life and how you managed to deal with it?
- Q16.** Generally speaking how Muslims usually deal with this discrimination and racism?
- Q17.** In your view, how the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be enhanced?

### Appendix 3B

#### Interview Protocol - Urdu

- ۱- آپ خود کو کس سے زیادہ منسلک / اٹیچڈ محسوس کرتے ہیں، اپنے اصل ملک سے یا برطانیہ سے؟
- ۲- آپ ان دونوں کلچرز کی کن کن باتوں پر عمل کرتے ہیں؟
- ۳- آپ برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمان کی حیثیت سے اپنی مذہبی شناخت کو کیسے بیان کریں گے؟ آپ کی مذہبی شناخت کن چیزوں پر مشتمل ہے؟
- ۴- برطانیہ میں رہتے ہوئے، آپ خود کو کس حد تک مذہبی سمجھتے ہیں اور کونسے مذہبی عقائد اور رسومات پر عمل کرتے ہیں؟
- ۵- ہماری ثقافتی اور مذہبی قدریں اس معاشرے سے مختلف ہیں، تو آپ خود کو کیسے یہاں ایڈجسٹ کرتے ہیں؟
- ۶- آپ کا یہاں کے لوگوں کے ساتھ گھلنے ملنے کے بارے میں کیا خیال ہے؟ ان کا رویہ کیسا ہے آپ کے ساتھ؟
- ۷- برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمان کی حیثیت سے آپ کس حد تک اپنی زندگی سے مطمئن اور خوش ہیں؟
- ۸- آپ کی زندگی میں ایسی کونسی چیزیں اور واقعات ہیں جو آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینان کا باعث ہیں؟
- ۹- آپ کی زندگی میں ایسی کونسی چیزیں اور واقعات ہیں جو آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینان پر برا اثر ڈالتی ہیں؟
- ۱۰- آج سے پانچ سال بعد آپ برطانیہ میں رہتے ہوئے خود کو کتنا خوش اور مطمئن دیکھتے ہیں؟
- ۱۱- آپ کی رائے میں، آپ کی ثقافتی اور مذہبی شناخت کا آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی پر کیسے اثر انداز ہوتی ہے؟
- ۱۲- جب آپ برطانیہ آئے تو آپ کی کیا توقعات تھیں؟ وہ کس حد تک پوری ہوئی؟
- ۱۳- تمام چیزوں کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے، آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ میں آپ کی زندگی اپنے اصل ملک کے مقابلے میں کیسے بہتر یا خراب ہے؟
- ۱۴- آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو کیا اہم مسائل درپیش ہیں؟
- ۱۵- برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کے لئے ایک اہم مسئلہ تعصب کا ہے، خاص طور پر ۹/۱۱ کے حملوں اور ۷/۷ لندن بم دھماکوں کے بعد سے، آپ کو اس تعصب نے کیسے متاثر کیا اور آپ نے ان حالات کا کیسے سامنا کیا؟
- ۱۶- آپ کے خیال میں مسلمان عام طور پر اس امتیازی سلوک اور تعصب سے کیسے نمٹتے ہیں؟
- ۱۷- آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی کو کیسے بڑھایا جاسکتا ہے؟

**Appendix 4A**  
**Focus Group Guide**

1. What do you think whether Muslims are happy and satisfied with their lives while living in Britain?
  - ✓ If happy what are the reasons?
2. According to a recent survey (2009) Muslims in Britain are less happy as compare to the Muslims in rest of the Europe and USA. What do you think could be the reasons for this unhappiness and dissatisfaction?
3. Considering everything how life is better or worse in Britain as compare to your country?
4. How the happiness and life satisfaction of Muslims in Britain can be enhanced?
5. Do you think that Muslims are less well integrated/adjusted in Britain?
  - ✓ Yes or No give reasons
  - ✓ How much they mix with local community?
  - ✓ What are the attitudes of local community towards them?
6. In your view, what culture does Muslims follow in Britain?
  - ✓ Is there own,
  - ✓ British,
  - ✓ Mix, if mix which is dominating.
7. Can you tell me about the importance of religion as a Muslim in Britain?
  - ✓ What is being followed and
  - ✓ What is left out?
8. Is religion and culture related to happiness and life satisfaction? In what ways?
9. What in your opinion are the major problems and challenges faced by Muslims in UK?
  - ✓ At national, government and personal level
  - ✓ How they can be solved?
10. Racism has been one of the major problems faced by Muslims living in Britain, especially after 9/11 attacks and 7/7 London bombings. How Muslims have managed to deal with it?
11. What is the future of Muslims in Britain?

## Appendix 4B

### Focus Group Guide – Urdu

- ۱۔ آپ کا کیا خیال ہے کہ کیا مسلمان برطانیہ میں رہتے ہوئے اپنی زندگیوں سے خوش اور مطمئن ہیں؟  
- اگر خوش ہیں تو کن چیزوں کی وجہ سے خوش ہیں؟
- ۲۔ ایک نئے سروے کے مطابق برطانیہ کے مسلمان باقی یورپ اور یو ایس اے کے مسلمانوں کی نسبت کم خوش ہیں۔ آپ کے خیال میں اس کی کیا وجہ ہو سکتی ہے؟
- ۳۔ تمام چیزوں کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے، آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ میں آپ لوگوں کی زندگی اپنے اصل ملک کے مقابلے میں کیسے بہتر یا خراب ہے؟
- ۴۔ آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی کو کیسے بڑھایا جاسکتا ہے؟
- ۵۔ آپ کا کیا خیال ہے کہ کیا مسلمان برطانیہ میں کم ایڈجسٹڈ ہیں؟  
- ہاں یا نا، کیا وجہ ہے؟  
- وہ یہاں کے لوگوں سے کتنا گھلتے ملتے ہیں؟  
- یہاں کے لوگوں کا رویہ کیسا ہے ان کے ساتھ؟
- ۶۔ آپ کے خیال میں، مسلمان کونسا کلچر فولو کرتے ہیں؟  
- اپنا یا برطانیہ کا؟  
- اگر دونوں تو کونسا زیادہ فولو کرتے ہیں؟
- ۷۔ آپ کے خیال میں، برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمان کی حیثیت سے آپ لوگوں کے نزدیک مذہب کی کیا اہمیت ہے؟  
- کیا فولو کرتے ہیں اور کیا نہیں؟
- ۸۔ آپ کے خیال میں آپ کامذہب اور کلچر، آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینان زندگی پر کیسے اثر انداز ہوتا ہے؟
- ۹۔ آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو کیا اہم مسائل درپیش ہیں؟  
- قومی، حکومتی اور ذاتی طور پر  
- آپ کے نزدیک ان کا حل کیا ہے؟
- ۱۰۔ برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو ایک اہم مسئلہ تعصب کا ہے، خاص طور پر
- ۹۔۱۱ کے حملوں اور ۷۔۷ لندن بم دھماکوں کے بعد سے، مسلمان اس تعصب کا کیسے مقابلہ کرتے ہیں؟
- ۱۱۔ آپ کے خیال میں مسلمانوں کا برطانیہ میں کیا مستقبل ہے؟



## Appendix 5

### Jefferson Transcription Notations

<b>Symbols</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>I</b>	Abbreviation for Interviewer
<b>FM</b>	Initials of the respondent
<b>(1.0)</b>	Numbers between parentheses indicate a pause between utterances measured in seconds, similarly, 2 seconds, 3 seconds, 4 seconds
<b>(.)</b>	A dot within parentheses indicates a brief (untimed) pause between utterances
<b>a::</b>	Colons indicate that the immediately preceding sound has been prolonged
<b>(name)</b>	Words in parentheses indicate descriptions of material that has been rendered anonymous by the transcriber.
<b>tha-</b>	Hyphen indicates broken off speech
<b>↑↓</b>	Arrows indicate shifts into especially high or low pitch
<b>WORD</b>	Upper case indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding sounds.
<b>&gt;&lt;</b>	Right/left carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate that the bracketed material is speeded up, compared to the surrounding talk.
<b>&lt;&gt;</b>	Left/right carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate that the bracketed material is slowed down, compared to the surrounding talk.
<b>=</b>	A pair of equal signs, one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of the next line, indicates that there is no break between the utterance of these two lines.
<b><i>word</i></b>	Urdu words in between English words.
<b><u>word</u></b>	Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude

## **Appendix 6**

### **Participants' profiles**

1. **SAR (Extracts 1; 19):** SAR is a first generation female, who moved to Britain from Pakistan 3 years ago. She was 41 of age at time of interview and had completed her college studies in Pakistan. She is a homemaker and mother of three children. She is a British national by birth as her father was a British national. Her father moved back to Pakistan in the 1980s but now she and her other siblings have returned to Britain to better their future prospects.
2. **AB (Extract 2):** AB is a first generation male, living in Britain for the last 12 years. He was 37 and had studied up to high school level in Pakistan. He is SAR's younger brother, and was amongst the first ones to come to Britain within the family. He is married now and a taxi driver by profession. He is originally from Pakistan, but is now a British national.
3. **FM (Extracts 3; 12; 13):** FM is a second-generation female, and is a homemaker and mother of two. At the time of the interview, she was 38 at the time of interview and had graduated. Her parents were from Kenya, while her grandparents were of Indian descent before the partition of India and Pakistan. However, she now has strong ties with Pakistan because of her distant family and in-laws living in Pakistan. She is an active member in her community and volunteers often.
4. **MS (Extracts 4; 22; 23; 35):** MS is a second generation female, homemaker and part-time tutor. She was 29 at the time of the interview. She completed a diploma in teaching after her graduation. She is a mother of two children. Her parents are from Pakistan but she is British by birth.
5. **MAD (Extracts 5; 7; 20):** MAD is a first generation male, He is an economic migrant and immigrated to Britain 33 years ago. He was 53 years old at the time of interview and had studied up to college level in Pakistan. He currently runs a business in Edinburgh. He is married and has four children. He is now a British national but is originally from Pakistan.
6. **RK (Extracts 6; 44):** RK is a first generation female and migrated to Britain 8 years ago on a highly skilled professionals visa (HSMP). She was 32 at the time of interview and had completed post-graduation studies in Pakistan. She is a nurse by profession and is married with three children. At the time of the interview, she had indefinite leave to remain in Britain and now is a British national.
7. **NM (Extracts 8; 14):** NM is a first generation female, living in Britain for the last 7 years. She migrated to Britain with her husband via HSMP arrangements. She was

35 at the time of interview and had completed a Master's degree in Pakistan. At the time of the interview, she was on indefinite leave to remain in Britain. She is a homemaker and mother of two children.

- 8. NF (Extracts 9; 16; 36):** NF is a first generation female, who also migrated to Britain via HSMP arrangements with her husband 9 years ago. She was 34 at the time of interview and had completed post-graduate studies in Pakistan. She is a homemaker and has three children. She was originally from Pakistan but is now a British national. She is an active member of her community and does volunteer work in different charitable events organized by her community.
- 9. MG (Extract 10):** MG is a first generation male, who came to Britain on a student visa 3 years ago. He was 31 years old at the time of interview and had studied up to post-graduate level in Pakistan. His country of origin is Pakistan. He is married and has two children. At the time of interview, he was engaged in Masters level studies at a Glasgow university.
- 10. MUB (Extracts 11; 24; 33; 45):** MUB is a first generation female, who migrated to Britain 10 years ago from Pakistan. She was 33 of age at the time of the interview. She had studied in a college in Pakistan. Her family sought asylum in the UK due to religious reasons (persecution of her sect in Pakistan). She is an active member of her community and does volunteer work. She is a homemaker with three children. She is now a British national.
- 11. SAN (Extract 15):** SAN is a second generation female, living in Glasgow with her mother. She was 18 years old at the time of interview and a fulltime university student. Her parents belong to Pakistan.
- 12. AO (Extracts 17; 30):** AO is a first generation male, living in Britain for the last 10 years. His age at time of interview was 36 and he had completed a Master's degree in Britain. He is married and has five children. He came to Britain as a student and then sought and was granted asylum. He now has indefinite leave to remain permission in Britain. He is an active member of his community and has strong connections to his local mosque. He is originally from Ghana.
- 13. NJ (Extract 18):** NJ is a first generation female, and immigrated to Britain 5 years ago from Dubai. She holds a graduate degree from Pakistan. She is currently an asylum claimant along with her family. They are still awaiting a Home office decision. She is married with three children. Originally, she lived in Pakistan. She is an active member of her community and volunteers often.

- 14. MO (Extracts 21; 26; 31; 42):** MO is a second generation Muslim male and was 38 years of age at the time of interview. He had completed a degree in business management. He is married with two children. He is an accountant by profession. His parents originated from the Indian subcontinent and migrated to Britain in the 1940s.
- 15. SAL (Extract 25):** SAL is a first generation female who immigrated to Britain 10 years ago. She was 30 at the time of interview and completed college studies in Pakistan. She is a homemaker and has two children. Her country of origin is Pakistan.
- 16. HS (Extracts 27; 29):** HS is a second-generation male, who immigrated to Britain with his parents at the age of four. At the time of the interview, he was 22 years old and was completing a degree at a Glasgow university. He is now currently employed in London.
- 17. AS (Extract 28):** AS is the elder brother of HS, he also immigrated to Britain with his parents when he was six. At the time of the interview, he was 25 years old and working as a student consultant in a Glasgow university. Currently, he is also residing and employed in London.
- 18. MAK (Extract 32):** MAK is a first generation male, living in Britain for the last 10 years. He was 43 years old at the time of interview and had completed college studies in Pakistan. He is a taxi driver by profession. He is married and has three children. He sought asylum in Britain and is now a British national. He is an active member of his community and organizes many charitable events in the mosque.
- 19. AK (Extract 34):** AK is a second-generation male, who immigrated to Britain with his parents at the age of one. His age at the time of the interview was 26. He studied up to college level and now works at managerial level. He is originally from Yemen.
- 20. AM (Extract 37):** AM is a first generation female, who has been living in Britain for the last 10 years. She studied up to high school level in Ghana and was 27 years old at the time of the interview. She is married to AO and has five children. She is originally from Ghana and like AO, she also has indefinite leave to remain in Britain.
- 21. UY (Extract 38):** UY is a second generation male, whose parents are originally from Pakistan. He completed his high school studies and then started to work to support his family. At the time of the interview, he was 23 of age and was working at a managerial level in catering.

- 22. SK (Extract 39):** SK is a second generation female, whose parents lived in Pakistan. She was 19 years old and was studying at university at the time of interview. She has strong relations with the mosque.
- 23. MUN (Extract 40):** MUN is a second generation male, whose parents are originally from the Indian subcontinent. He was 42 years old at the time of interview and had graduated. He is married with two children. By profession, he is in sales.
- 24. RJ (Extract 41):** RJ is first generation male, living in Britain for the last 10 years. He is educated up to graduate level and was 37 years old at the time of the interview. He came to Britain on a spouse visa and is now a British national. He owns and runs a shop in Edinburgh and has three children.
- 25. SG (Extract 43):** SG is a second generation female, whose parents are originally from Pakistan. At the time of interview, she was studying in high school and was 17 years old.

## Appendix 7

### Extracts' Urdu Translation

#### Extract 1

جیسا کہ آپ نے کہا کہ ہماری قدریں مختلف ہیں اور ہم انکی اقدار نہیں لے سکتے تو آپ کیسے یہاں ایڈجسٹ کرتی ہیں؟

I: You said that our values are different and we can't take up their values so how you adjust here?

ایک تو: ایک تو بات یہ ہے کہ میں نے بہت سارے ایسے لوگ دیکھے ہیں جو بہت ہی سخت پردے کے نہ ہوتے ہیں

SAR: One:: one thing is that I have seen many such people who are up to very hard veiling

میں ان میں سے ہوں جو ایک میڈیم پردہ کرنے والے لوگ ہیں یعنی کہ میری اپنی پرسنل ذاتی۔ میرا اپنا ذاتی یہ خیال ہے کہ پردہ

I am from those people who do medium veil I mean my own personal- my personal belief is that veil

وہ ہے جو آپ کی آنکھ کے اندر ہے (۰) جو حیا ہے آپ کے اندر ہے اگر وہ زندہ اور سلامت ہے تو آپ کا پردہ کوئی نہیں اتار سکتا

is what is in your eyes (1.0) if the shame in your eye is alive and remain then nobody can take off your veil

ہمارے وہاں پاکستان میں کہا کرتے تھے کہ (۰) جیڑی گڑی دہلیز پار نہیں نہ کردی اونوں کوئی کھچ کے باروں نہیں کڈ سکتا (۰)

over there in our Pakistan it is said (.)that a girl who don't cross her doorstep nobody can pull her out (1.8)

تو میرا بھی ذاتی طور پر یہی خیال ہے کہ بہت زیادہ سخت پردہ جو ہے نہ وہ بھی آپ کو دوسروں سے منفرد تو بنا دیتا ہے

so my personal view is also that very hard veil does make you different from others

لیکن لوگ آپ کو دیکھتے ہیں (۰) اگر جسٹ لائیک جیسے میں نے کوٹ پہنا ہے ، پینٹ پہنی ہے اور میں نے صرف (۰)

but people watch you more (.) like if I wear coat and pant and I have only (.)

اوپر جو ہے وہ میں نے چادر یا اپنی جو بھی ایک لیا ہوا ہے سمپل اگر میرا منہ ننگا ہے تو لوگ مجھے کم دیکھتے ہیں

just take a simple scarf above or whatever and my face is naked then people look at me less

کیونکہ یہاں سارے لوگ اسی طرح کا پردہ کرتے ہیں (۰)

because here everybody do this kind of veil (.)

جن لوگوں نے بہت ٹائٹ برقع پہنا ہوتا ہے یا بہت کم عورتیں گھر سے باہر نکلتی ہیں۔

those people who wear very tight burqa or very rarely these women go out-

## Extract 5

جیسے آپ مذہب کی بات کر رہے ہیں تو آپ برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمان کی حیثیت سے اپنی مذہبی شناخت کو کیسے بیان کریں گے؟

I: As you are talking about religion so how you would define your religious identity as a Muslim in Britain?

یہاں (۰) یہ ہمیں فریڈم ہے مذہب کی ہمارے ملک جہاں سے ہم آئے ہیں اور جینلی وہاں سے زیادہ فریڈم ہے یہاں مذہب کی جو ہے (۰)

MAD: Here (.) we have freedom of religion as compare to the country from which we have come originally (.)

تو: (۰) اس لیے یہاں شناخت اگر آپ - اگر اسکو شناخت آپ کہتے ہیں کہ مطلب کپڑے پہننا - شلوار قمیض

therefore:: (4.0) here identity if you- if you call it identity like wearing clothes- like shalwar kameez,

مطلب کہ داڑھی رکھنا یہ ٹوپی پہننا یہ کچھ بھی ہے تو اُسکے لیے تو یہاں کوئی پابندی نہیں ہے (۰)

meaning that having beard or wearing cap or any such thing so for this there is no restriction

لیکن ہمارے ملک میں کچھ ان چیزوں کا مطلب پابندی ہے کہ آپ اگر ٹوپی پہن کہ ایک مسجد میں جاتے ہیں

but in our country some such things are restricted like if you go to a mosque wearing cap

تو دوسرے مسجد والے پسند نہیں کرتے (۰) اگر وہاں جاتے ہیں تو وہ کہتے ہیں

some mosque people don't like it (.) and if you go without in another mosque they lay restrictions that

کہ آپ ننگے سر نماز نہیں پڑھ سکتے یہ (۰) سجدہ ایسے کریں یہ رکوع ایسے کریں

restrictions that you can't offer prayers with bare head, or prostrate like this or bow like that

تو یہاں جو ہے ہمیں مطلب زیادہ فریڈم - میں تو زیادہ محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ ہمیں یہاں فریڈم زیادہ ہے مذہب کی (۰)

so here we have more freedom- I personally feel we have more religious freedom here (.)

اپنے ملک سے جو جسکو ہم اور جینلی اپنا ملک کہتے ہیں (۰)

as compare to our country which we originally call our country (.)

تو وہاں سے مجھے یہاں اچھا لگتا ہے کہ فریڈم زیادہ ہے۔

so I like more here than there because freedom is more.

## Extract 6

آپ خود کو یہاں مذہبی زیادہ محسوس کرتی ہیں اپنے ملک کی نسبت یہ نہیں؟

I: How religious do you consider yourself here as compare to your own country of origin?

میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ میں شاید زیادہ محسوس کرنے لگی ہوں (۰) اُسکی وجہ صرف یہی نہیں ہے کہ کلچر بھی چنچ ہوا ہے

RK: Yes:: I believe that I have begun to feel more, its reason is not only that culture has been changed

ہے اور میں شاید اس وجہ سے بھی کانٹشیس ہوئی ہوں کہ کلچر باہر کا کچھ اور ہے

and maybe I have become more conscious because outside culture is something else

میرا اپنا کچھ اور ہے اور یہ کہ میرے بچوں کے اوپر کیا اثر پڑیگا (۰)

and my own culture is something else and this that how this will affect my children (.)

کچھ باتیں ایسی ہیں جو لائیک ہے پردگی ہے یا پھر:: ایسا ماحول جیسے شادیاں نہیں یہاں رواج ہے

some things are like immodesty and then:: (.) or like there is no custom of getting married here

اُن چیزوں سے میں ڈرتی ہوں بے شک کہ یہاں کے قانون اچھے ہیں، سیکورٹی ہے،

I am afraid of these things no matter there are good laws here, there is security,

انسانیت کی قدر ہے (۰) مذہبی آزادی بھی ہے مجھے سب سے بڑی بات جو ہے لیکن:: (۰)

humanity is being valued, I also have religious freedom which is biggest thing but:: (.)

میں کانٹشیس زیادہ اس لیے ہو گئی ہوں ایک تو شاید میں عمر میں زیادہ بڑی ہوں،

I have become more conscious because one firstly I am maybe a little older in age,

میرا مذہبی شعور بڑا ہے، زندگی کو گزارنے کا ڈھنگ تھوڑا مجھے آیا ہے

my own religious understanding conscious is bigger, the way of living life somewhat I have learnt

جہاں تک میں سمجھتی ہوں (۰) جب میں پاکستان میں تھی میرے ایج اور تھی،

as far as I believe when I was in Pakistan my age was something else (.)

اب میری ایج چونکہ زیادہ میچور ہو رہی ہے (۰) میں خود بھی زندگی کے بارے میں کچھ سیکھ رہی ہوں

now my age is because now I am more mature (.) I am also learning something about life

اس وجہ سے بھی میرا کانٹشیس لیول بھڑا ہے

also because of this my conscious level has increased (.)

پلس:: ہاں مجھے باہر کے ماحول نے بھی تھوڑا مور کانٹشیس کیا ہے

plus:: yes the environment outside has also made me more conscious

کہ میں جس طرح کی ہونگی ویسے ہی میرے بچے ہونگے (۰) اس وجہ سے آپ کہہ سکتے ہیں۔

that whatever the way I will be my children will be the same (.) because of that you can say.



## Extract 7

یہاں کا کلچر بھی کوئی فولو کرتے ہیں یا اپنے ملک کا کلچر فولو کرے ہیں؟

I: Whether you follow this culture more or your own country's culture?

کلچر ہمارا جو ہے (۰) میرا خیال کہ مکس ہے ابھی (۰) کیونکہ (۰) جو بچے یہاں پیدا ہوئے ہیں ابھی اُنکے ساتھ

MAD: Our culture is (.) I think mix at present (.) because (.) the kids who have born here so along with them

جو وہ کرتے ہیں ہمیں بھی کرنا پڑتا ہے (۰) تو اُس میں وہ مکس ہو جاتا ہے (۰) تو پاکستانی کلچر جو ہے میں اُسکو کلچر نہیں بولتا ہوں

whatever they do we also have to do (.) so it gets mix (.) and I don't believe Pakistani culture is a culture

(۰) میں تو نہیں سمجھتا کہ وہ کلچر ہے جو ہمارا جو ہے (۰) کیونکہ ہم لوگ جو ہیں وہ مذہب اور کلچر میں پھنسے ہوئے ہیں

(.) and i don't consider it as any culture (.) because we are stuck between culture and religion

کیونکہ ہمیں پتہ نہیں ہے کہ ہمارا مذہب کونسا ہے اور ہمارا کلچر کونسا ہے (۰) تو اس لیے:: (۰)

because we don't know what is actually culture and what is our religion (.) therefore:: (1.0)

زیادہ جو مذہب میں جو چیزیں ہیں ہم لوگ اُنکو فولو کرنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں (۰) وہ اگر صحیح ہیں اس ملک کے اطوار سے

mostly we try to follow the things which are in our religion (.) if they are right according to this country

تو ہم اُسکو فولو کرتے ہیں اگر وہ اس ملک کے اطوار سے ہمارے مذہبی طور پر ہم دیکھتے ہیں we follow them and if they are not according to this country or if we look from our religious perspective

(۰) مطلب حلال حرام میں تو (۰)

(.) I mean we try to see it as forbidden or allowed in Islam (.)

مطلب ہے تو حلال ہے تو ہم اُسکو فولو کرتے ہیں اگر وہ حرام ہے تو ہم اُسکو نہیں کرتے۔

I mean if it is allowed we follow it but if it is forbidden then we don't follow it.

س: اور کوئی مثال مکس کلچر کے حوالے سے؟

Any other examples you can give of this mix culture?

ج: ویسے مثلاً کے جہاں اگر لیڈیز ہیں مطلب کہ (۰) آ: مذہب میں کئی دفعہ

MA: Yes for example if where there are ladies I mean (.) aa:: many times in religion

اگر ہم لوگ پاکستان میں ہوں ہمارا کلچر نہیں ہے کہ ہم لوگ مطلب لیڈیز کے ساتھ شیک ہینڈ کریں ہاتھ ملایں

if we are in Pakistan it is not our culture to shake hand with ladies (.) shake hand

لیکن یہاں ہمیں بہت کرنا پڑتا ہے اس لیے نہیں کہ مطلب کہ ہم لوگ دل سے خوش ہیں (۰) لیکن

but we have to do this a lot here not because we are happy by heart to do this but

کیونکہ کلچر کی وجہ سے ہمیں کرنا پڑتا ہے کئی دفعہ ہیں جی آ: اور بھی مطلب (۰)

we have to do this because of culture many times aa:: moreover meant that (2.0)

کونی چیزیں ہونگی ایسے عم (۰) ڈیلی لائف میں (۰) عم:: (۰) کئی چیزیں مطلب  
there other things as well aa:: (2.0) in daily life like hmmm:: (8.0) many such things

ایسی کرنی پڑتی ہیں کہ جو ہمارے کلچر میں وہاں نہیں ہیں تو لیکن یہاں ہیں  
we have to do which are not in culture but are in this culture

لیکن ہم کرتے ہیں انکو کیونکہ وہ - اتنا زیادہ کونفلکٹ نہیں ہے مطلب انکا ہمارے مذہب سے۔  
and but we do it because they are not much conflicting with our religion.

## Extract 8

آپ کونسا کلچر زیادہ فولو کرتی ہیں؟

I: Which culture do you follow most?

کلچر جو ہے وہ ہم اپنا جو گھر میں اور ویسے فولو کرتے ہیں وہ ( ) وہ اپنا ریلیجیسی کلچر کو فولو کرتے ہیں نوٹ ایشین

NM: Culture we follow at home and otherwise we follow is our religious culture not Asian culture

یا انگلش اور اس طرح سے جو ہم اپنی ریلجن کی بیس کے اوپر بناتے ہیں ( )

or English as it is (1.0) so culture we make on the basis of our religion (1.0)

کیونکہ پاکستان کے کلچر میں بھی بہت ساری ایسی چیزیں ہیں جو کہ ہمارے ریلجن میں ہیں

because in Pakistan's culture even there are many things which are not in our religion

سو وی فولو اور ریلیجیسی کلچر اسلام۔ اسلام کو ہم فولو کرتے ہیں۔

so we follow our religious culture (.) Islam (4.0) we follow Islam

یہاں کا کلچر بھی جس حد تک اسلام اس سے مطابقت رکھتا ہے اس حد تک کرتے ہیں

this country's culture also to the extent Islam is compatible to that culture we follow it up to that limit

( ) ٹھیک ہے لیکن جہاں ہے اسلام کی لمٹس جو ہے وہ کراس کرتا ہے تو وہاں ہے ہم اسکو فولو نہ خود کرتے ہیں

(.) right but where it crosses the limits of Islam so then neither we follow it

نہ بچوں کو پریکٹس کروائیں ہیں۔

and nor make our children practice it.

## Extract 9

آپ کا کیا خیال ہے کہ کیا آپ اُنسے مکس ہو سکتے ہیں ؟

I: What do you think about mixing with the local community?

وہی بات آجاتی ہے جو پہلے میں نے کی تھی (۰) کہ جن لمٹس تک ہم لوگوں کی ہیں (۰) ہمارا مذہب

NF: It is like what I said earlier that (1.0) up to the limits, we have (.) our religion

ہمارا کلچر جہاں تک ہمیں اجازت دیتا ہے وہاں تک تو ہم مکس ہوتے ہیں اور ہم (۰) مطلب جیسے ہم لوگ جو (فرقہ) ہیں

our culture allow us we mix with them up to that we (4.0) I mean we are like [sect name]

ہم لوگ تو انکے ہر چیزوں میں انولو ہوتے ہیں ، اتنے زیادہ سٹریکٹ نہیں ہیں اس چیز میں بھی اب جیسے انکی پوپی اپیلز ہوتی ہیں،

so we get involved in everything and not very strict in this now for example their poppy appeals,

انکی ڈفرنٹ اس طرح کی چیزیں ہیں ان سے۔ انکی چیریٹیز ہیں انکی ہر چیز ہے اُس میں انولو ہوتے ہیں (۰) اُنکو انوائٹ کرتے ہیں۔

their different such things, their charities, their everything in which we get involve aa:: and invite them.

## Extract 10

آپ کا یہاں کے لوگوں سے ملنے جانے کے بارے میں کیا خیال ہے؟

I: What do you think about mixing with local community?

ہاں نہیں میرا یہ ا:۔ (۰) ذاتی میری یہ رائے بھی ہے اور خیال بھی ہے کہ جتنے بھی عم:۔

MG: Yes I aa:۔ (.) it's my personal belief as well as opinion that all the a:۔ people

آتے ہیں باہر سے یہاں لوگ آکر رہتے ہیں انکو لوکل لوگوں کے ساتھ انکی ا:۔ انکے ساتھ ا  
نکا میل ملاپ ہونا چاہیے اور کافی حد تک ہونا چاہیے (۰)

who come here and stay they should:۔ meet and get mixed with local people and do it a lot  
(0.8)

چاہیے اس لیے میل ملاپ نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے اکثر اس قسم کے واقعات پیدا ہوتے ہیں کہ ہم ایک  
دوسرے کو سمجھ نہیں پاتے

because without mixing with them these events happen that we could not understand each  
other,

پاتے ایک دوسرے کے ہم پوائنٹس آف ویو جو ہیں وہ ہم نہیں پہنچاتے جسکی وجہ سے ہم جو ہے وہ  
غلط فہمیوں کا شکار رہتے ہیں کہ

we don't get each other's point of view as a result of which we develop misunderstandings  
that

فلاں برا ہے فلاں برا نہیں ہے، اگر ہم کسی کے ساتھ گفت و شنید

someone is bad and someone is not bad (0.8) if we do conversation with someone

یا کسی بھی ٹاپک پر ہم ڈسکس کریں گے تو میرے خیال میں ہم کافی حد تک انکو اپنی میسج کنوے  
جو ہے وہ آرام سے کر سکتے ہیں

or if we discuss some topic so I think we can convey our message very easily to them

اور اگلے کو ہم قائل کر سکتے ہیں (۰) اگر ہم ان سے دور رہیں گے

and can convince them (0.8) if we will stay away from them a:۔ then

تو دور رہنے سے جو ہے وہ نفرتیں اور عداوتیں جو ہیں وہ (۰) کم نہیں ہونگی وہ بڑھیں گی تو اس  
لیے

by staying away the hatred and enmity (.) will not decrease and keep increasing so therefore

میرا تو یہ خیال ہے کہ ہمیں انکے ساتھ جو ہے وہ گھلنا ملنا چاہیے لیکن اس حد تک نہیں (۰)

my thinking is- I personally think that we should mix with them but not up to that limit  
(1.0)

یا اس حد تک ملنا چاہیے جسکی ہمیں جو ہے وہ ہمارا دین اور مذہب جو ہے وہ اجازت دیتا ہے۔

that- aa:۔ we should mix with them up to the limits set by our religion.

## Extract 11

آپ یہاں پر رہتے ہوئے یہاں پر اپنے آپ کو کیسے ایڈجسٹ کرتی ہیں سوسائٹی میں؟

I: While living here, how you adjust in this society?

ہاں جی میرا تو خیال ہے کہ (۰) مطلب یہ کہ زیادہ تر تو ہمارا لباس ہے جو (۰) ثقافت جو ہماری ہے ہمارا لباس ہے

MUB: Yes I think so I (1.0) mean mostly our dress (1.0) which is our culture our dress

ہے اُسکو جو ہم بچپن سے پہنتے چلے آ رہے ہیں کیونکہ ہم تو ابھی یہاں میں ابھی مجھے سات سال ہوئے ہیں

which we have been wearing since childhood because we are- I am here from last seven years

اگر کوئی یہاں مطلب یہاں (۰) زیادہ عرصہ گزر جاتا ہے آپ کو بیس پچیس سال

if somebody here (.) if you have passed about twenty-twenty five years here

یا آپ جیسے یہاں بORN ہوتے ہیں جیسے میرے بچے بORN ہوئے ہیں

or like if you are born here like my children who are born here,

انکے لیے یہ کپڑے اتنے مشکل نہیں ہیں (۰) بحر حال مجھے لیکن کافی فیل ہوا تھا

for them these clothes are not very difficult (.) anyways I felt this a lot,

پہلے شروع شروع میں (۰) میں شلوار قمیض ہی زیادہ استعمال کرتی تھی لیکن بہت اوڈ لگتا ہے باہر جائیں

in the beginning I mostly used shalwar kameez but it seems very odd (0.5) when you go out

اور آپ خاص طور پر اور جب سردیاں ہوتی ہیں تب تو آپ بالکل پہن ہی نہیں سکتے شلوار میں آپ کو اتنی ٹھنڈ لگتی ہے اور

and especially and when there is winter you can't wear it at all because you feel so cold in shalwar and

اور دوسری بات ہے کہ اچھا بھی نہیں لگتا جہاں سب لوگوں نے جینز پہنی ہوئی ہے ٹراوزرز پہنے ہوئے ہیں

secondly it also does not seem good where everybody is wearing jeans, wearing trousers,

وہاں آپ اچھے بھی نہیں لگتے کہ آپ نے شلوار قمیض پہنی ہوئی ہے (۰) تو وہ ایڈجسٹ کرنا کافی::

there you do not look nice while wearing shalwar kameez so (2.0) that adjustment was quite::

پینٹ شینٹ پہننا میرے لیے حارڈ تھا (۰) لیکن وہ آہستہ آہستہ عادت ہو گئی (۰) تو اب یہ ہے کہ اب جب میں باہر جاتی ہوں

wearing pant was quite hard for me (0.5) but then slowly I got use to of it (.) so now when I go out

بچوں کے سکول جاتی ہوں سکول کے کسی فنکشن میں جاتی ہوں کسی میٹنگ میں جاتی ہوں سکول کی  
وہ پھر میں پینٹ ہی یوز کرتی ہوں۔

in children's school, in any school's function or any school's meeting (0.5) so then I only use  
pant.

## Extract 14

آپ کو اتنے سال ہو گئے ہیں یہاں رہتے ہوئے تو آپ کس حد تک خوش اور زندگی سے مطمئن ہیں؟

I: How happy and satisfied are you with your life in Britain after all those years you have spent here?

(ہنسی) یہ تو بہت مشکل سوال ہے (ہنسی)

NM: (laugh) it is a very difficult question (laugh)

میرا مطلب ہے کہ آپ یہاں رہتے ہوئے مطمئن ہیں کیونکہ آپ اپنے ملک سے دور ہیں؟

I: I mean are you satisfied while living here as it is not your home country?

م: (۰) پتا نہیں مجھے۔ پرسنلی اگر میں اپنے۔ فرام مائی انر ہارٹ

aa::m (4.0) I don't know- personally:: from my inner heart (1.0)

ہارٹ آئی ایم ناٹ ہپی ٹو لو ہیر (۰) ٹھیک ہے اگر مجھے کوئی اور ایشوز نہ ہو پاکستان میں

I am not happy to live here (1.5) right (.) if I don't have any other issues or problems in Pakistan

تو میں کبھی بھی وہاں سے نہ آؤں (۰) ٹھیک ہے اور ابھی بھی جب ہم نے ڈیساڈ کیا تھا اگر صرف

so I never come back here (1.5) right (.) and even now when we decided so if it would have been

صرف میرا اوپینین ہوتا تو میں تب بھی نہ آتی (۰) ٹھیک ہے اس میں زیادہ انفلونس میرے ہسپینڈ کا تھا

my opinion then I would have not come here (1.5) right (.) there was more influence of my husband

یکاز ہی بیز ڈیساڈ کہ (۰) نہیں وہاں پہ نہیں رہنا وہاں پہ سیٹل ہونا ہے وہاں پہ رہنا ہے جا کے

because he has decided that no we won't live there (.) we have to get settle there (.) we have to live there (.)

لیکن ابھی بھی (۰) آئی سٹل فیل کہ (۰) سارے پراپلمز کے باوجود (۰)

but:: even now I mean (1.0) I still feel that (2.0) in spite of all the problems (3.0)

آئی ایم ناٹ سیٹسفاڈ ٹو لو ہیر اے۔ اگر ہمارے مطلب (فرقہ) کے لیے سارے قسم کے حالات وہاں پہ سموتھ ہوجاتے ہیں

I am not satisfied to live here (.) if (1.0) our condition I mean for (sect name) becomes smooth,

سارا کچھ ہوجاتا ہے تو ہم: (۰) آئی ول بی کوائیٹ ہپی ٹو لو ان پاکستان۔

everything happens so we:: (.) I will be quite happy to live in Pakistan.



## Extract 16

آپ یہاں رہتے ہوئے کن باتوں سے خوش اور مطمئن ہیں؟

I: What are the things which make you happy and satisfied while living here?

سیفٹی سے ، ہر قسم کے رولز اینڈ ریگولیشنز کو فولو کیا جاتا ہے

NF: There is safety, everything, rules and regulations are being followed here

کوئی چیٹنگ نہیں ہوتی کہیں پہ بھی آپکے ساتھ تو: اس لحاظ سے وی آر کوائٹ سیٹسفائیڈ )  
(۰) مطلب

there is no cheating with you (1.0) so according to this we are quite satisfied aa:: I mean

وہ چیزیں اچھی ہیں لیکن: اون دی ادر سائیڈ جو پرابلمز ہیں کہ (۰) اپنی بوم کنٹری کا  
ایٹموسفیر ،

those things are good but:: on the other side the problems like (2.0) the atmosphere of our  
home country

اپنی چیزوں کو مس کرنا (۰) اپنی فیملی کو مس کرنا (۰) اپنے (۰) ہر :: (۰) اپنی بیلونگنگز -  
(1.0) missing our things (.) missing our family (1.5) our (.) every:: (0.8) our belongings-

اب دیکھیں جب ہم لوگ یہاں پر آتے ہیں سارا کچھ اپنا چھوڑ کے آتے ہیں وہاں پر تو: (۰)  
now look when we come here we left our everything behind there so:: (3.0)

مطلب مجھے یہاں (بنسی) (۰) اٹس کوائٹ بگ تھنگ نا کہ اپنی- (۰) آئی سٹل مس مائی بیڈ  
کے بیڈ ہی نہیں پسند آتے

it is quite big thing that your- (.) I still miss my bed (laugh) (.) I mean I don't like beds here  
(0.8)

پتہ نہیں کیوں (۰) مجھے ابھی تک اپنا بیڈ جو ہے نا وہ- شروع میں تو میں اتنا روتی تھی رات  
کو میں نے کہا کہ

I don't know why (.) I still remember my bed- in the beginning I use to cry a lot that I at  
night-

مجھے تو انکے میٹریس پتہ نہیں کس طرح کے ہوتے ہیں (۰) یہ مجھے کہتے تمہارے دماغ  
میں کوئی خلل ہے

I don't know what kind of mattress they have (0.5) my husband said that there is some fault  
in your brain

(بنسی) (۰) تو: شروع میں مجھے انکا کسی چیز کا ٹیسٹ نہیں اچھا لگتا تھا (۰)

(laugh) (0.5) so:: in the beginning I didn't like the taste of anything here (.)

نہ مجھے یہاں کی ویجیٹبلز پسند آتی تھیں نہ یہاں کے انڈے پسند آتے تھے نہ مجھے یہاں کا  
قیمہ نہ گوشت کچھ بھی نہیں مجھے اچھا لگتا تھا،

neither I like the vegetables here nor eggs , mince, meat nothing I liked (.)

اب تو خیر یوز ٹو ہو گئی ہوں اتنے سالوں میں (۰) لیکن ابھی بھی نا مطلب (۰) - آ: (۰)

anyways now we have got use to of it in all these years (.) but still I mean- (1.0) aa:: (2.0)

اچھی چیزیں یہ ہیں کہ سیکورٹی ہے، سیفٹی ہے، بچوں کا گڈ فیوچر ہے، بچوں کے لیے بھی  
سیکورٹی ہے

good things are that there is security, safety, children's good future, there is security for  
children as well,

کوئی انکو اس قسم کی پرابلمز نہیں ہیں ہمیں اپنا ریلجن کو پریکٹس کرنے کا انڈیپینڈنس  
ہے (۰) ٹھیک ہے (۰) جو ہمارا -

they don't have any problems, we have independence to practise our religion (1.0) right (.)  
which our-

مطلب جو بیسک ہومن رائٹس ہوتے ہیں ہم سارے ان کو کرتے ہیں استعمال نالیکن اُن دی ادر  
سائیڈ جو ہماری ٹریڈیشنز ہیں،

I mean all basic human rights we use them all (.) but on the other side, that our own (0.5)  
traditions,

اپنی فیملی ہے فیملی بیک گراؤنڈ جو سارا مطلب جو ایٹموسفیر ہوتا ہے (۰) تو وہ چیز جو ہے (۰) وہ  
مِس کرتے ہیں

our family, family background I mean all that atmosphere (1.5) so that thing (1.0) we miss

یا اُن چیزوں کی وجہ سے ہمیں (۰) سیڈ ہو جاتے ہیں یا ڈیسٹنسفیکشن ہوتی ہے تو یہ دونوں  
چیزیں ہیں۔

(1.0) or we feel sad because of those things and feel dissatisfied.

## Extract 18

آپ کیا سمجھتی ہیں کہ آپ یہاں رہتے ہوئے کس حد تک خوش اور زندگی سے مطمئن ہیں؟

I: While living here in UK, how happy and satisfied are you with your life?

بہت خوش ہوں (۰) کیونکہ میں دبئی میں تھی، دبئی: (۰) ایک بہت ہی ماڈرن کٹھری ہے (۰)

NJ: I am very happy (smiling) (1.0) because I was in Dubai (0.5) Dubai: (.) is a very modern country (.)

سب کچھ ہے لیکن چونکہ ہمیں مذہبی آزادی نہیں تھی (۰)

everything is there but because we were not having religious freedom (0.5)

ورنہ دیکھا جائے تو جو ہمیں فیسیلیٹیز دبئی میں تھیں (۰) وہ ادھر نہیں ہیں (۰)

although if you see all the facilities we were having in Dubai (.) we are not having them here (.)

لیکن جو ایک ہمیں مذہبی آزادی ہے اور ہم جاتے ہیں اور اپنے آقا کو دیکھتے ہیں اور ادھر جاتے

but the religious freedom we are having here and we go and see our religious leader and we go there

(۰) اور ادھر ہمارا کوئی اونٹ ہوتا ہے کبھی کچھ ایون وہاں پر تو دبئی میں ہم فون پر بھی نہیں بات کر سکتے تھے (۰)

(.) here we have this event or that but in Dubai we can't even talk on phone (0.5)

اتنی سختی تھی ایون کہ ہم کوئی رجسٹر بھی ساتھ نہیں رکھ سکتے تھے (۰) ایون اگر ہمیں کوئی پیپر دیا ہے پڑھنے کے لیے

It was very strict even we couldn't carry any register with ourselves (.) if we were given a paper to read

جیسے یہ پیپر دیا ہے اُس پر بھی ہمیں صدر صاحبہ کہتی تھیں کہ اسکو چھپا کے لے کر جائیں ایسے کہ کچھ ایسا نہ ہو (۰)

Like this paper on that our group leader use to say that carry it hidden so that nothing happens (.)

اور نماز پڑھنے اگر کسی کے گھر میں اگر ہمارا سینٹر ہے

and to offer prayers if we have a prayer centre in somebody's home

ہے تو ہمیں ٹوپیاں پہن کے۔ کہا تھا کہ ٹوپیاں پہن کہ نہیں جانا کہ یہ آپ نے اس طرح

Then to wear caps- then it was asked that you don't have to go there wearing caps

آپ نے نہیں دکھانا کہ آپ کچھ کر رہے ہیں نا (۰) اس لیے یہاں پہ تو میں بہت خوش ہوں۔

You don't have to show that you are doing something (1.0) so I am very happy here.

## Extract 19

کونسی ایسی چیزیں یا واقعات ہیں جو آپ کی خوشی کا باعث ہیں یہاں رہتے ہوئے؟

I: What are the things or events that accounts for your happiness and life satisfaction while living here?

میں نے جو پاکستان سے یہاں شفٹ کیا ہے وہ ایک بچوں کے بہترین مستقبل کے لیے اور

SAR: Most importantly I have shifted here from Pakistan for the better future of children and

سیف لائف کے لیے۔ جو ایک پاکستان میں جو ایک انتشار زندگیوں میں پھیل گیا تھا (۰) کہ پتہ نہیں اب ہم نے رہنا بھی ہے کہ نہیں رہنا  
for safer life- the disruption spread in our lives in Pakistan (.) that whether we are going to live or not

(۰) کیونکہ میرے بیٹے کے ساتھ دو تین دفع ایسا ہو گیا کچھ کہ سکول کے پاس بلاسٹ ہو گیا تھا  
(.) because it happened with my son two three times that there was a blast near his school

جو وہ خود فیل کرتا تھا کہ میں نے سکول میں نہیں پڑھنا (۰) اور سب سے بڑی بات یہ کہ  
he himself felt that he don't want to study in school (.) and most important thing is that

بچے چونکہ تینوں ہی میسنری سکول میں پڑھتے تھے (۰) تو وہ چونکہ بالکل ہی سڑک پہ ہوتے تھے

because all three children studied at missionary schools so because they are on the main roads

اور جب بھی کبھی بلاسٹ ہوتا تھا تو بچوں کے سکول بند کر دیے جاتے تھے (۰) اور یہ پچھلا  
کوئی دو سال

so whenever there was a blast they closed kids' schools we have passed our last two years

سارے ہم نے اسی حالات میں گزارے (۰) جہاں پتہ نہیں ہوتا تھا کہ کس دن چھٹی۔

in the same circumstances that (0.5) we never know when it's going to be off-

کس دن بلاسٹ ہو گیا دو۔ پانچ چھ ایسے موقعے آگئے زندگی میں کہ مجھے تو لگتا تھا کہ پتہ نہیں

when it's going to be a blast- two- five six such events came in life that I felt whether

بچوں کو پڑھا نا بھی ہے کہ گھر ہی بٹھا لینا ہے (۰) یہ جو انسیکورٹی ہوتی ہے نہ

I have to keep children studying or keep them at home (.) this sort of insecurity

جو ہر وقت انسان کے دماغ میں انتشار چلتا رہتا ہے اُس واقعے کے ختم ہونے کے بعد بھی (۰)  
that a disruption keeps lingering in one's mind even after the end of that incidence

وہ آپکی جو ذہنی طاقت اور جو آپ کی اور جو آپ کی مثبت سوچ ہے نا اسکو ختم کر دیتا ہے (۰)  
اور مجھے تو وہاں رہ کر بہت ہی۔

it finishes your mental powers and positive thinking and I- while living there -

ہم لوگوں نے تو زندگی گزار لی آگے سے بچوں کے لیے بڑا مشکل لگتا تھا (۰) اُسکے حساب سے  
تو میں بہت خوش

we have spent our lives now it seems very difficult for children (.) so in this regard I am  
very happy

اور مطمئن ہوں بچے اکیلے سکول جاتے ہیں آتے ہیں کسی قسم کی کوئی پرابلم نہیں ہے

and satisfied that the children go to school alone and come back alone there is not any type  
of problem

اور: (۰) کوئی خوف نہیں ہے دماغوں پہ وہ خوف نہیں ہے جو اب ہمارے پاکستان میں اب ہو گیا تھا۔

and: (.) there is no fear- on minds there is no fear which was there in our Pakistan now

## Extract 20

آپ کی زندگی برطانیہ میں کس طرح سے پاکستان کی نسبت بہتر ہے یا بری ہے؟

I: How your life is better or worse in Britain as compare to your homeland?

ہاں (۰) جب ہم لوگ پاکستان جاتے ہیں تو۔ میں ابھی تو گیا نہیں تقریباً چار سال سے

MAD: Yes (.) when we go to Pakistan (0.2) I have not been to Pakistan for about four years

لیکن: پاکستان میں جو ایکسپیرینس ہوتی ہے۔ مطلب میں پندرہ سال پہلے وہاں گیا تھا (۰)

but: the experience we get from Pakistan- I mean I went to Pakistan about fifteen years ago (.)

یہاں ستارہ سال رہنے کے بعد وہاں پاکستان میں گیا تھا کہ میں سیٹل ہونے کے لیے (۰) تو لاہور میں مطلب رہنے کے

after living here for seventeen years I went there to get settle (0.3) so while living in Lahore

فائنانشلی کوئی پر اہم نہ ہونے کے باوجود (۰) میں خوش نہیں تھا وہاں (۰) اس لیے تریباً آٹھ مہینے کے بعد

in spite of having no financial problem (.) I was not happy there (.) therefore after about eight months

میں اپنے بچوں کو لے کے یہاں واپس آگیا اور (۰) جو حالات وہاں دیکھے ہم لوگوں نے مطلب یہاں جو ایکسپیرینس ہوئی

I returned here with my kids and (2.0) the circumstances we faced there I mean experience we got here

(۰) جب ہم لوگ کمپیریزن کرتے ہیں تو پھر یہاں بہت بہتر ہے وہاں سے (۰) مذہبی طور پر بھی اور فائنانشلی اور (۰) ام:

so when we compare both, here it is much better from there (2.0) religiously and financially and (.) aahm:

یہاں سب سے زیادہ تو یہ ہے کہ اب کا جو این ایچ ایس کا جو سسٹم ہے یہ مطلب وہاں ہمیں نہیں ملتا (۰)

the most important here is the system of NHS (.) it is I mean we don't get there (2.0)

تو دوسرا پرسنل سیکورٹی ہے بچوں کی سیکورٹی ہے مطلب جہاں اپنا ام: کوئی بھی

secondly personal security children's' security and then aahm: if you have any work

گورنمنٹل (۰) ڈیپارٹمنٹ سے آپ کو کوئی کام پڑتا ہے یا ویسے بھی معاشرے میں ہمارے وہاں پاکستان میں جو ہے اونچ نیچ کا۔

work with governmental (1.0) departments or there is some also some caste system in our society

جسکے پاس تھوڑا پیسا آجاتا ہے وہ کہتا ہے کہ مجھ جیسا کوئی اور نہیں ہے یا اس سے ملنا ہی مشکل ہو جاتا ہے

there that whoever got some money he says no body is like me and it gets difficult to meet that man

عام طور پر عام آدمی کا (۰) تو ایسی چیزیں دیکھ کہ وہاں مطلب

usually for a common person (.) so looking at such things when

جب ہم لوگ کمپریزن کرتے ہیں اُسکا یہاں تو (۰) تو ڈیفینٹلی یہاں بہتر ہے وہاں سے۔  
we compare here from there then (0.3) definitely it is better here than there.

## Extract 24

کوئی ایسے واقعات یا باتیں ہیں جن سے آپ کی خوشی اور اطمینان پر برا اثر پڑتا ہے  
برطانیہ میں رہتے ہوئے؟

I: What are the events or things that make you unhappy and dissatisfied while living in Britain?

اُس وقت پڑتا ہے جب جب ریسزم ہوتا ہے (۰) اور وہ اتنا - مطلب - وہ بھی ہر جگہ نہیں  
ہوتا (۰) جیسے

MUB: It is when there is racism (1.0) and it is- I mean- it is not everywhere (1.0) like

پہلے میں گلاسگو میں جس ایریا میں رہتی تھی وہاں پہ تھا یہ (۰) لیکن اب میں جس ایریا  
میں اس میں رہ رہی ہوں (۰)

where I previously live in another area of Glasgow it was there (.) but where I am living  
now (.)

ایریا سے بھی فرق پڑتا ہے کہ کہاں پہ ریسزم زیادہ ہے اور جب یہ ہوتا ہے اُس وقت آپ  
کو تکلیف ہوتی ہے

area also makes difference that where racism is more (.) and when this happens then you  
feel pain

کہ آپ کو جب یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ یہ پاکستانی ہے (۰) ایون کہ آپ کو میں یہ مثال دونگی  
میرے میاں کو -

that when they see you that they are Pakistani even I will give you this example that when  
my husband-

جب میرے میاں جاب لیس تھے - میرے میاں نے یہ جو ڈیکوریٹنگ کا کام سیکھا ہوا ہے نا  
پینٹ کرنا

when my husband was jobless- my husband is trained in the decoration arts like painting

اور یہ کچن فٹ ٹائلز وغیرہ یہ والا کام انہوں نے سیکھا ہوا ہے (۰) تو انہوں نے تقریباً تین  
سال اتنی جاب سرچ کی (۰)

and fitting tiles in kitchen he had learned this (.) so he almost for three years searched job a  
lot (1.0)

جاب سینٹر ریگولر ہر ویک جاتے تھے پھر جاب سینٹر والوں نے انہیں روٹز ٹورک بھیجنا  
شروع کیا،

he used to go to job centre regularly every week then job centre staff began to send him to  
roots to work,

وہاں پہ ڈیلی جاتے تھے دو دو تین تین گھنٹے جاب سرچ کرتے تھے، انکی آنکھوں کے  
سامنے - مطلب

there he used to go daily and searched job for two two three three hours and in front of his  
eyes- I mean

جو جاب سینٹر جا کہ بھی انہوں نے دیکھا. آپ کو پتہ تو چلتا ہے کہ کون جاب کی تلاش میں  
آ رہا ہے جا رہا ہے (۰)

he had seen while going to job centre (.) you know you get to know who is coming in  
search of job (.)

تو جاب دیتے وقت بھی یہ جو ہے نا یہ:: پریفر کرتے ہیں گوروں کو (۰) اپنی کمیونٹی کے  
لوگوں کو،

so while giving job as well they:: they prefer white people (.) they prefer their community's people,

اپنے ملک کے لوگوں کو یہ جاب دیتے وقت پریفر کرتے ہیں ویسے دیکھنے میں یہ لوگ نہیں لگتے (۰) دیکھنے میں تو لگتا بے بہت اچھے ہیں

their country's people while giving jobs, they don't look like this (.) apparently they seem very nice,

بہت میٹھے ہیں اور ان جیسا کوئی ہے نہیں لیکن ایسی جب جب ایسی باتیں آجاتی ہیں جو کام کے سلسلے کی جو جاب کے سلسلے کی اُس وقت

very sweet and nobody is like them but when such situations arise like job matters, at that time

بعض دفعہ یہ ریسزم دکھاتے ہیں (۰) یہ پریفر کرتے ہیں اپنے گوروں کو جابز دیتے ہیں اور (۰) ہم لوگوں کو پیچھے کر دیتے ہیں۔

they show racism sometimes (.) they prefer and give jobs to their white people and (1.0) push us back.



## Extract 25

جیسے آپ نے بات کی کہ کچھ لوگ کبھی روڈ بی بیو کرتے ہیں تو اس پر آپ کا کیا ریکشن ہوتا ہے؟

I: How you felt about 'rude attitudes' you mentioned earlier? How you react to this?

اس سے مطلب دکھ ہوتا ہے بعض دفعہ کہ جب ہم اپنے ملک میں جاتے ہیں۔ مطلب میں نے اس بات کو

SAL: I feel pain from this thing sometimes that when we go to our country- mean this thing

جب میں دو سال پہلے پاکستان گئی تو میں اس چیز کو بہت نوٹ کیا بلکہ مجھے اس سے بہت دکھ بھی ہوا کہ اپنے۔ مطلب

when I went to Pakistan two years back then I noted this thing a lot in fact I felt pain from this (1.0) I mean

یہاں سے جب ہم یہاں پہنچے ہیں تو یہ ہمیں کہتے ہیں اور سیز (۰) یا مطلب یہ: ریفریجی کہہ لیں ٹھیک ہے نا (۰)

when we are here then they say us overseas (1.0) or I mean they: say us refugees right (1.0)

تو جب ہم اپنے ملک میں جاتے ہیں تو وہ کہتے ہیں کہ باہر سے آئے ہیں (۰) مطلب ادھر کے رہنے والے ہیں نا

but when we go to our country then they say they have come from abroad (1.5) mean they live there

تو: میں جب واپس آئی تو میں نے کہا مطلب میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ ہم لوگوں کی اس حساب سے پہچان نہیں ہے (۰)

so:: when I came back I said I mean from this perspective we don't have an identity (.)

یہ لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ یہ لوگ یہاں کے مطلب ہم لوگ یہاں کے۔ بھلے ہمیں بڑٹش نیشنلٹی مل جائے (۰)

these people say us that we are, mean we are no matter we have got British nationality (.)

کچھ بھی ہو جائے ہم کہلاتے پاکستانی ہی ہیں (۰) ٹھیک ہے نا (۰) ہم یہاں سے مطلب

anything happens we are still called Pakistani (1.0) right (1.0) we are from here mean

جتنا مرضی ہم کہہ لیں کہ ہماری جڑیں یہاں پہ جڑی ہوئی ہیں (۰) میں نہیں سمجھتی۔ اس حساب سے

no matter how much we say that we are rooted here I don't think so (.) from this perspective

میں نہیں سمجھتی کہ ہماری جڑیں یہاں پہ جڑی۔ چاہے ہم سالہا سال سے رہیں

I don't think this that we are rooted here (.) no matter if we live here years after years (.)

چاہے جتنا مرضی عرصہ لمبا رہیں پر نہیں۔

no matter how long we live here but no.

## Extract 32

آجکل برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو کیا اہم مسائل درپیش ہیں؟

I: What are the major problems faced by British Muslims today?

جو جنرل جو اوورال مسلمان ہیں یہ اصل میں اُن کی مین پرابلم یہ ہے کہ اُن کا لیڈر کوئی نہیں

MAK: the general- generally overall the main problem of Muslims is that they have no leader (1.0)

وہ ڈفرنٹ سیکٹس میں مسلمان بٹے ہوئے ہیں (۰) وہ آپس میں پہلے لڑتے رہتے ہیں تو وہ (۰)

they are divided into different sects (1.5) they keep on fighting with each other (0.5)

اصل میں کسی کمیونٹی کا کسی بھی جماعت کا اگر کوئی لیڈر نہیں ہوگا (۰) اگر وہ ایک لاکھ بندے ہیں (۰)

actually if any community any group does not have a leader (.) if they are one lac in number (.)

ہر بندے کے اپنے ویوز ہونگے (۰) کسی کا وہ مانیں گیں نہیں (۰) وہ بے چارے (۰)

every person has his views (.) they will not listen to anybody (.) those poor people are (1.0)

وہ انر سائیڈ ہی بڑے ڈفرنٹ۔ بٹے ہوئے ہیں (۰) آپس میں اُن کے جو بھی ہیں اختلافات ہیں (۰)

they are internally divided among themselves (.) they are against each other (2.0)

تو وہ جو جس کے دل میں آتا ہے وہ کرتا ہے (۰) اس طرح وہ۔

everyone does whatever come to his mind (.) therefore they are-

میرے حساب سے وہ اسلام کو بدنام کرتے ہیں پوری دنیا میں (۰) اپنی حرکتوں کی وجہ سے (۰) according to my view they are giving a bad name to Islam in the whole world (0.5) from their acts (1.0)

کہ اگر اگر اسلام کے بارے میں (۰) کسی کے کوئی ویوز ہیں کسی کے۔ کوئی کتاب چھاپ دیتا ہے تو

that if somebody has some views about Islam (0.5) if somebody publish a book then

یہ جلوس نکالنا شروع کر دیتے ہیں، آگ لگانی شروع کر دیتے ہیں (۰) ابھی ابھی میں ایک نیوز پڑھ رہا تھا کہ (۰)

they began to protest and set fire on things (1.0) just now I was reading a news that (1.0)

فرانس میں کسی (۰) کسی ایک میگزین نے حضور ﷺ کی (۰) کچھ وہ تصویر اس طرح غلط طریقے سے پرنٹ کی ہے (۰)

in France (.) a magazine has printed the picture of Prophet Muhammad PBUH in wrong way (.)

تو وہ کچھ لوگوں نے جا کے اُن کا دفتر جلا دیا ہے (۰) تو اس طرح یہ لوگ اسلام کو بدنام کرتے ہیں (۰)

so some people have set fire in their office (1.5) so in this way these people give bad name to Islam (.)

اسلام نے تو کبھی نہیں کہا کہ تم اس۔ حضور ﷺ کی توہین تو حضور ﷺ کے زمانے میں بھی ہوتی رہی ہے

Islam never teaches us that you- Prophet Muhammad's PBUH disgrace had also happened in his own era

تو (۰) اس طرح یہ لوگ جلوس نکال کے۔ انہیں چاہیے کہ حضور ﷺ کی شان میں سیرت میں

so (1.0) this way these people do protest- they should write books on Prophet Muhammad's life

اور اُنکا جواب دیں (۰) میڈیا پہ آکے جواب دیں کہ یہ اور بدنام کرتے ہیں  
and glory and answer them (1.0) respond them on media but they further give bad name

جو آگیں لگاتے ہیں اس طرح۔ (۰) یہ لوگ بے چاروں کا کوئی لیڈر نہیں ہے  
by setting fire like this (.) these poor people have no leader

جو جس کے دل میں آتا ہے وہ کرتا ہے (۰) اس طرح وہ اسلام کو بدنام کرتے ہیں۔  
they do whatever comes in their mind (1.0) in this way they are making Islam unpopular.

### Extract 33

آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو کیا اہم مسائل درپیش ہیں؟

I: What are the major problems of Muslims in Britain now days?

(۰) دیکھیں سب سے پہلی بات تو یہ ہے کہ یہ لوگ اچھا ہی نہیں سمجھتے مسلمانوں کو سب سے بڑا تو مسئلہ ہی یہ ہے

MUB: (20.0) look first of all these people don't consider Muslims good (1.0) the biggest problem is this (1.0)

کہ ان کے ذہن میں جو ایمج ہے نا (۰) اسلام کا (۰) وہی بہت خراب ہے (۰) تو سب سے بڑا تو مسئلہ ہی یہ درپیش ہے مسلمانوں کو (۰)

the image of Islam in their minds (.) is very bad (.) so the biggest problem Muslims face here is this (.)

کیونکہ ان کا ایمج ہی اچھا ہی نہیں ہے (۰) جب ان کا ایمج ہی اچھا ہی نہیں ہے تو پھر تو باقی ساری باتیں تو بعد میں آتی ہیں نا (۰)

because their image is not good (0.5) when their image is not good then the rest comes after (0.5)

جب سنتے ہی:: اسلام کا نام سنتے ہی یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ کوئی ٹیررسٹ لوگ ہیں

after listening:: after listening the name of Islam they think that these are some terrorist people

ٹیررززم ہی کریں گے (۰) یہ سب کچھ تو:: کچھ آپ کو پتہ ہے کہ ام:: کچھ لوگوں نے ایسی غلط حرکتیں بھی کی ہیں

and they will only do terrorism (1.0) so:: you know that umm some people have also done bad things

جن کی وجہ سے یہ ایمج خراب ہوا ہے (۰) اور موسٹلی پاکستانی لوگوں نے (۰) تو اس لیے یہاں پہ::

because of which this image has gone worse (0.5) and mostly Pakistani people (.) so therefore here::

سب سے پہلے تو یہ لوگ یہ سمجھتے ہیں (۰) تو اس لیے (۰) اس لحاظ سے ہر (۰)

first of all these people think like this (.) so therefore (1.0) according to this every (1.0)

مطلب یہ پیچھے کرتے ہیں آپ کو (۰) اسی لیے ریسزم بنتا ہے (۰) کیونکہ یہ پھر یہ سوچتے ہیں کہ

I mean they push you back (0.5) therefore racism develops (.) because they then think that

یہ پاکستانی لوگ ہیں تو:: (۰) میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ وجہ ہے کہ:: (۰) یہ میجر مسئلہ ہے کہ

these are Pakistani people so:: (2.0) I think it is this problem that:: (1.5) this is major problem

ہمارے ریلیجن کا وہ اُس کا وہ بدنام ہوا ہے مطلب ہمارا ملک بھی (۰) ہمارا ریلیجن بھی (۰)

of our religion that it is- it has bad name (1.0) I mean our country also (.) our religion also (1.0)

یہ بات ہے (۰) حالانکہ ہم تو (فرقہ) ہیں اللہ تعالیٰ کے فضل سے (۰)

so this is the matter (0.5) although we are (Sect name) by the grace of God (0.5)

ایسی کوئی بات نہیں ہے، (۰) ہم لوگ بہت مختلف ہیں دوسرے مسلمانوں کی نسبت بہت زیادہ ہر لحاظ سے

there is nothing like that in us (.) we are very different from other Muslims very much in every aspect

لیکن یہ سب سے بڑا مسئلہ ہے میرے خیال میں (۰) جو ہر کسی کو فیس کرنا پڑتا ہے ایزاً مسلم۔

(.) but it is the biggest issue in my view (0.5) which everybody has to face as a Muslim.

### Extract 36

آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو کیا اہم مسائل درپیش ہیں؟

I: In your view, what are the major problems that Muslims are facing in Britain now days?

برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کو تو مسلمانوں سے ہی مسائل درپیش ہیں (۰) ٹھیک ہے (۰)

NM: The Muslims of Britain are facing problems with Muslims themselves (1.0) right (1.0)

کیونکہ مسلمز اپنے لیے جو ہے وہ: (۰) پرابلمز خود کڑیٹ کر رہے ہیں (۰) ٹھیک ہے نا (۰)  
بجائے اس کے کہ یہ کہنا کہ

because Muslims for themselves aa:: (.) creating problems (0.8) right (0.5) instead of saying that

ویسٹ کے رولز یا ان کی :: اور چیزیں یا ان کا بیہویر (۰) اسلام کے بارے میں چینج ہو رہا ہے تو  
اس میں سب سے زیادہ رول تو (۰)

the rules of west or their:: other things or behaviour (.) is changing towards Islam so the major role in this

بینگ آ مسلم مسلمان کا ہے بنتا ہے نا (۰) کہ اس نے اپنا ایمیج اس طرح سے (۰) ڈیولپ کرنا  
شروع کر دیا ہو ہے کہ

is being a Muslim is of Muslim that he has started to develop his image in such a way that on

کوئی کسی مسلمان کو دیکھ کے ایکسٹریزم کا اور بومینگ کا اور ہیٹ کا (۰) ان چیزوں کا آ:  
انکے ذہن میں ایمیج آتا ہے

viewing some Muslim only extremism or bombing or hate (.) these things' images comes in others' minds

(۰) ٹھیک ہے (۰) تو: اور آل جو جس طرح سے پورے یو کے میں یا ویسٹ میں یا پوری دنیا  
میں سمجھ لو (۰) کہ اسلام کے بارے میں ایک دم سے۔

(.) right (.) so overall as whole UK or west or you can say whole world about Islam suddenly-

کہیں پہ بھی کچھ ہوتا ہے تو وہ :: بغیر کسی اینویسٹیگیشن کے وہ سب سے کہہ دیتے ہیں کہ اس  
میں مسلمز

that if something happens anywhere so without investigation they:: say to everyone that Muslims

ہی انوالو ہونگے (۰) ٹھیک ہے نا (۰) کہیں پہ بھی کچھ بُرا ہوا ہے (۰) تو: (۰)

will be involved in this (0.5) right (0.5) if anything happened bad anywhere (.) so:: (.)

اُس لحاظ سے باقی جو ویسٹرن میڈیا ہے یا باقی لوگ ہیں اگر اُن کا توٹوینٹی پرسینٹ رول  
ہے تو

in this regard if western media or other people have twenty per cent role then

ایٹی پرسینٹ مسلمز کا اپنا رول ہے (۰) ٹھیک ہے (۰) تو جو چند ایکسٹریمسٹ ہیں اور باقی جو -

Muslims have eighty per cent role in it (0.5) right (.) so few extremist or other-

ایکسٹریزم: تو جو اپنی جگہ پہ ہے جو سمپل جو مسلمز ہوتے ہیں نا وہ بھی: (۰) وہ انکو زیادہ  
انیڈنلایز کرتے ہیں جو ایکسٹریمسٹ ہوتے ہیں (۰)

extremism is there but the mainstream Muslims also: (0.5) idealize them more who are  
extremist (.)

اُن کو اپنا ہیرو بنا لیتے ہیں پتہ ہوتا نہیں کی اُس نے کیا کیا ہے (۰) اب یہ جو ابھی: جیسے

they make them their hero (0.5) they don't know even what he did (0.5) like just now::

یہ ممتاز قادری والا جو کیس تھا سلمان تاثیر کو (۰) اب اُس کی آپ ڈیپتھ میں۔

there was a case of Mumtaz Qadri (.) Salman Taseer's (.) now you see into its depth-

مطلب اُس کا آپ سوچو تو صحیح کہ وہ اُس نے کیا کیا (۰) وہ ویسے ہی اُس کو ہیرو بنا لیا ہو  
ابے (۰) ٹھیک ہے نا (۰)

I mean you should think what he did (.) they have made him hero without any reason (1.0)  
right (.)

صرف اتنا سوچ کے کہ جی اُس نے توہینِ سالت کی ہے، اُس نے اُس کو مارا ہے تو جس نے  
مارا ہے وہ زیادہ اچھا ہے

so only by thinking that he did insult to Prophet hood so he killed him so the one who killed  
him is better

(۰) جس نے کیا نہ اب اُس کا پتہ ہے کہ وہ اُس کا اُس کی ساری زندگی کیسی گزری ہے نہ  
اُس ممتاز قادری کا کسی کو پتہ ہے

(0.8) now neither we know how his whole life was nor anyone knows about Mumtaz Qadri  
(.)

کہ اُس نے زندگی میں کیا کیا ہے (۰) تو یہ چیزیں ہیں کہ ہم لوگ (۰) میں اس میں (۰)

that what he did in his life (1.0) so these things are there that we people (.) I- in this (.)

جو ایکسٹریمسٹ تو ہر ہر: ہر مذہب میں ایکسٹریمسٹ ہوتے ہیں (۰) ٹھیک ہے (۰) نا تو ہمارے جو  
ایکسٹریمسٹ ہے نا اُن کو ہم ہیرو زیادہ بنا لیتے ہیں (۰)

extremist are there in every religion (.) right (.) but we make our extremist our heroes (2.0)

تو جو یہ ہے نا کہ یہاں پر رہتے ہوئے مسلمانوں کو کیا مسائل ہیں یہاں رہتے ہوئے

so this point that here what are the problems of Muslims so here

مسلمانوں کو مسلمانوں سے ہی مسائل ہیں (۰) ٹھیک ہے کیونکہ وہ: اُس کو پراپوگیٹ کرتے ہیں (۰)  
ایکسٹریزم کو۔

Muslims have problems with Muslims (2.0) right because they:: propagate (.) extremism.

#### Extract 41

آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی کو کیسے بڑھایا جا سکتا ہے؟

I: In your view, how the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be enhanced?

میرے خیال میں جس معاشرے میں ہم رہتے ہیں (۰) ہمیں اپنے آپ کو آسولیت نہیں کرنا چاہیے (۰) ہم کو چاہیے کہ

RJ: I think the society in which we live (.) we should not isolate ourselves (.) we should

ہم اپنے تہواروں میں یہ ان سب لوگوں کو شامل کریں (۰) ان لوگوں کو بتائیں کہ بھی ہمارے یہ رسموں رواج ہیں (۰) ہماری جیسے کہ عید ہے

include all of these people in our events (.) tell them it is our customs and traditions, like there is Eid,

عید کے اوپر (۰) آپ کا کوئی مذہبی تہوار ہے یا آپ کی کوئی شادی ہے یا (۰) on Eid (0.5) or any religious events or you have any marriage or (.)

آپ کے ہاں کوئی رسم ہے (۰) ام: تو آپ اس کو اجاگر کریں اپنے کلچر کو (۰) کھیل کود میں there is any traditional event at your place (1.0) so you should highlight your culture (1.5) in games

اپنے بچوں کے ذریعے (۰) اس میں بے شمار رستے ہیں کہ آپ (۰) اہم through your kids (0.5) there are countless ways that you (.) ahm

ہمارے لوگوں کے ساتھ یہ بھی ایک پرالہم ہے کہ اپنا علیحدہ سے (۰) حلقہ بنا لیتے ہیں (۰) تو:

there is another problem with our people that (0.5) they make their own separate group (1.0) so::

شامل نہیں ہوتے خود بھی (۰) میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ کچھ پرالہم یہ خود ہی بنا لیتے ہیں اپنے لیے (۰)

they don't involve themselves (.) and I say that they create some problems themselves (1.5)

آپ یہ دیکھیں کہ یہ ملٹی کلچرڈ ہے تو اس میں کالے بھی ہیں، گورے بھی ہیں، براؤن بھی ہیں، سب ہی ہیں، سب مل کے رہتے ہیں

look it is multicultural and it has black and white and also brown and everybody and all live together and

سب کے لیے ایک سا طرزِ زندگی ہے (۰) پھر بھی جس معاشرہ میں رہتے ہیں اگر آپ مل جل کر رہیں گے (۰)

they have same style of life (1.0) anyways the society in which you are living if you will live together (1.0)

تو ظاہری بات ہے آپ۔ اس کے اثرات آپ کی زندگی پر بھی ہوتے ہیں (۰) اب یہ تو ہونہیں سکتا کہ (۰)

then you definitely have its effects on your life (.) it is not possible that (.)

اپنا ایک (۰) جیسے کہتے ہیں نا کہ ایک محاورہ ہے کہ ڈیڑھ انچ کی مسجد علیحدہ سے بنا کے بیٹھ جائیں

your one like (1.0) there is a metaphor that making one and half inch mosque of your own

تو اس میں آپ کیسے خوش رہ سکتے ہیں (۰) اگر آپ کٹ جائیں اگر آپ اس ملک میں رہنا چاہتے ہیں (۰)

so how can you live happy in that if you cut yourself, if you want to live in this country (.)

ساری سہولتیں استعمال کرنا چاہتے ہیں (۰) سارا کچھ لینا بھی چاہتے ہیں (۰) اپنی لائف کو بوسٹ

بھی کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور اگر آپ یہ سوچیں

you want to use all the facilities, want to take everything, also want to boost your life and if you think

کہ (۰) آپ سب سے تنہا کٹ کہ رہیں گے تو پھر اس طرح

that (.) you will live separately by cutting off from everybody so in this way

نہ تو آپ کو اطمینان قلب ہو گا نہ تو کوئی خوشی ملے گی (۰) تو آپ (۰) آپ (۰)

you will neither get any heart satisfaction nor you will get any happiness so you (.) you (2.0) شمولیت اختیار کریں (۰) ہر طرح کی یہاں این جی اوز ہیں (۰) اور پلے گروپس ہیں بچے آپ کے جائیں شامل ہو

get involved, there are all sorts of NGOs here, there are playgroups your children can go and participate

لیکن آپ کی جو ایجوکیشن ہے وہ آپ اپنے بچوں کو دیں چاہے وہ مذہبی ہے

but your own education you should give to your children whether it is religious

یا معاشرتی وہ آپ اپنے رنگ سے چلائیں لیکن اپنے رنگ میں دوسروں کو بھی شامل کریں (۰)

or social you manage it in your way but also get others involved in your way (.)

ان کو بتائیں کہ یہ ہمارے ہاں جو کلچر ہے (۰) ہمارے ہاں بچہ پیدا ہو تو ہمارے ہاں یہ رسوم ہوتی ہیں (۰)

tell them that we have this culture, if we have a birth in family then we have this tradition (.)

ہمارے ہاں شادی میں یہ رسمیں ہوتی ہیں (۰) آپ اپنے ہمسائیوں کو اپنے کمیونٹی کے جو لوگ ہیں ان کو شامل کریں

we have these traditions in marriages, you get your neighbours and community members involve in this

تو: (۰) خوشیاں بانٹنے سے ہی خوشیاں ملتی ہیں (۰) سو میرے خیال میں ہمیں سوشل ہونا چاہیے۔

so:: (2.0) you get happiness by spreading happiness (.) so I think we should be social.



## Extract 44

برطانیہ کے مسلمانوں کی خوشی کو بڑھانے کے لیے کیا کیا جاسکتا ہے؟

I: How can we enhance the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims?

میں یہی کہوں گی کہ میڈیا جو ہے یہاں کا (۰)

RK: I would only say this that media here (.)

وہ مسلمانوں کے خلاف خبریں اچھال کہ تو اپنے ہی لوگوں کو متاسب نہ بنائے

it should not make their people racist by falsely highlighting the news against Muslims

(۰) کیونکہ وہ جو چھاپ دیتے ہیں وہ پھر جو عام لوگ پڑھنے والے ہیں وہ بھی اسی طرح سے سمجھتے ہیں (۰)

(0.8) because whatever they publish the common reader will also think on the same lines (.)

اگر پوزیٹو چھاپتے ہوئے:: تمام مسلمانوں کو اس سوسائٹی کا حصہ ہی سمجھتے ہوئے ان کے اوپر

if they publish positively while:: considering all the Muslims part of this society

ان کے بارے میں نارمل باتیں ہی لکھا کریں جیسے کہ (۰) عام طور پہ لکھنی چاہیں تو میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ کسی کو بھی۔

and write normal things about them like (.) should be written commonly then I think nobody-

کیونکہ سارے لوگ اپنے گھروں میں بیٹھے ہیں، ڈائریکٹلی تو کسی کی کسی مسلمان سے کوئی لڑائی نہیں ہوتی ہے (۰)

because all the people are sitting in their homes, nobody directly fights with a Muslim (0.8)

نہ کوئی جھگڑا ہوتا ہے پرسنل، دیکھا جائے تو تعلقات بھی تقریباً اچھے ہی ہیں

and no other fights and if we see the relations are also almost good

بیلو ہائے رہتی ہے (۰) تو میں سمجھتی ہو کہ میڈیا میں جو چیزیں اچھالی جاتی ہیں، ٹی وی میں اخباروں میں

(.) hello hi is there (.) so I think that the things included in media like in TV or in newspaper

یہ نقاب والی عورت چھاپ دی، نیچے کوئی نہ کوئی آرٹیکل چھاپ دیا (۰) کسی ایک بندے کا تعصب جو ہے

like publishing a woman with veiled face (.) below they publish any article, so any one person's prejudice

وہ پوری سوسائٹی میں پھیلتا ہے (۰) تو یہ نہیں ہونا چاہیے ا: پوزیٹو فروغ ہی دینا چاہیے۔

spreads in the whole society (.) so this should not be happening aa:: positive should be spread out.

## Extract 45

آپ کے خیال میں برطانیہ میں مقیم مسلمانوں کی خوشی اور اطمینانِ زندگی کو کیسے بڑھایا جا سکتا ہے؟

In your view, how the happiness and life satisfaction of British Muslims can be enhanced?

ہر طرح کی ضرورت ہے میرے خیال سے کہ گورنمنٹ بیس پہ ضرورت ہے کہ وہ (۰)  
MUB: There is a need for improvement on all levels like there is need on government base as well that they (1.0)

ہمارا جو ریلیجن ہے (۰) گورنمنٹ لیول پہ وہ بتائیں (۰) دیکھیں گورنمنٹ لیول پہ یہ ہے کہ  
on government level they tell about our religion (0.5) look at government level (.)  
کہ آپ دیکھ لیں میڈیا کو (۰) میڈیا پہ ہی کتنی رونگ پیلٹیٹی (۰) برین واشنگ میڈیا کرتا ہے  
(۰)

you can take media (1.0) ↑ on media alone how wrong publicity (0.5) brain washing media does (.)

اسلام کے خلاف اگر آپ سُنیں، خبریں سنیں، کچھ بھی سنیں (۰) عراق کی جاتی ہیں اور  
افغانستان کی اور  
against Islam if you listen, news or anything, about Iraq and Afghanistan and

کیا کیا مثالیں پاکستان کی اور یہ ساری نیوز ہے نا (۰) یہ میڈیا ہے جو اتنا  
different examples of Pakistan all this is news (1.0) it is media that give so much (.)

ہوا دیتا ہے اسلام کے خلاف، ریلیجن کے خلاف (۰) دیکھیں زیادہ تر تو جو لوگ ہیں نا جو  
پاپولیشن ہے جو عام لوگ ہیں (۰)  
air against Islam, against religion (.) look majority of people, population, common people (.)

وہ میڈیا کی وجہ سے (۰) میڈیا نے برین واشنگ کی ہوئی ہے میرا تو یہ خیال ہے (۰) کہ  
سب سے زیادہ جو کردار ہے وہ میڈیا کا ہے (۰)  
they are because of media (.) media has done brainwashing it is my view (.) that major role is  
of media (.)

اگر گورنمنٹ ایسی پولیسیاں بناتی ہے گورنمنٹ (۰) اور خاص طور پہ میڈیا (۰) اس پہ اگر  
آپ اسلام کا بتائیں  
if government make such policies government (.) and especially media if you tell about  
Islam on it

کہ حقیقت کیا ہے (۰) اسلام کیا ہے (۰) اگر اسلام کی سچائی آپ بتائیں کہ  
that what the truth is (0.5) what is Islam (1.0) if you tell the truth about Islam that

اسلام کی یہ تعلیمات نہیں ہیں (۰) کہ کسی کی جان لینا، خودکش حملے کرنا،  
these are not teachings of Islam (0.5) that to take someone's life, suicidal attacks,  
یہ اسلام کی تعلیمات نہیں ہیں (۰) اگر آپ یہ بتائیں (۰) میڈیا پہ آکے تو میرا نہیں خیال کہ (۰)

these are not Islamic teachings (.) if you tell this (.) on media then I don't think that (1.0)

جیسے یہ لوگ ریسزم کرتے ہیں جیسا یہ فیل کرتے ہیں (۰) تو یہ سب کچھ ختم ہو جائیگا  
the way these people do racism, the way they feel (1.0) so it will all be finished (.)

میرا خیال ہے کہ اس کے لیے یہی پالیسی ہونی چاہیے کہ میڈیا پہ بتایا جائے اسلام کے بارے  
میں کہ

in my view there should be such policy that it should be told on media about Islam that

اسلام کیا تعلیم دیتا ہے، قرآن میں کیا لکھا ہے (۰) قرآن کیا کہتا ہے (۰) کیونکہ  
what Islam teaches and what is written in Quran (1.0) what Quran says (.) because

ہمارا قرآن یہ نہیں کہتا کہ کسی کی جان لو اور یہ کچھ کرو (۰) یہ صرف برین واشنگ ہے  
جس کی وجہ سے

our Quran doesn't tell us to take someone's life and do all this (.) it is only brainwashing because of which

یہ سب لوگ ہمیں اتنا برا سمجھتے ہیں، اتنا برا خیال کرتے ہیں (۰) عام لوگوں کو اگر جا کے اگر بتاؤ نا (۰)

all these people consider us so bad (0.5) they think us so bad (.) if you go and tell to common people

جیسے ہماری پیس کانفرنس ہوتی ہیں (۰) اگر آپ پیس کانفرنس میں کوئی بھی مہمان لے کر جائیں اپنے نیبرز کو لے کر جائیں

like our peace conferences (.) if you take any guest in these peace conferences, take your neighbours,

اپنے فرینڈز کو لے کر جائیں تو آپ یقین کریں گے جب پیس کانفرنس ختم ہوتی ہے تو ہمارے جو امام صاحب آئے ہوتے ہیں،

take your friends, then believe me when the peace conference ends, people listen to our Imam sahib's

اُن کی تقریریں لوگ سنتے ہیں سب کچھ، اُس کے بعد لوگوں کے اگر آپ خیالات پوچھیں تو لوگ حیران ہو جاتے ہیں

speeches and everything, after that if you ask people's views they are astonished

لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ ہمیں تو آج پتہ چلا ہے کہ ٹریو اسلام کیا ہے (۰) ٹھیک ہے

they say that we came to know only today that what true Islam is (1.0) right (1.0)

کہ کیا ٹیچنگز ہیں اسلام کی (۰) تو ہماری تو اتنی برین واشنگ تھی (۰) ہمیں تو بچپن سے یہ بتایا گیا،

what are the teachings of Islam (.) we were so brain washed (.) we were told this since childhood,

ہم تو بروٹ اپ ہی ایسے ہوئے ہیں، ہمیں تو بتایا ہی یہ ہے کہ جو مسلمان لوگ ہوتے ہیں وہ یہ کرتے ہیں وہ کرتے ہیں۔

we were brought up like this, we have been told that these Muslim people do this, do that.