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Taking the Strain: Second Generation British Asian Muslim Males and Arranged Marriage in London

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Declaration

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers how second generation British Asian Muslim males negotiate arranged marriage, religion and leisure, and how this negotiation is a means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. The culturally prescribed goal will be demonstrated to be the attainment of wealth and the maintenance of family bonds. An ethnographic study of thirty second generation British Asian Muslim males was conducted in order to understand how decisions regarding marriage and leisure are made. The modes of negotiation of marriage, leisure and religion are analysed using Merton's (1938, 1957) Anomie and Strain theory as well as Murphy and Robinson's (2008) concept of the maximiser. Empirical research is used to describe and analyse how the maximiser achieves the culturally prescribed goal mentioned above. It is argued that the maximiser uses both legitimate and illegitimate means in order to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. The legitimate means in this study are having an arranged marriage and abiding by rules of Islam and the family. It will be argued that through a process of intense socialisation, the means to achieve the culturally prescribed goal are learnt from childhood for some British Asian Muslims. It will be argued that culture is misrepresented as religion in order to facilitate this process of intense socialisation in some British Muslim communities which creates a pressure to conform. The modes of adaptation to this pressure including the conformist, the innovator, the Ritualist, the Retreatist and the Rebel are explored. The focus of the study is on the maximiser as it is argued that the maximiser reproduces a system of transnational consanguineous arranged marriages. The methods of negotiation are analysed using symbolic interactionist perspectives, namely *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Goffman 1959) and *Delinquency and Drift* (Matza 1964). This process of negotiating marriage particularly when considering transnational consanguineous marriages, is referred to as the lifelong *Business of Marriage*. The Business of Marriage is defined as: a system in which transnational consanguineous marriages are taking place under the following conditions: (1) There is a process of intense socialisation where respect for parents and cultural practices are internalised (2) where British nationality is given to the incoming spouse (3) where financial and social support is given to the British husband. This thesis will demonstrate that British Asian Muslim males who fall under the category of the Maximiser are willing to forgo the opportunity of choosing their own spouses in order to inherit the family wealth and to keep bonds between families strong. It is also demonstrated that when a transnational marriage fails within the period required in order for the transnational wife to apply for a British visa, the British husband will stay legally married to his spouse in order to ensure the attainment of a permanent British visa. Finally, this research explores the future generations and argues that the Business of Arranged Marriage will end with the fourth generation of British Asian Muslim males. It is argued that this is the case because at this time, the first generation of south Asian Muslim immigrants into this country will not be present and the wealth of the families would have been passed on to the next generation. This thesis concludes by recommending further research into British Asian Muslim males and marriage, specifically around the areas of forced and arranged marriage.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This research explores how arranged marriages are negotiated by second generation British South Asian Muslim males. The decisions taken with regard to leisure and religious conformity will also be discussed, and the techniques and strategies employed to drift from religious and cultural duties in order to conceal deviation from religion and culture will be explored. It will be demonstrated that these three aspects of life: marriage, religion and leisure, are connected and negotiated in order to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. It will be demonstrated that the culturally prescribed goal is to achieve wealth and to maintain family bonds. This thesis proposes that a negotiation is taking place by second generation British South Asian Muslim males and their families, using a variety of techniques, which reproduces a system of transnational consanguineous arranged marriages within this community. This system includes the exchange of wealth and the maintenance of family ties both in Britain and abroad. I refer to this system as 'The Business of Marriage'. The Business of marriage, as will be demonstrated by my research, includes a process of intense socialisation within British South Asian Muslim households, where young South Asian Muslims are taught that strong family bonds and respect for elders is of the utmost importance. It also includes religion being used as a way to implement cultural practices such as transnational cousin marriages by blurring the boundaries of cultural and religious practises. This puts some British Asian Muslim males in a position where transnational marriages can be used in order to achieve wealth and keep family bonds strong. They are offered the choice of financial stability through the family or to live a life outside of the family with no financial support. Some second generation British Asian Muslim males choose to remain with the family and marry their cousins from their parents' home country and to accept the financial support through the inheritance of family wealth. Existing literature also suggests that the threat of being excluded from the family inheritance is used to ensure that young British South Asian Muslims adhere to cultural practises (Wardak 2000). Wardak (2000) argues that there is a process of socialisation and social control occurring in a Pakistani British Muslim community in Scotland, this will be referred to throughout this research. This thesis will demonstrate that some British South Asian Muslim males are willing to forego the opportunity to choose their own spouse in exchange for this financial stability and to live with the family. This is reproducing the business of marriage in British South Asian

Muslim communities. In return, the parents of the males are able to bring their nieces into the country through transnational marriage visas. This study finds a link between financial stability and transnational arranged marriages. It appears as though respondents were more likely to accept a transnational arranged consanguineous marriage if they felt they could not afford to move out of the family home. This means that they are faced with a difficult choice of moving out with no financial or social capital, or to marry against their wishes. I will consider whether this is consent by coercion (Philips 2000; Anitha and Gill 2009) and whether this type of marriage should be considered forced, or whether this is a true choice of the maximiser and he uses this type of marriage to achieve wealth and to maintain bonds with his family.

This research was formulated after personal experience of growing up in London as a British Pakistani Muslim male and experiencing the burdens and obligations placed on myself through family and religion. I was born in the mid-1980s and grew up in a Pakistani Muslim household. My parents arrived in the UK in the 1970s along with my uncles and aunts. As I was growing up, there were various aspects of my religion, and social life which had to be negotiated. This became clear through interactions with older cousins who would negotiate leisure and marriage, often drifting away from religious rules and concealing this from their elders for fear of reprisal. Seeing the process of marriage through my older cousins made the fact that arranged marriages were expected and the only option clear to me. I witnessed consanguineous marriage with the majority of my cousins marrying within the family and remaining in the family home. It would be clear as to the arrangements that had been made for children by their parents from a young age. We would often tease each other as to who we were going to marry as cousin marriages were common. From an early age, gender roles and boundaries were clear. Females of the family had less autonomy in terms of going out and socialising, they were to stay in the house and learn how to become a housewife. Rules, in terms of leisure and mixing between males and females outside of the family, existed for both males and females of the family, but as will be demonstrated in this thesis, these rules were often policed very differently, with transgressions for males seen as less problematic than transgressions amongst females. Males were allowed more freedom to take part in leisure activities outside of the home and we soon learnt how to negotiate rules imposed upon us by the family. I would use various techniques in order to take part in activities which were against the rules of my family and my religion along with my friendship group, who were

also predominantly British Pakistani Muslim males. I also experienced difficulties and conflicts with my parents when it came to intimate relationships and marriage. My family expected me to marry according to their choice, something they did not view as forced. However, this put me in a position where I could negotiate. Eventually, I had a transnational arranged marriage in 2010. I did not marry my cousin, who my parents wanted me to marry but negotiated another arranged marriage. There were aspects of my life and beliefs which could be negotiated with regards to religion, family and culture, but others which could not. Marriage was something which was difficult to achieve outside of cultural norms and values. Religion and culture played a big part in my upbringing, but I would behave outside of the rules of these when not in the presence of family.

This research is born from the experiences outlined above and explores the issues faced by other second generation British South Asian Muslim males. This thesis explores these obligation and negotiations, how they are negotiated and the reasons behind them having to be negotiated. This thesis will demonstrate that second generation British Asian Muslim males, much like their parents, do not view this obligation to marry according to their parent's wishes as forced even when they do not want to marry in this way. In fact, it is seen as a means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal and the obligation to marry in this way means that a negotiation can take place. Family obligation and bonds between family members are strong, and cultural practises are often disguised as Islamic duties in order to control the younger generation. This family obligation is supported through academic literature (for example, Leonard and Speakman 1986; Wardak 2000) and will be discussed in Chapter two, where I will highlight an intense process of socialisation that takes place in British Asian Muslim households, which creates the need to negotiate aspects of life. This thesis will argue that the commitment to religion and parent culture amongst some British Asian Muslim males is weak, and when the commitment to religion and parent culture is weak and consanguineous arranged marriages are not refused, this is because transnational consanguineous marriage is seen as a means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal.

British Muslims have been at the forefront of the western media, political and academic debate as a social problem which needs to be solved (Richardson 2004; Hussain 2008; Alexander 2000). Amongst these debates are issues of marriage, leisure, sexual crime and radicalisation. The 7/7 terrorist attacks in London have raised concerns about 'home-grown' terrorism. Terrorism has been constructed as a problem associated with

ethnic and religious diversity (Brown 2006). Recent cases of young British males and females wishing to join, sometimes successfully, radical militant groups, such as Islamic State, have bought the everyday experiences of young British Muslims into the public and political discourse. For example, three young males were arrested in Turkey whilst allegedly trying to cross into Syria to join Islamic State in Syria (Adams 2015). Three young females from east London have successfully joined Islamic state (Dodd and (Khomami 2015) and cases of entire families making the journey to join Islamic State have been reported (Baker 2015; Krol 2015). This has led to concerns over the upbringing and religious and cultural teachings within British Muslim homes. Cases of young women being forced into marriage have also brought the spotlight onto the ways in which marriages are forced or arranged and the choice that is given, particularly to south Asian British Muslim young people. For example, the tragic case of Shafilea Ahmed who was murdered for refusing to marry her cousin and having ambitions to live a life independent of her family and away from the restrictive environment she was raised in (Carter 2012). Grooming cases involving young, Pakistani men, especially, have also bought into question the way in which young British Muslim men view relationships and the way in which they view the opposite sex, particularly those who are not Muslim. The abuse scandal in Rochdale (Carter 2015) lead to many far right groups label this crime as "Muslim Grooming" or "Muslim Paedophilia" but this concern over Asian men targeting young British white girls for sex has been present for longer, since Jack Straw made comments in 2011 regarding some Pakistani men and sexual abuse. He claimed that some groups of Pakistani men regard white girls as 'easy meat' (Batty 2011). The 'Asian Sex Gang' has been presented as a real threat in media discourse and sexual grooming has been constructed into a crime associated with South Asian, Muslim men (Cockbain 2013). However, in academic discourse, as well as media and political discourse, the Asian man who marries his cousin from abroad is largely ignored, this will be discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. These issues of religion, culture, upbringing and relationships are explored throughout this research. The backdrop to these debates is a growing sense of national identity in Britain (Townsend 2011). McGhee (2008:145) states that 'Britain has entered an authoritarian and 'anti-multiculturalism' period in which multiple identities, loyalties and allegiances are both problematized and are deployed in order to facilitate 'our' primary identifications as British citizens who must accept British values above all else'. The government has called for the adoption of 'Britishness' as a defence against terrorism which has created a platform in which nationalism has been reborn (Brown

2006). Official, media and popular discourse display multiculturalism as having failed and Muslim communities as separate (Phillips 2006; Kundnani 2009). Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2014) argue that much of the academic work on Muslim communities ignores lived social relations. In response to this, this study will locate a group of British Asian Muslim males within religion, their parent culture and British culture, highlighting the need to negotiate between all three aspects of their identity, British, Muslim and Asian, in order to navigate the burdens placed upon them.

Based on personal experience and literature surrounding British Asian Muslims which suggests that marriage is very important amongst this community (for example Ahmed 2001; Ahmed 2012; Gill 2004; Basit 1997; Wardak 2000), I hypothesised that British Muslim males were using a variety of techniques to negotiate everyday aspects of their lives, both in their daily lives and in the longer term. I hypothesised that Marriage was used as a means of achieving status and inheriting wealth from the family. I also hypothesised that critical aspects of religion and culture were being negotiated on a daily basis through a process of drift and symbolic interactionism. I also hypothesised that a transnational marriage system and a consanguineous marriage system was being reproduced in order to keep wealth within a family and to ensure the daughters of family in their home countries were able to attain British nationality. I also hypothesised that understandings of forced marriage amongst British Muslim males was lacking, and that this type of marriage must be understood without referring to the label of 'forced'. In the past, marriages have been labelled as *Love, forced or arranged.* The Home Office (2013) makes the following distinction between forced and arranged marriages:

> "A forced marriage is a marriage where one or both people do not (or in the case of some people with learning or physical disabilities, cannot) consent to the marriage and pressure or abuse is used. An arranged marriage is not the same as a forced marriage. In an arranged marriage, the families take a leading role in choosing the marriage partner, but the choice of whether to enter the marriage is left to both people*"* (Home Office 2013:1).

In this thesis, I argue that these labels of arranged and forced do not allow us to fully explain or understand the thought processes of both the person getting married and their close family. This project aims to highlight an important issue when talking about

marriage, which has not been discussed before, that is marriage as a means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal, of the attainment of wealth and the maintenance of family bonds, and the reproduction of this process. This process is due to the control of parents, both financially and emotionally, through a process of intense socialisation, and is also a threat to masculinity as suggested in previous literature (Samad 2010). Central to all of these obligations are the concepts of *sharam* (shame) and *Izzat* (honour), these concepts and the roles they play in socialising young British Asian Muslims will be explored in the next chapter. I chose to focus this study on the way in which leisure and marriage are controlled by the family through religion and how they have to be negotiated on a daily basis. There is a body of literature which suggests that young Muslims are turning towards their religion in these times of intense media and political scrutiny, known as revivalist Islam (Kibria 2008; Aminah 2000; Cainkar 2004; Roy 2004). This thesis whilst considering the commitment to religion of the respondents, provides a contrast by considering those who have a weaker commitment to their religion and culture. This weak commitment will be demonstrated by highlighting a process of drift that occurs amongst some British South Asian Muslim males where they try to conceal their transgressions from religion from their immediate family and community. It will be argued that having a weak commitment to religion and culture, but then agreeing to a transnational consanguineous marriage is reproducing the business of marriage within the British South Asian Muslim community. I will refer to the person who has a weak commitment to religion and also enters into this type of marriage as the Maximiser (see Chapter Three for an explanation of the adaptations).

Literature on transnational marriage, particularly in the Muslim context, focusses overwhelmingly on the spouse entering the country and even more so on the vulnerable Muslim woman (Charsley and Liversage 2015). There is very little attention paid to the British husband who has been subject to intense scrutiny in political and media discourse, often portrayed as calculating, oppressive and dominating, forcing their brides into marriage (Charsley and Liversage 2015; Razack 2004). The family dynamics behind transnational marriage in a South Asian Muslim context are also ignored. Ignoring the British Muslim husband and his family in a transnational marriage means we have been left with an incomplete understanding of British Asian Muslims culture and the way in which marriage plays a key role in the everyday lives of British Asian Muslim males. The existing literature has not understood the thought process of the British husband in

deciding to marry transnationally and also why he on some occasions inevitably marries his cousin. Focussing on the Muslim women in media and political discourse has lead to restricting spousal immigration being on the political agenda since 2002 (Home office 2002, 2007), forced marriages are cited as the reasons behind restrictive policy on transnational marriages. A probationary period for transnational marriages is required before transnational spouses are granted permanent stay in the United Kingdom, apart from when the spouse has been a victim of domestic violence. However, if a migrant bride has been a victim of domestic violence, previous studies suggest she is unlikely to be able to prove this as language barriers and cultural sensitivities make accessing services difficult (Hague et al 2006; Phillips and Dustin 2004). This 'domestic violence rule' is in line with the government's shifting policy from protecting victims of forced marriage to tackling 'sham marriages' (Charsley and Liversage 2015). My research uncovers that this probationary period is met even when the marriage fails early on. A British husband will stay married to his wife from overseas in order for the probationary period to be met and her permanent stay to be granted. Whilst this probationary period is meant to protect the female, she is often stuck in a loveless marriage for the entirety of it. It is often unclear what will happen to the bride once she is divorced. This thesis will show that this is one of the negotiations part of the 'Business of Marriage'. A British husband who wants to divorce his transnational bride stays married to her as part of the negotiation with his parents. Whilst this research does not focus solely on transnational marriage, this research provides us with the account of British Asian males' obligations to marry according to the wishes of their families whether that be a transnational consanguineous marriage, or another form of arranged marriage. Arranged marriages in some South Asian countries appear to be the only option, with parts of Pakistan denouncing the celebration of Valentine's Day, it appears as though love marriages and relationships are out of the question (BBC News 2016). It will be shown in this thesis that the transnational consanguineous marriages are reproducing the Business of Marriage amongst British South Asian Muslim communities.

The key research questions addressed in this study are:
1. How do second generation British South Asian Muslim Males come to understand the institution of arranged marriage?

2. What does the institution of arranged marriage 'mean' for British South Asian Muslim Males?
3. How do British South Asian Muslim Males negotiate the obligations and expectations that surround the institution of arranged marriage?
4. How is the Business of Arranged Marriage reproduced in British South Asian Muslim families? Will the Business of Arranged Marriage continue to exist with the third generation of British Asian Muslim males?

In order to answer these research questions, this project draws on empirical data from thirty British Muslim males to explore the ways in which leisure, intimate relationships and marriage are understood and negotiated as a result of social control enforced by family and religion. The research was predominantly carried out in a shisha café in North West London, where an ethnography was conducted (see Chapter Four). Shisha cafes serve flavoured tobacco for smoking in a hookah, a practise that is popular in many Arab countries and is becoming increasing popular is some parts of Britain, especially amongst the young South Asian community, frequented by both males and females. It was important to spend a lot of time in the field in order to gain the trust of the respondents. I spent a total of thirty months in the field[1], gaining the trust of the respondents, making observations and conducting interviews. In order for the participants to be open about their relationships and personal lives, I had to develop a strong level of trust and they had to see me as an insider who they could talk to about their personal lives with openly. Research was also carried out at other sites, using existing personal and professional relationships to gain interviews. Respondents were between the ages of 17 and 35 and all identified as being from South Asian Muslim families. As well as interviews, participant observation also took place at the shisha café and aided my understanding of the everyday lives of British South Asian Muslim males. A profile of research participants can be found in chapter four of this thesis where I also explore the methods used to complete this study.

The negotiation of marriage by the respondents of this study will be located within the sociology of deviance and symbolic interactionist theories. Firstly, the intense process of socialisation which internalises religious and cultural practises will be demonstrated using existing literature. I argue that cultural practises such as consanguineous arranged

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[1] I am a part time PhD Student

marriages are falsely equated with religious practises in order to internalise them amongst British South Asian Muslims. This creates a pressure to conform for the respondents Secondly, Anomie and Strain Theory, specifically deviant adaptations (Merton 1938; Murphy and Robinson 2008), will demonstrate the way in which British Muslim males respond to the expectation of an arranged marriage and the pressure to conform and how this reaction is connected to a culturally prescribed goal. The goal is similar to that discussed by Merton (1938), specifically the acquisition of wealth but also the maintenance of family ties. Merton's (1938) theory of Anomie and Strain is one of the most widely embraced analytical frameworks in criminology. Merton highlights five deviant adaptions which will form the basis of this research, namely, the conformist, the innovator, the retreatist, the ritualist and the rebel (see Chapter 3 for an explanation of these adaptations). The theory has been built on and expanded by others working in the field of anomie and criminality. Cloward and Ohlin (1961) built on Merton's theory to analyse how actors involved with illegitimate and legitimate means must have a set of learned skills in order to achieve their goal. Also, Messner and Rosenfeld (1994) analysed how particular institutions could create conditions required for anomie and crime. Murphy and Robinson (2008) further added to strain theory by arguing that Merton's categories of conformist and innovator did not exist in isolation when achieving the American dream, but that some actors used both legitimate and illegitimate means. They referred to this category as 'The maximiser'. This research explores Merton's deviant adaptations, but focusses on how British South Asian Muslim males are using both legitimate and illegitimate means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. Conditions of anomie and Strain are created by the family through a process of intense socialisation. I argue that the conformist is someone who has an arranged marriage but does so because of his commitment to religion which remains strong at all times. I argue that the conformist does not remain financially dependent on his family but sometimes chooses to live with them because of cultural expectations. The conformist is able to choose which aspects of culture to adopt because the difference between religion and culture has been explained to him. The innovator, however has a weak commitment to religion and culture and because of this does not enter into an arranged marriage. The maximiser is a combination of the conformist and the innovator. The maximiser has a weak commitment to religion and culture, but enters into an arranged marriage, often a transnational consanguineous arranged marriage. Even though the maximiser is aware of his future marriage, the maximiser will often have relationships before marriage, having to conceal

them from family. Having an arranged marriage, for the maximiser, is done in order to achieve wealth, remain financially stable but to also keep bonds with immediate family members strong, something which has been communicated to them as important through the process of socialisation. Weak commitment to religion will be demonstrated through *Drift* theory (Matza 1964). It will be demonstrated that the conformist actively tries to avoid drifting from religious duties by employing various strategies and techniques. On the other hand, the innovator and maximiser actively seek to facilitate drift in order to be able to take part in activities outside the rules of religion and the family. I will use Differential Association theory (Sutherland and Cressey 1960) to explain why the innovators and maximisers drift from religious rules and the conformist do not. I will argue that this is due to the way in which religion is communicated to the respondents from an early age and how this creates either a favourable association with the religion or a favourable association with drift. Conformist are taught the difference between religion and culture which gives them a favourable view of religion, whilst innovators and maximisers reported that they had been given a view of religion that was confused with culture, I argue that this means they have been given an unfavourable view of religion. The methods of drift and strategies used to facilitate it of the innovator and maximiser will be analysed using *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Goffman 1959). It will be demonstrated that the innovator and maximiser behave differently in front of varying audiences in order to conceal their weak commitment to religion and culture. They have different 'fronts' for different audiences and situations which allows them to keep aspects of their identity and everyday lives a secret. I chose these theories to explore commitment to religion because it was clear that there was a movement from conformity to non-conformity for some of the respondents and that this drift was being concealed. When considering the maximiser and relationships before marriage, I will explore masculinity theory to offer an explanation of this behaviour. I will argue that British Asian masculinity has been under theorised. It will be argued that not being able to choose a spouse is leading to an increased showing of masculinity amongst maximisers in the period before marriage (see Chapter Six for an explanation of this). This is evident in the way some of the respondents namely innovators and maximisers, spoke about women and their involvement with them.

The Chapter directly following this (Chapter two) outlines the existing literature surrounding British Asian Muslim males that informed this research. Firstly, I explore the

literature surrounding being British, Asian and Muslim, to highlight how British Asian Muslim males define themselves with regard to their ethnic and religious identity. I then focus on the obligations towards family and religion and argue that these become a burden which have to be negotiated through all aspects of life. I argue that this negotiation requires techniques to be able to drift between a plurality of views on how to conduct oneself in Britain. Specifically, I focus on leisure and relationships and how a drift is occurring from following rules of religion and the family and not conforming to these rules. I demonstrate that these rules are imbedded through a process of intense socialisation and social control where in some cases, British Asian families prioritise culture over religion but use religion as a cover for cultural practises. I argue that the commitment to religion and culture varies amongst British South Asian Muslim males. I then explore the importance of marriage to British Muslims and how current academic literature understands forced and arranged marriages. I outline the process of getting married in this country and how transnational marriages are carried out. I argue that by focussing on the experiences of Muslim women and marriage, the experiences of men have been ignored. I also argue that in order to understand marriage, we must separate it from the label of 'forced' and develop a better understanding of the lived realities of this group.

In Chapter Three, I explore the analytical framework of the thesis. I argue that the activities and behaviours of the respondents are located within the sociology of deviance, namely strain theory, because they are under pressure to conform to religious, cultural and societal norms. Firstly, I discuss British Asian Muslims and masculinity. I argue that Muslims have largely been absent in studies on hegemonic masculinity but are under the same pressures to conform to images of masculinity. I then explore Merton's (1938, 1957) modes of adaptation as a reaction to the expectation of marriage and the pressure to conform to religious and cultural rules. I argue that the reaction to the expectation of an arranged marriage falls within Merton's deviant adaptations or Murphy and Robinson's (2008) adaptation of the maximiser. The maximiser uses both aspects of conformity and innovation in order to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. I argue that it is this adaptation that reproduces the *Business of Arranged Marriage*. I then explore the theory behind the methods of negotiation by discussing how 'fronts' (Goffman 1959) are utilised in order to negotiate leisure and religion. This movement from conformity to non-confrmity will be located within 'drift' theory (Matza 1964). This theory is then combined and applied

to empirical research in Chapter Five, Six and Seven. This chapter is broadly divided into three sections with the first section exploring the modes of adaptations under the pressure to conform. The second section explores how these adaptations are reinforced and the third section explores how drift from religious and cultural conformity is achieved.

In Chapter four I reflect on the methodological approaches to my study. Most of the study was conducted as an ethnography in a shisha café in North West London over a period of thirty months from January 2011 to June 2013. This was a site that was frequented mostly by young British Muslims. I conducted observations and most of the field work here. I also used existing personal contacts to interview other young British Muslim males in London and Bradford, West Yorkshire. In total, 30 in depth, unstructured interviews were conducted. In this chapter I discuss in detail the way in which I conducted the research and the methodological tools I used. I also talk about how existing studies on British Muslims helped to shape this. I also look at the relationship between the researcher and the researched and argue that being a British Asian Muslim myself, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the research participants when conducting the study than an 'outsider' would have. The ethical considerations of conducting ethnographic work are considered in this chapter. I complete this chapter by providing a profile of research participants, exploring the age range, occupation and relationship statuses of the respondents

Chapter Five is the first of three chapters in which I present findings from empirical research. This Chapter explores the conformist and demonstrates that the conformist has a strong commitment to religion and culture by showing that he organises his life in order to avoid drift. He does this by employing strategies which mean that he is able to avoid drifting from religious and cultural rules. I argue that the conformist has been raised with a clear distinction between cultural rules and religious duties which gives him a favourable view of religion. I argue that the conformist will enter into an arranged marriage, but does so under no pressure from his family and the choice to marry in this way is a free choice. The conformist enters into an arranged marriage because of his commitment to his faith. For the same reason, the conformist does not enter into relationships before marriage as they are seen as violating the rules of Islam.

In Chapter six I present the innovator and the maximiser. I argue that both of these adaptations have a weak commitment to religion by demonstrating that they organise their

lives in order to facilitate drift. I use differential association theory to explain the difference in religious conformity between the conformist and this group. The innovators and maximisers, it will be argued, have been raised without a clear distinction between religious and cultural practises, thus giving them an unfavourable view of religion. They then drift from religious and cultural practises habitually and organise their lives to do so. Both of these adaptations enter into relationships before marriage and the reasons behind this will be explored.

In Chapter seven I explore the Business of Arranged Marriage. I demonstrate that the difference between the innovator and the maximiser lies in marriage, with the innovator rejecting an arranged marriage.I also demonstrate how transnational consanguineous marriage is used in order to achieve the culturally prescribed goal by the maximiser. I will argue that maximisers often hope of rejecting arranged marriages but does not due to his financial situation. I will demonstrate that financial independence is linked to decisions made regarding entering into transnational or consanguineous marriages. I also demonstrate that transnational marriages are used in order to obtain British visas for family living abroad as when transnational consanguineous marriages fail, the probationary period of a marriage is often met. This ensures that the incoming spouse receives a permanent British Visa. I will also explore those respondents who move between adaptations of innovator and maximiser by looking at respondents who have entered into 'secret marriages' and respondents who have 'married too young'. I then consider 'temporary marriages' as a way of engaging in physical relationships before marriage. I also discuss whether transnational consanguineous marriages in the context of this research should be considered as forced marriages by focussing on the pressure applied at all stages of the process. I complete chapter seven by exploring the transition to adulthood and whether or not those who have been controlled through the family and religion are continuing to do so, or planning to do so, with their children. In essence, I am asking the question of whether or not the business of marriage will continue to exist. I also look at whether or not drifting from religion and family obligations ceases to happen at any particular time in life and whether or not Islam will continue to be taught in the same way to the next generation. I argue that arranged marriages will continue to occur within the British Muslim community through the generations as a religious practise, but as generations move away from the first generation of immigrants and they are no longer

present, this will be a true choice for all and forced consanguineous marriages will cease to exist.

In chapter eight I conclude the study by summarising the main findings of this research and highlight how this research has contributed to the literature around British Asian Muslim males and the negotiation of leisure, intimate relationships and marriage. Further areas for research are suggested, including the study into Muslim men and forced marriages on a larger scale. I predict, based on the finding from this research that this practise of intense socialisation and consanguineous marriages may continue until the fourth generation of British Asian Muslims.

This research adds to the existing knowledge regarding British Muslim men, leisure and marriage. In particular, this research adds to existing academic knowledge on transnational marriage by focussing on the British Muslim husband and the family dynamic as well as the reasons behind the choice of a transnational marriage. This is an area of study which has been largely ignored in academia. This research also adds to the understanding of anomie and strain theory as well as Murphy and Robinson's (2008) concept of maximisation.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the existing literature on British South Asian Muslims which informs my research and helped me to formulate the arguments contained within this thesis. Firstly, I examine the literature surrounding British South Asian Muslims and how they identify with British and South Asian culture. The literature indicates that young British South Asians tend to identify strongly with British culture but also retain a sense of identity to their parents' country of origin. This was crucial to the development of this thesis as the tension between Asian cultures, religion and British culture began to be explored. The literature also suggests that religion plays a key role in identity formation, particularly amongst Muslims, and thus the everyday lives of British Asian Muslims. This was important to this study as it meant that British Muslims must then conform to certain rules, something which was clearly not happening at all times. I also argue that levels of commitment to religion and culture vary. This lead to the arguments around drift and commitment to religion with this thesis.

Secondly, I explore the importance of family within British Asian Muslim communities and how cultural and religious expectations still shape the lives of British Asian Muslims. I argue that British Muslims are under strict social control to conform to their parent's culture and religion. I explore the family dynamic and present the way in which British Muslims families create a strong family bond within their home setting. This is important to this thesis as it facilitates a process of intense socialisation which communicates the expectation of the family to British South Asians. I explore the research regarding leisure and evaluate whether concerns from older generations regarding the influence of western ideals on young Muslims are warranted. In particular I explore the restrictions placed on alcohol consumption and inter gender friendships and relationships when making decisions around everyday aspects of life. The concepts of *Sharam* (shame) and *Izzat* (honour) are explored as being central to decisions taken regarding relationships and leisure activities. To finish this section I examine the literature regarding intimate relationships and British Asian Muslim males and how this has informed my research. The literature indicates that some British Asian Muslims are entering into intimate relationships before marriage, but at times, are also expecting to and eventually enter into arranged and often consanguineous marriages (for example Alexander 2000; Jacobson

1997). This was again crucial to the formation of this research as it seems that commitment to culture and religion is fluid and an element of drift is occurring from conformity to non-conformity. This thesis will argue in chapter five that it is this that is perpetuating and reproducing a system of transnational consanguineous marriages within British Asian Muslim communities in the United Kingdom. This section also considers Muslims who identify as non-heterosexual and the negotiations that take place in either revealing this to their families or concealing their sexuality.

I then explore the literature regarding Muslim marriage in Britain, beginning with defining an Islamic marriage, the importance of marriage and how decisions regarding marriage are negotiated. I explore the differences between forced and arranged marriages and how this difference can be confused by those involved in the process. Literature surrounding transnational marriages and consanguineous marriages are considered, and presented as an example of the social control that can be exercised by British Muslim families. Sharam and Izzat, are again explored in relation to Muslim marriage in Britain. I explore the literature around both male and female Muslim marriage and the negotiations that take place in order to draw comparisons in my own research. This section argues that British Muslim males have been neglected in academia when it comes to transnational marriage which results in an incomplete understanding of British Asian Muslims and marriage. This chapter serves to provide an understanding of the processes behind the communication and establishment of rules within some South Asian Muslim households. However, I am conscious that this not be read as a critique of Islam itself and that marriages within South Asian communities as oppressive regimes. I provide literature that suggests British Muslims are encouraging their daughters in particular to achieve high levels of education and well paid jobs in order to present them with a larger choice of potential partners and thus a choice of who they marry within the framework of an arranged marriage. Within this section on marriage, I highlight the lack of literature on British Muslim males in the academic literature which makes it difficult to make a comparison with the female experience.

Within this thesis, I use the term 'family' to refer to the parents, siblings and other significant relations to the participants such as grandparents. Understandings of the family have changed over time (Barlow et al. 2005) and whilst definitions of 'family' can vary, I am more concerned with generational conflicts within this research. It should also be noted that all participants within this study came from families with both biological

parents present in heterosexual marriages, there were no participants from single parent families or non-heterosexual relationships. Throughout this literature review, I will be focussing on the conflict between generations, culture and religion and the way in which these are understood and negotiated by British Asian Muslim males. I will argue that literature on British Muslim males and marriage in particular has been under theorised and under researched.

2.2 Being British, Asian and Muslim

As stated in Chapter One, British Muslims have been viewed as a social problem which needs to be solved. In order to explore this notion, we must understand the way in which British Muslims locate themselves in terms of ethnicity identity, culture and religion. I have highlighted in Chapter One instances since the turn of the century which have bought Muslims into the spotlight such as sexual grooming cases, radicalisation and forced marriages. However, the stigma associated with British Muslims can be traced back further than the turn of the century. As the quote below demonstrates, Muslims have been stereotyped since the 'Rushdie Affair' in in the 1980s, however it could be argued that Muslims have been a policy issue since immigration from South Asian countries began after the Second World War:

> 'Since the 'Rushdie Affair', the exclusion of minority religions from the national collectivity has started a process of racialization that especially relates to Muslims. People who used to be known for the place of origin, or even as 'people of colour' have become identified by their assumed religion. The racist stereotype of the 'Paki' has become the racist stereotype of the 'Muslim fundamentalist'' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:55)

Mac an Ghaill and Hayward (2014) argue that much of the academic work on Muslim communities ignores lived social relations. In response to this, this study will locate a group of British Asian Muslim males within religion, their parent culture and British culture, highlighting the need to negotiate between all three. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) highlight this as an important part of adolescence as young people are faced with having to battle between varying frames of reference from different cultures, as well as face discrimination from wider society (Wardak 2000). Literature on south Asian males

and national identity reveal varying results. Modood et al. (1994) carried out a study on first and second generation British South Asians and found that young Asians used hyphenated labels to describe their identities, such as Pakistani-British. They found that South Asians were keen to hold on to some forms of culture from their home country, such as language, religion and family values, but did not feel there was any tension between British culture and their home culture, or both sides of their identity. They wanted to live their lives in a way which mixed the two cultures together. However, a few second generation Asians felt as though British culture and their parent culture were at odds and did not feel they could mix, especially around religious and family values (see section 2.3.1). They found that there was a 'strong sense of ethnic pride' (p. 59) amongst second generation Pakistanis and Indians who were keen to reaffirm their ethnicity in what was an environment that their ethnicity was seen to be inferior. They did feel 'British' but also that they were not accepted by the white British majority. Modood and Ahmad (2007) argue that the term 'Asian' has less political significance now but that British Muslims might still use the term to identify themselves as part of a hybrid British Asian culture:

> "an on-going series of political crises featuring Muslims rather than Asians or non-whites per se – from the Rushdie Affair in 1988–9 to the first Gulf war in 1991, the controversies around Muslim faith schools, 11 September 2001, the resulting wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the 7 July 2005 bombings – the term 'Asian' has ceased to have much content as a political category. It still has some resonance as a self-identity for some, especially young people, mainly in relation to a new, hybrid British Asian culture" (Modood and Ahmad 2007:187).

It is widely cited that religion has become an important part of identity formation (Ahmed and Donnon, 1994; Samad, 1992; Werbner, 2000).) It is already established that for minority ethnics, religion is a key part of identity (Anwar 1998). Muslims display a strong bond to religion (Modood et al 1994), with them being more likely than other ethnic groups to reveal that religion was a very important aspect in the way that they live their lives (Modood et al 1997). Extensive literature has highlighted that Islam plays a big part in the lives of British South Asian Muslims (Jacobson, 1997, Abbas, 2003, Akhtar, 2014, Robinson, 2005, Dwyer and Shah, 2009). Robinson (2003) found that young Pakistanis would identify more with their religion than their ethnic identity and Shaw (1994) notes

that whilst young British Muslims appear to be 'westernised' in their use of language and educational attainment, are still committed to the culture of their home country and their religious duties. Whilst religion and ethnicity are two separate identities, they can be bound together very tightly and choosing one as an identity is not an option (Jacobson 1997). In a society which is ethnically and religiously different, religion can be vital in ethnic formation and identification (Soysal 1997). Norcliffe (1999:2) summarises the importance of religion for Muslims:

> "For the Muslim all of a person's life is for God and any division of life into secular and religious aspects has no warrant.... Islam is a total system, an ideology, which guides the Muslim through every aspect of life, both as an individual and collectively"

Ahmad and Evergeti (2010) studied the representation of Muslim identity in Britain by interviewing 24 'prominent' Muslims. They organised their findings under the headings: 'the journey towards 'Muslimness' as a key identification in Britain; representing 'Muslimness'; and living 'Muslimness' during key moments' (Ahmad and Evergeti 2010:17). Amongst their findings, they reported that there are many ways in which one can be Muslim, and different levels of 'Muslimness' are apparent in different contexts. There are 'key moments' in which the respondents were 'made Muslim'. The Rushdie affair and September 11th were two such key moments. The notion that one can be more Muslim or less Muslim at different times is of importance to this study, not in the sense of 'key moments' but in the realm of everyday life.

Jacobson (1997) looks at religion as a key identifier for social identity amongst young British Pakistanis. She argues that ethnic identity and religious identity are two separate dimensions, which might be contradictory to one another. She looks at this contradiction amongst British Pakistanis. She interviewed approximately 60 respondents ranging from their late teens up to late twenties in age, from London. She pays attention to what the respondents had to say about their own situations and claims that a lot can be learnt regarding identity whilst taking this approach (Jacobson 1997). Jacobson (1997:240) first looks at how the respondents define 'religion and ethnicity as sources of identity'. She highlights two ways in which this was done, the first being the 'religion-ethnic culture distinction'. This is where the respondents differentiated between religion and ethnicity by stating that religion was what is written in the Qur'an and Hadith,

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something which is true, the word of god. Ethnicity however, was something tied to customs or practises that are not religious but may be tied to where their parents originate from (Indian sub-continent). Secondly, Jacobson (1997) talks of the 'religion-ethnic origins distinction'. This was when respondents linked their ethnicity to a specific place of origin. So ethnicity would be used when talking of belonging to a place, and being Muslim would mean you belong to a global community (Jacobson 1997). Jacobson (1997) states that most respondents returned the 'religion-ethnic culture distinction' as a way of differentiating between religion and ethnicity, she then goes on to talk about the conflict between the two, and that the respondents are often restricted in their behaviour by culture rather than religion. There is also evidence from Jacobson's (1997) study that many young people feel that culture is used by the older generation (parents etc.) to control their behaviour but under the cover of religion. The young Pakistanis are aware of this and talk of a Pakistani culture that has been brought to Britain from the Indian subcontinent as being a mix of Hindu and Sikh culture. The article also suggests that these respondents identify as Muslims, before identifying as Pakistanis. Chapter five explores the issue of distinguishing between religion and culture through my own research. This thesis finds that some British South Asian Muslims are controlled through culture by the older generation who present cultural practises as religious obligations.

The respondents of this study might be considered as part of the 'new diaspora' (Hall 1992). Such populations, according to Hall (1992) are required to negotiate two different cultures. It appears as though literature is available on the female experience of this (for example Dwyer 2000) but is lacking when it comes to British Asian Muslim males. This research considers earlier literature around identity and culture, which views cultures as fixed and bounded. Whilst 'hybrid cultures' may be created especially through music and fashion, by diasporic communities (Huq 2006), this research will consider those that have to live by a set of rules created by one culture that have to be negotiated in order to be a part of another, a binary process. However, we must consider the aspects of everyday life which must be negotiated in order to explore this fully and also how the rules of family, religion and culture are communicated to second generation British Asian Muslim males.

2.3 Negotiating Religion and the Family

Khan (1979) and Anwar (1982) describe traditional Muslim households as multi-generational. In one dwelling, grandparents, parents, married sons, their wives and children all live together. It is also possible that unmarried siblings, including divorced or widowed siblings may also live in the same house. In some cases, divorced or widowed uncles and aunts also live in the same property. Assuming this is still accurate at this time, it is possible that second generation British Muslims are living in households with two generations of first generation immigrants (their parents and grandparents). It is well documented in previous studies that family bonds between British Asian Muslims are strong, more so than other ethnic groups in Britain (Leonard and Speakman 1986). This is in line with Islamic teaching which emphasises respect for parents in particular (Joly 1987). Muslim Pakistani families tend to live close together for fear of racism and violence (Wardak 2000), which also creates a sense of community.

The Quran and Hadith both emphasise respect for elders and the rights they have over their children. However, there is evidence to suggest that the second generation are at odds with their parents and previous generations. Living in Britain means being exposed to a less 'Islamic' way of life and exposure to 'western' customs are seen as problematic. English family values are seen as undesirable and not conducive to a Muslim way of life (Jacobson 1997; C. Ballard, 1979; R. Ballard, 1994). Atkin and Hussain (2003) found that British South Asians are aware of their religious and cultural values, which makes them behave in ways which are akin to these. Children are socialised into the ethos of family, cultural and religious way of life from an early age. This is done by including children in social functions and reaffirming the rules of not just the family, but the community, children are often left feeling like they owe their parents a debt of gratitude for this (Ballard 1994). Other studies have suggested that there is a tension between the older, or first generation of British Asian Muslims and their children when it comes to following the religion or culture of their home country (Jacobson 1997). Young people feel as though culture is used to control what they do under the cover of religion, which restricts their behaviour (Jacobson 1997). However, there is also evidence to suggest that some second generation British South Asians hold similar views to the first generation and feel as though British culture with regards to sexuality and family is too liberal (Jaspal and Cinerella 2010). Wardak (2000) argues that the older generation of Pakistani parents

in Scotland are worried about their children adopting British values and integrating into British society. They fear that their children will lose their own identity and that they will not be accepted by the white majority, pointing to the example of young black males who were discriminated against in the United Kingdom. This meant that many Pakistanis felt that sticking to their own culture and religion would mean they would be protected from the outside wold as they belonged to a community they felt comfortable with and were aware of the beliefs and social and moral values they shared. This process of socialisation from an early age is what creates the rules that have to be abided by. My research explores this in detail by looking at the ways in which leisure is negotiated by British Muslim males, and whether these concerns about western influence are warranted. The leisure activities of British Asian Muslim males is not something which has been well considered in previous research.

2.3.1 The Family and Socialisation: Social and Economic Control

Authors in the field of social control have highlighted a number of ways in which members of a community can be controlled and regulated in order to participate in its moral and social order.Early notions of social control (for example Pound 1940, Ross 1901, Sumner 1906) were used to explain the social progression of people where they would come together and achieve goals beyond individual ones (Wardak 2000). In his study of a Pakistani community in Edinburgh, Wardak (2000) stated that the community was one that was socially bonded to one another by their shared values, traditions and beliefs. Their main form of social control is the internalisation of the community's belief, values and norms which regulated the behaviour of its members. In this section, I explore the literature around how this internalisation is achieved through close knit family structures and notions of shame and honour.

The British Muslim community holds its close knit family structures and kinship in high regard (Naz Project 1999, 2000; Wardak 2000). Maintaining *izzat* (honour) is vitally important (Wardak 2000). Family structure in the south Asian community is hierarchical with respect for elders seen as the utmost importance. There are restrictive rules on intergender relationships and honour is seen as vitally important (Sharpe, 1976; Ballard, 1979; Shaw, 1988; 1994; Ballard, 1994). *Sharam* (shame) and *Izzat* (honour) are

important concepts within British Asian Muslim communities. Wardak (2000:85) defines *Izzat* as '*an individual/group's perception of it's social standing as it is seen and evaluated by the community*'. Social control through sharam and izzat is strengthened through the *Biraderi*. This is a social institution in which members have a close and complex reciprocal relationship in a friendship or kinship framework (Wardak 2000). Biraderi can also be used to describe the wider family network (Peach 2006). Wardak describes these communities as 'closed' both economically and culturally with young Pakistanis owning shops and employing others from the biraderi. However, Wardak (2000) argued it was possible to be accepted into the *biraderi* if a loan was given to a member of the biraderi which showed that they could be trusted and that they had common goals. According to Wardak, Izzat was often measured through gossip within the biraderi as well as the behaviour of the family members, izzat within the biraderi brought respect and equality for the individual and the family. Those who did not have izzat were not respected as much and did not have an equal standing within society. Wardak found that those who had lost izzat or those who did not have izzat could regain izzat by doing as their family wished. They would then be reaccepted into the community. Wardak also found that those who had brought a lot of shame and damage onto the family were excluded, the family would disown them and they would be referred to as *bisharm* (without shame) within the community. That person was then free to do whatever they wanted but the community would use this person as an example of the consequences of bringing shame and dishonour to the family. This would reinforce the control over members of the community and teach them to behave accordingly. Wardak argues that this control was due to the fact that people in the community feared the label of *bisharm* and that most members of the community would conform because of it. Maintaining reputations within families and communities is of the upmost importance. However, males appear to be given more freedom in terms of transgressions, this will be discussed further in this chapter. Fearing the label of *bisharm* is something which can affect the day to day lives of young British Muslims in particular and both genders. This can be from effecting the way in which leisure time is organised to the way in which marriages are negotiated. This section will now go on to discuss these issues.

As argued above, maintaining the honour of the family and traditions of the elders are viewed as more important than the wishes and views of any one individual (Afshar, 1994; Khanum, 1995; Ballard 1994)**.** However, Hennink et. al. (1999) suggest that there

are differences in the amount of autonomy allowed to children by parents of different religions. Muslim parents would put greater restrictions on the activities of young women than Hindu or Sikh parents. White teenage girls were more likely to be influenced by their friends when making decisions regarding relationships rather than their parents. This is seen as undesirable by the Muslim community (C. Ballard 1979; R. Ballard 1994). Socialisation takes place from an early age in British Muslim households, not using babysitters and ensuring children are part of family functions is important. Grandparents are not placed into care homes but live with the family and respect for elders is fundamentally important (Sharpe, 1976; Ballard, 1979; Shaw, 1988; 1994; Ballard, 1994). This is in contrast to the 'English' way of life as viewed by South Asians. As C. Ballard (1979) and R. Ballard (1994) discuss, English cultures and traditions according to South Asians are seen as lacking respect for elders and family life is seen as insecure. Elders are placed into care homes and marriage is seen to be more frivolous. For South Asians, this would bring shame onto the family and thus the practise is rare (Kibria 1997). Muslim children are also often sent to madrasas to learn their religion, recent estimates suggest there are around 2000 madrasas in the UK with claims that up to 250,000 children in attendance (Hayer 2009, Abrams 2011). Children attend madrasas for up to two hours a night after school so there is little time in the days for other social activities. Wardak (2000) argues that it is important for families to begin this process of socialisation from an early age as it is when children first begin school that they are exposed to western culture. He also argues that parents who bring up their children in a more strict way are doing so because of the discrimination that they faced in Britain and are trying to ensure that their children do not feel as they did. They try to ensure that their children develop a sense of belonging to their own community.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, young Muslims are often left feeling as though they owe a debt of gratitude to their parents and also believe that honour and shame are important concepts within family and community life. This respect for parents can be used to maintain obedience (Wardak 2000). Unruly children can be threatened with no inheritance. The family are able to control their children in this way because they have control over property and family wealth, keeping children dependent on them (Wardack 2000). This is discussed in detail during the findings section of the thesis as I will argue that financial incentive is fundamental to the reproduction of the Business of Marriage and I present evidence that this is still the case amongst second generation British Asians.

In recent times their children can claim government benefits which makes them less dependent upon their parents and freer of their control. More young Pakistanis have started doing this not because they need the money but because it gives them more freedom from their parents by also living alone. However the majority of Pakistanis accept their parents authority because of the strong cultural, religious and economic base from which they gain their control (Wardak 2000). The fact that the family inheritance is a factor in the social control amongst this community suggests that wealth is important to this group and conforming to the expected behaviour of family and *biraderi* is a means of achieving it. I explore this further in the findings sections of this thesis as I explore the reasons behind entering into arranged marriages for those respondents who display a weaker commitment to religion. I argue that wealth and the maintenance of family is a culturally prescribed goal that British south Asian Muslims aspire to.

2.3.2 Negotiating Leisure

As highlighted above, British Muslim households can be very large and part of a wider *biraderi* which means British Muslims are socialised into a way of life from an early age. This leads on to the main focus of the study. As this this socialisation is so intense and the consequences of deviance (sharam and izzat on the family) are made explicitly clear, if British Muslims want to act in ways outside of the rules imposed by family, culture and religion when taking part in leisure activities, they must use techniques and strategies to facilitate this. Traditional studies on subcultures and leisure have largely ignored South Asian males. However, recent studies into Asian youth have somewhat added to the literature (for example Alexander 2000). Previous research into British South Asian Muslims has suggested that leisure is generally organised around families (for example Wardak 2000) and often kept secret, and one can assume that in these cases, notions of Sharam and Izzat have played a part. As Wardak (2000) argues, older boys are under less social control because they have autonomy in terms of leisure; leisure therefore signifies autonomy for British Asian Muslim males.

The rules then, which restrict intergender friendships and any activities outside of the rules of Islam, such as drinking alcohol must be done discreetly. This is because young Muslims are socialised into learning and accepting the rules placed upon them by religion

and culture and also the way in which they must, if they wish, negotiate these rules. This feeling of owing a debt of gratitude to parents is evidence of a process of socialisation that is taking place in British Asian Muslim households. Considering the literature discussed so far, we can see that family sizes are large which means that family bonds are seen as important from an early age. We can also see that concepts of shame and honour are used in order to control the activities of young people. Also, it should be noted that cultural practises are disguised as religious duties which also suggests a process of socialisation into cultural practises.

Islam forbids any contact with alcohol, therefore any leisure activity where it is being consumed is also forbidden. This is a challenge faced by many British Muslims who do not wish to be involved with social or sporting activities associated with drinking alcohol. However, whilst my research supports this, there is also evidence to suggest that there are some young British Muslims who are taking part in these activities (See chapter five). Alcohol arose as an issue which had to be negotiated, whether the respondents were drinking it, were involved in activities where it was present or it was part of their financial income. Ryan (2011) found that British Muslim women had negative attitudes towards alcohol and those that consumed it. They associated it with an absence of social and moral values. Research from Hurcombe et al (2011) showed that whilst young Muslims had a very low reported rates of alcohol consumption, those that did, reported heavy and frequent use of alcohol. They were also more likely to engage in binge drinking on a monthly basis. They also reported that Muslims would rarely report that they drink alcohol, but would report that they had Muslim friends who consumed alcohol. They also found evidence that drinking would be hidden amongst young Muslims. Valentine et al (2010) argued that British Muslims would create a private space in the city in order to avoid detection whilst drinking from members of their community, conscious strategy used to negotiate the rules placed upon them through their communities. My research uncovers much the same that many young Muslims do not drink alcohol, but those that do, have to conceal this from the family and use varying techniques in order to do so (see Chapter 6).

Wardak (2000) found that many British Muslims were discriminated against in sports halls, social halls and social clubs which meant that they had few other places to go other than the street where they would instead engage in crime and deviant behaviour. When they tried to form their own sports teams, they were accused of not becoming

involved with the community and often harassed when they tried to play near 'white' teams. This meant that they were excluded from certain areas. Studies suggests British South Asians and Muslims in contemporary Britain are occupying the same spaces as non-Muslims and non-South Asians, frequenting nightclubs (Huq 2006) and attending higher education institutions (Ahmed 2001;2012) but there appears to be less autonomy for females as mentioned earlier (Basit 1997). Other studies such as Alexander (2000) suggest that British Asians occupy their own spaces.

Authors in the past have reported that second generation Pakistani young people are caught between two cultures, one of their parents who have expectations of them in terms of religion and culture, and that of the western world in which they have grown up in (Watson 1977; Anwar 1978, 1986; Ahmed 1992). Wardak (2000), whilst agreeing that British born Muslims live between the social and cultural demands of the Muslim community and Wider British Society, were finding their own solutions to this problem. Wardak (2000) found that the way in which they dealt with these contradictions typified them into four categories. Firstly, Wardak discusses the conformist who follow the culture and norms and values of their Pakistani community, they hold the same moral and social values as their Pakistani community and also hold a strong religious belief. This similar to Hirschi (1969) who argues that those with a strong commitment to the rules and values of a society are less likely to break them. Wardak found that the conformist tended to be younger children who had not yet been exposed to western culture and as they grew up they moved into the second category which he termed the 'accomodationist.

The accomodationists also had a sense of belonging to their Pakistani culture and its moral and social order, but the boundaries of these were not as strong as they were for conformists. Accomodationists looked for common ground between Pakistani and western culture and made some compromises on their own culture. This was important if they wanted to successfully negotiate into western society. Accomodationists deviated from the norms and teachings of the mosque and communities but this deviation was accepted and these boys were still accepted by the community. They were not labelled as *bisharm*. They remained loyal to the fundamental aspects of their culture but also incorporated some British values and were able to modify their behaviour to fit in and seem integrated into a British way of life. Accomodationists tended to be older than conformists as they had started school and were exposed to a western culture as well as their parent culture.

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Wardak's third category was the 'part-time conformist' who violated the social and moral order of the community. They would take part in activities such as drinking alcohol and would have pre-marital sexual relations. They would justify this behaviour by suggesting that living in Britain meant that this behaviour was normal. Wardak found that these boys tended to be older than the accomodationists and they maintained some links to the community, usually by attending *Juma prayer* (Friday prayer) to show that they were conforming to parts of the religion. Wardak argues that part time conformists are similar to Ditton's (1977) part time criminals, taking part in regular petty crime but appearing honourable to the community. They behaved in a way to hide their deviance which meant that the community was never able to label them as deviants but suspicion amongst the community about these boys remained. The part-time conformists still maintained a connection and identity with their cultural roots and its moral and social values, however they emphasised their secular side more than their religious one. The part-time conformists tended to have the least sense of ethnic identity.

Finally Wardak argued that 'Rebels', were the most deviant and rejected the moral and social order of their community and openly challenged it. They did not hide their deviance like the part-time conformists, they deviated openly. They did not accept the limitations that the moral and social order imposed on them and saw them as irrelevant. These boys were not respected in the community and other young boys were advised to avoid them. Rebels also played a role in pushing boundaries on old cultural norms, mostly around arranged marriages. Rejecting an arranged marriage can bring shame on the family and other families not wanting to go through this became more tolerant of the wishes of the younger generation. Wardak found that there was a relationship between age and deviance, with younger boys tending to be conformists and older boys under less control, with the social control of boys declining when they reached the age of 16 and they became freer and more deviant. This also indicates that the process of socialisation is seen as a success if the individual marries according to his parent's wishes. This is consistent with literature on identity formation and Islam, for example, Peek (2005) argues that research has ignored the role of religion in creating identities for individual groups, but has 'explored the role of religion in maintain group identity and solidarity, particularly for immigrants' (Peek 2005 p 218). Peek, who conducted a study of second generation Muslim Americans identities three stages of religious identity and development. These are: Religion as an ascribed identity, where when participants were younger, they would

take it for granted that they were Muslim and did what their parents told them to do; Religion as chosen identity, where as participants got older, they shifted from an ascribed identity to choosing to be identified as Muslim; Religion as a declared identity, where in the aftermath of September 11th 2001, the participants publicly declared their religious identities, even claiming that it was even stronger in the face of discrimination. The first stage of this identity formation could be seen as the stage in which the intense process of socialisation is occurring. The categories offered by Wardak (2000) will be discussed further in chapter three of this thesis as I set the analytical framework for my own research.

A factor which often gets overlooked when looking at British Muslims and leisure is the issue of prayer being completed. As ordered in the Quran, Muslims must pray five times a day, with the first prayer coming before sunrise and the last after the sun has gone down. Missing prayer is seen as a sin, as prayer forms one of the five pillars of Islam, this is considered to be fundamental to an Islamic way of life. This research will reveal that this is an issue which is often overlooked by British Muslim males, even though they acknowledge the importance of it, they fail to complete the duty which suggests that commitment to religious duties can be weak.

2.3.3 Negotiating Intimate Relationships

Following on from negotiating leisure with regards to gender, it is important to acknowledge the difficulties with negotiating intimate relationships. Inter-gender friendships are forbidden in Islam and there is evidence to suggest that young Muslims are adhering to these restrictios around friendships (Ghuman 1991). However, more recent studies have suggested that young Muslims are socialising with females (for example Alexander 2000). There is also evidence to suggest that a strategy which has been used to negotiate these rules around inter-gender friendships is to form friendship groups with others from the same ethnic and religious backgrounds (Alexander 2004; Abbas 2003; Ghuman 1994). As my research will show, this makes it easier to negotiate leisure as the rules that they must live by do not need to be explained. This is something which has been observed during the course of this study and further analysis can be found in chapter six.

Pre-marital relationships, along with defying parental authority and the use of drugs and alcohol are seen as behaviours which are shameful in south Asian Muslim communities (Handa 2003; Toor 2009; Wardak 2000; Dwyer 2000; Dasgupta 1998; Varghese and Jenkins 2009; Hickey 2004; Abraham 2001; Durham 2004; Dasgupta and Dasgupta 1998; Naidoo 2003). Sexual intercourse outside of marriage is a sin in Islam (Coulson,1979; Choueiri, 1990; Dahl, 1997). Women are expected to abide by traditional feminine standards. They should be caring, maternal, chaste and would be expected to maintain this standard in the community (Roy 1998; Abu-Ali and Reisen 1999). This expectation meant that mothers of South Asian females would be responsible for socialising their daughter into these traditional roles (Roy 1998; Maiter and George 2003; Abraham 2001). This creates an additional stress on mothers to ensure that their daughters are socialised correctly into the traditional way of behaving and that they maintain family honour in doing so (Rankin and Quane 2002). Muslim parents see it as their religious and cultural duty to marry their children (Samad 2010). Daughters are responsible for passing on cultural values to their children (Dwyer 2000; Roy 1998) and are thus held to a different standard than males when it comes to sexuality. Yahyaoui et al (2013) argue that females have less autonomy over intimate relationships and Basit (1997) suggests that females are given less autonomy in their social lives by not being allowed to go out on their own, especially in the evenings. The female body is seen as being uncontrollable and thus intimate relationships before marriage are seen as a threat to social order and standing, within the community, of the family (Abraham 2001; Roy 1998). This is consistent with cases of honour killings and forced marriages mentioned in Chapter One of this thesis where parents have taken this belief to extreme measures, for example the case of Shafilea Ahmed mentioned in Chapter one. Literature also suggests that a strong commitment to religion can result a barrier to intimate relationships before marriage (Wardak 2000; Wardak 2002). This is explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

Previous studies have shown that Sharam and Izzat are important when making decisions regarding relationships before marriage (e.g. Alexander 2000; Wardak 2000). Studies regarding Muslim males' relationships before marriage are rare. British Asian Muslims are generally expected to have an arranged marriage and relationships before marriage are against the teachings of Islam. Literature has also shown that relationships before marriage of British Asian Muslim males would be entered into with girls who were not of the same ethnic and religious background (Alexander, 2000, 2001). Alexander (2000) also discusses the subject of relationships between young Asian males and

females, who were both Asian and non-Asian. The issue of boundaries are important; both in the religious sense and the geographical sense when discussing this, and young Asian men and women understand these boundaries. For example, Alexander (2000) explored the relationships of British Bengali boys for whomthe Bengali girls of the community were unavailable for intimate or sexual relationships: they were seen as sisters, but women who were from outside of the community were available for sexual relationships. However, they all expected to marry Bengali girls. The boys also talk of wanting to marry their girlfriends, but acknowledge the difficulties they would face in doing so. Keeping girlfriends secret is of utmost importance because of the consequences they may face if their parents were to find out about them. This was clearly a strategy employed with a future forced or arranged marriage in mind, relationships before these marriages were negotiated not to last. Wardak (2000) found a complex picture when it came to arranged marriage in a Pakistani community in Edinburgh. He found that while 22.03% of respondents would like to marry according to their parent's wishes, with no input from themselves, 37.29% wanted to retain the right to say 'no' to their parent's choice of partner for them. Wardak also found that 22.03% of respondents wanted to choose their partner by themselves, but also giving their parents the choice to reject the arrangement. Wardak found that 18.64% of respondents wanted to marry according to their own wishes. This indicates that the majority of respondents in Wardak's study agreed with arranged marriages in one form or another.

. Ramji (2007) also found that British Muslim males would have sexual relationships with girls they thought of as immodest and would not consider marrying, before settling down to marriage with a girl they considered to be a modest Muslim woman. I discuss this in depth in chapters six and seven of this thesis through my own research. Literature on British Muslim women and relationships suggests that females are under the same pressure as males when making decisions regarding relationships before marriage (Hennink et. al. 1999). There is also evidence to suggest British Bangladeshis are at odds between what was expected of them from faith and culture whilst the mothers of the young were concerned with the lack of control they had in what happened outside of the home (Griffiths et. al. 2008).

A number of techniques and strategies are used in order to negotiate intimate relationships which can be highlighted from literature on South Asians and relationships. For example, Alexander (2001) found that young Bengali boys would avoid certain parts

of the city when socialising with girls in order to avoid being seen by members of the community or family. This again is down to the concepts of sharam and izzat, remaining hidden would mean that the individual himself was not seen, but also that the family did not encounter any shame. Although conducted in Norway and over ten years ago, Ostberg's (2003) study of Norwegian adolescents is relevant to this thesis. This study looked at the journey through adolescence of fourteen Norwegian-Pakistanis. The focus of the study was to explore the changing attitudes to social and religious practices of Norwegian-Pakistani children and young people. This was a longitudinal study conducted over six years as two separate studies, one completed in 1995 and the other in 2001. The author uses the concept of negotiation in three different ways. The first level being the negotiation between adolescents and their parents or other adults about what they are permitted to do, and what they are not permitted to do, socially, and by restrictions imposed by religion. The second level is the negotiation between friends about what they are meant to associate with on a social level. Who they were meant to be associating with, what music they listened to and decisions such as this needed to be taken. Thirdly, negotiations with themselves, what they felt comfortable with doing, taking into consideration their feelings for others and their religion. Ostberg (2003) talks about girls and the wearing of the *hijab* (religious head dress) and other traditional clothes in order to demonstrate the level of negotiations that take place with parents and with the young people themselves. The decision to wear the hijab was taken after discussions with parents, friends and with decisions made regarding their own femininity. Negotiations on ethnicity were also taken when deciding what to wear, whilst at school, western clothing was worn, in the home, traditional clothing was worn. This generally wasn't a decision which was demanded by parents but more of a habit and a negotiation with parents and with religious doctrine. According to the study by Ostberg (2003) Norwegian-Pakistani children has an attachment to Pakistan, but did not want to settle there, they saw it more as where their parents were from. There were a multitude of reasons as to why they did not want to live there, all relating back to the fact that the country is not as developed economically as Norway is. Ostberg (2003) also showed that as Pakistani-Norwegians got older, they tended to be friends with Pakistanis rather than Norwegians as non-Pakistanis did not have the restrictions that they did in terms of drinking and going out, so they felt it easier to be friends with Pakistanis.

Ostberg (2003) also talks about film and music, although this is slightly less clear, Norwegian Pakistani adolescents tended to like watching Pakistani channels on TV but did not really have a preference between watching Hindi romances or American Horrors, but both were an option. The author also looked at relationships between the sexes. The constraints put on females both from religion and culturally meant that, for girls, having boyfriends was not an option. It was difficult for them to be seen talking to boys, put down to a culture of gossiping amongst elders from a rural Pakistani background. Boys showed a tendency to hide relationships, often dating Norwegian girls rather than Pakistani girls. Brothers were also protective of sisters and did not really talk about what would happen if their sisters went further than just friends with boys. When discussing marriage, all the respondents agreed with arranged marriages and that they would discuss the issue with their parents. Negotiations here take place between the children and parents, but also between the future in-laws, who often will be an uncle or the aunt of the child. First cousin marriages are normal amongst Pakistanis. There was a suggestions that males tended to delay marriage in order to enjoy a sex life outside of marriage, whilst girls did not have this option. Parents realised the importance of education before marriage for both males and females (Ostbeg 2003). Ostberg (2003) also found that children and adolescents felt that they should practise Islam in the form of prayer and fasting, but didn't have the time. Some however, saw Islamic duties as part of their identity. Having knowledge about Islam is also important to Norwegian-Pakistani adolescents. My study will explore similar theses to those explored by Ostberg but also look at the way in which when decisions are made to act against the rules of religion and the family, in what way these decisions have to be negotiated and managed.

2.3.4 Negotiating Non-Heterosexual Relationships

Bouhdiba (1998) argues that Islam forbids homosexual relationships through verses in the Quran, Islamic law and *Hadith* (recorded teachings of the Prophet Mohammed). Whilst this study explores the negotiation of heterosexual intimate relationships, literature suggests non-heterosexual relationships within the British Muslim community are fraught with difficulties. Homosexuality, as well as sexual intercourse outside of marriage, is forbidden in both the Quran and the Hadith (documented teachings of the Prophet Muhammad) (Yip 2004). Yip (2004) found that

homosexuality was viewed as a 'western disease'. This is much like the view of English culture discussed earlier in this chapter regarding the family and kinship. Yip found that coming out to family was difficult and the act could be met in a number of ways. Respondents reported that they would be pressured into marrying, that marriage was seen as cure for homosexuality. There was also an indication that homosexuality would be tolerated and occasional drift would be tolerated if the respondent was married. This is consistent with findings from Samad (2010) who found that affairs were sometimes tolerated in heterosexual marriages. What this indicates is that the success of the process of socialisation and social control is determined by the fact that the individual marries according to his parents' wishes. Whether the individual transgresses from the social and moral order, or not, as long as he marries according to his parents' wishes, and maintains the honour of the family by keeping his transgressions secret, they are satisfied. The reasons behind this, and further proof for it will be discussed during the findings section of this thesis. Respondents also reported that coming out was met with physical abuse, with one respondent needing to spend three months in hospital after being beaten by his brother. Other respondents would keep their identity secret for fear of rejection and to maintain family honour and a tight bond with family members. Respect for parents was seen as so important that revealing their sexuality to them was not seen as an option and sexuality would be sacrificed for that reason. However there was also evidence that the immediate nuclear family would tolerate homosexuality as long as the respondent did not come out to the wider community and their sexuality was concealed. Yip indicates that running away from home and breaking ties with family as a result of coming out is made possible if the person coming out has a well-paid job. This indicates that it is not only kinship that is important but also the financial ability to break free. I discuss this further in Chapter Three. It is clear from Yip's study that sharam and izzat play a huge role in the decisions made regarding non-heterosexual relationships and coming out can be both dangerous and difficult for Muslims.

2.4 British Asian Muslims and Marriage

It is important to clearly define 'arranged' marriages in the context of this research. Arranged marriages can vary according to cultural practices, but generally, the family will take a leading role in the selection of partners, with the potential spouses

retaining the right to refuse the arrangement (Phillips and Dustin 2004). However, distinguishing between a forced and arranged marriage can sometimes be difficult (Carroll 1998). Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) identify three variations of arranged marriages; firstly, in the 'traditional' arranged marriage, the family decide who their children will marry. Secondly, in the 'modified traditional' arranged marriage, the young person has the right to refuse a potential spouse from a selection of potential spouses found by the parents. Thirdly, in the 'cooperative' arranged marriage, the young person or the parents may select the potential spouse, but the essential element to this is the agreement of the parents. This typology of arranged marriage are applied to the respondents' own experiences in the findings section of this thesis.

Statistics show the significance of marriage amongst South Asians in the UK, particularly amongst British Muslims. The Home Office Citizenship Survey (2003) reveals the popularity of marriage amongst south Asians in the UK is high. The South Asian population has the highest rate of marriage amongst all ethnic groups. In terms of household sizes, Muslims also have the largest household sizes (National Statistics, 2004) as demonstrated in the previous section. Data also shows a connection between those that marry and those that have religious beliefs. Muslims are most likely to marry rather than cohabit. This is unsurprising given the Islamic duty to marry and the fact that sexual relations are strictly forbidden before marriage. Cohabiting Muslims would bring shame and dishonour to the family (Bhopal 1997). Sherif (1999:619) states that *throughout the Islamic world, marriage is at the heart of social and religious life*. Marriage is very important to Muslims, it is important to remember that marriage as prescribed by Sharia may differ somewhat to the practises of marriage and getting married by different cultures.

A marriage in Islam is completed by the signing of a *Nikah,* Khadduri (1977-1978) talks of the Nikah taking marriage from status to contract (a union between a husband and a wife):

> "The Shari'a also changed the nature of marriage from "status" to "contract", in the words of Sir Henry Maine. An offer of marriage by the man, an acceptance by the woman, and the performance of such conditions as the payment of dowry are all essential elements of the marriage contract. Although an offer to marry is

actually made through a woman's father, the woman's consent is considered imperative if the contract is to be binding. Additionally, the offer and acceptance must be made in the presence of at least two witnesses for the marriage contract to be valid"

The quote above is clear indication that forced marriage is forbidden in Islam, however the majority of marriages in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and India are arranged (Kurian 1991). The Nikah is completed by the offering of marriage and its acceptance before witnesses, both parties involved must give full consent for the marriage to be valid (Anderson 1976; Singh 1992). This practise has filtered through to communities in the United Kingdom, as evident in this study. Arranged marriages help to maintain religious and social obligations (Kapadia 1966). Relationships before marriage are forbidden in Islam, so love marriages are not common in the Indian sub-continent, they are seen as a threat to the honour of the family (Fox 1975) A man is able to marry non-Muslim, as long as she is *Ahlol-Kitab* (Jewish or Christian). Divorce is a contentious issue, whilst it is allowed in Islam, it is generally frowned upon (Khadduri 1977-78). A man can divorce his wife by repeating 'I divorce you' three times, known as giving *talaq* (Doi, 1992). Muslim women can also initiate divorce proceedings through sharia courts. This however, is not the same as a termination of a civil marriage by the state, Muslims are able to divorce, according to Islamic law, without having registered the marriage in the UK (Pearl and Menski 1998). This makes divorce rates and marriage rates difficult to measure amongst Muslims in the UK. A nikah is only valid in the UK if it took place outside of the country. Feminists argue that this inability for a wife to divorce her husband is a demonstration of a female being inferior to her husband (Ahmed, 1992; Dahl, 1997; El-Solh and Mabro, 1994; Moghissi, 1999; Wadud, 2006; Shirazi, 2009). A Muslim man, according to Islamic law, is able to marry up to four wives as long as certain conditions are met. If the first wife is barren, or he lives in an area where women outnumber the men. He must be able to treat all wives equally and fairly (Singh 1992). There has been attention given to this gender inequality, especially the way in which Muslim men use religion in order to control their spouses through rules around 'modesty' in Islam. (Macey, 1999; Ramji, 2005; Sahgal and Yuval-Davis, 1992). British Muslim men are in fact 'expected' to drift from religion and behave outside of its rules (Taylor, 1976). However, this does not meant that British Muslims are able to break these rules openly, sharam and Izzat still have to be taken into consideration.

It is important to separate discussions around forced and arranged marriages. Discussions around arranged marriages with south Asian communities have largely centred on the experiences of women and presented them as oppressed with no choice over who they marry (Ahmed 2012). However it has been demonstrated that agency within arranged marriages is common and women are able to negotiate their position and have a large say in who their partner is going to be. There is evidence to suggest that British Muslim parents are encouraging their daughters to achieve a high level of education in order to facilitate upwards social mobility and to open up the pool of potential husbands and financial independence would provide security against failed marriages (Ahmed 2001, 2012). There is also evidence to suggest that British Muslim women were using Islamic discourse to negotiate their position with regards to marriage and education (Ahmed 2001). Whist the focus of this study is on those that enter consanguineous or transnational marriages, there is evidence to suggest that this practice is becoming less common in the UK. Educated women and their families are more likely to reject transnational marriages and look for partners who were born in the UK instead. (Dale and Ahmed 2011). This might be a reason for the increased number of ethnic women in UK higher education (Tyrer and Ahmad 2006).

2.4.1 The Business of Getting Married

As discussed in the section above, Muslims marry with the signing of a *Nikah* which is a contract between the bride and groom. The process of getting married, starts much earlier than this and the wedding itself is a long, drawn out process filled with events for both the groom and the bride (Charsley 2006). This section will outline the process of 'arranging' a marriage and then the wedding itself in Britain today. There are variations in events and customs, and many of the customs presented in this section are typical for a Pakistani wedding, but we can assume that most of the same events take place in traditional South Asian Muslim weddings. Academic literature focusses on forced and arranged marriages but rarely outlines the process of a wedding, I will address this process in this section. Having grown up in a traditional Pakistani Muslim household, and having a traditional Pakistani Muslim wedding, I am fully aware of the processes behind weddings and marriages. As stated above, Muslims are not able to mix freely with members of the opposite sex so finding a partner for young people lies in the hands of

parents and other family members. As will be discussed in chapters five and six of this thesis, the potential groom makes the decision of whether or not he wants to get married, however, he is often approached by his parents or elders and asked if he is ready to marry. This normally happens when the groom is in full time employment and is financially able to support a family. However, this is not always the case as the youngest son of the family is traditionally expected to live with his parents who continue to support the family until the son is able to. The groom then tells his parents to start 'looking' for a bride. From the groom's perspective, he tells his parents the criteria for a wife. For example, he might ask for a partner who is well educated, religious and from Britain. Alternatively, he might ask for a bride from his parents' home country. This criteria for selection will be discussed in Chapters five, six and seven of this thesis.

It is at this point that the search for a *Rishta* (match for marriage) begins. This can be done in a number of ways. Traditionally, the parents of the groom will use their extended family and friend's network to find a potential spouses for their sons. There are also marriage bureaus set up where parents can enlist the help of a 'fixer' to find spouses for their children. Also, if the groom has a potential woman in mind, for example, someone that he studied with at university or someone he works with, he can tell his parents about this person. Traditionally this would not happen as men and women are not meant to mix freely in Islam but because of the nature of British Society, free mixing can be unavoidable. The internet has many websites dedicated to finding a *rishta* for single Muslims (for example, shaadi.com; singlemuslims.net). Using these websites means that single Muslims are able to view the profile and pictures of potential spouses and contact them in order to arrange a meeting between both sets of parents and themselves. Profiles of people looking for a rishta can include details about their physical appearance, level of education, profession and other interests. Both potential brides and grooms are able to search for partners on these websites and make contact with one another. In some areas of the country, the local mosque take an active role in finding a *rishta* if one cannot be found within the family and friends network. If the partner is to be located abroad, then already existing networks of family and friends are enlisted in order to find a suitable spouse. This part of the process is very much the same for Muslim females in Britain who are entering into an arranged marriage. The difference being that traditionally, the parents of the bride do not approach the parents of the groom, however, in modern times, the

bride and groom are in a position where they can communicate over the internet before involving their parents.

Traditionally, the parents of the groom will approach the parents of potential spouses in order to arrange a meeting between the families. At these meetings, both sets of parents will be present, as well as the bride and groom. The bride and groom are not left in the room alone and are able to talk to each other in the presence of their families. In recent times, potential pairings have been able to communicate with each other over the internet in a bid to get to know each other and come to a decision about whether or not they want to get engaged. If there is interest, there will be further meetings before an official engagement. An engagement is not required in Islam but is a cultural practise adopted by many British Muslims. Here, gifts are exchanged and sometimes dinner is served to guests. Engagements are sometimes spectacular events, with both the bride and groom present. As in Islam, the bride and groom are unable to be together before they marry in the absence of a chaperone, some families today have the reading of the *Nikah* at this stage. This means that the bride and groom are able to communicate and see each other before marriage. Under Islamic law, they are married at this point and can do everything a husband and wife can, the only difference is that they are still living apart until the day of the wedding. This means that the bride and groom are able to 'date' and form a relationship before they move in together. An early Nikah is also often used in order to cement an engagement. When marrying transnationally, the *nikah* can be signed before the bride moves into the marital home, before the husband enters into the country, this ensures that the requirements for a visa are completed but also protects the bride should the groom not obtain a visa and they are forced to divorce as she will remain a virgin (Charsley 2006).

The wedding celebrations often begin a week before the wedding day. The amount of functions in that week vary, but there is often a party every night before the wedding. This is mainly for females who play the *dhol* (drum) and sing songs about the bride and groom. These songs often ridicule the groom as a form of entertainment (Charsley 2006) A *Mehndi* (henna) night where the application of henna on the bride is organised. Traditionally this is a female only event (Charsley 2006) but recently this has turned into a mixed event, especially when the reading of the *Nikah* has taken place earlier. The henna night is not a requirement in Islam but is another cultural practise adopted by Muslims.

The day of the wedding (*barat)* is traditionally organised and paid for by the bride's family. The groom invites his guests and they make their way to the hall or house of the bride where the function will take place. As discussed above, the *Nikah* is often now signed before this day, but traditionally would be signed on the day of the wedding (Charsley 2006). *Dowry* is given to the bride by her parents, this is a cultural practise originating from the time the Prophet Mohammed gave his daughter gifts at the time of the wedding, but is not a religious requirement (Hassan 2005). *Haq Mehr* is agreed at the time of the Nikah. This is where the groom's family gives money to the bride as insurance against a failed marriage. It is agreed upon and entered into the *Nikah* contract (Shaheed 2005; Ayyub 2007). When marrying outside of the *biraderi*, there is an expectation that this is a significant amount to ensure that the groom is honest. If he is not honest, he stands to lose a significant amount of money. If marrying a cousin, this can be a small, token gesture, as there is an expectation that the bride will be cared for after the wedding if the marriage fails. This is another way to ensure that risk in marriages is reduced. This insurance is an inbuilt feature of the Muslim marriage, ensuring that the bride is financially secure against a failed marriage. Muslim wedding are traditionally segregated by gender to prevent free mixing of men and women but this practise appears to be becoming less common in the UK. These events are marked with plenty of food and in more recent times, dancing. The bride is often wearing a large amount of gold which is given to her by the groom's family, this is sometimes written into the *Haq Mehr* agreement but can be an extra gift given before the wedding.

At the end of the wedding day, the *Rukhsathi* takes place. This is where the bride leaves her family home and joins the groom's family. There are many ways in which this is carried out on the day. I have attended British Muslim weddings where the bride's family line up on one side of the room and the groom's family on the other. The bride is then taken from her side to the groom's side by a family member, symbolising the fact that the bride is being given away by the family. At other functions, the bride is placed in a carriage and carried by her new family to their home, symbolising the fact that she will be looked after by her new family. In transnational marriages, this can be delayed due to the husband's visa application, as stated earlier, the bride and groom may not cohabit until the husband moves to the same country as the bride (Charsley 2006).

The *Walima*, a wedding reception follows the wedding day, this can be the very next day, but does not have to be, with some couples leaving a week between the two

days. This event is paid for by the groom's family. The bride and groom enter this occasion together, having spent the night together for the first time. This is an occasion where food is served and the wedding is celebrated by the family with food and in more recent times in mixed events, dancing. This event can be as extravagant as the wedding day itself with guests from both the bride and grooms side in attendance. With so many events and the exchange of gold and money, it is clear that the British South Asian Muslim wedding can be a very expensive occasion.

2.4.2 Forced Marriage

In 2000, a home office working group report, *A Choice by Right*, highlighted the issue of forced marriage Forced marriage has been defined as: *No marriage shall be legally entered into without the full and free consent of both parties, such consent to be expressed by them in person after due publicity and in the presence of the authority competent to solemnize the marriage and of witnesses, as prescribed by law.* (Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages Act 1964, Article 1(1)). The difficulties in recognising arranged marriages come from the interpretation of 'full and free consent'. A further definition provided by the report *A Choice by Right* (2000) introduced the word duress – this can be financial, sexual, physical, psychological or emotional duress. This study will consider this duress as an important part of giving consent to a marriage. For example, is the promise of a house and a car, in exchange for marrying in accordance with the wishes of your parents, duress? If this is the case then to what extent are families keeping their children financially dependent on them? If consent is given in exchange for this, then is the marriage still viewed as forced by the victims? These are questions that this study considers whilst considering the obligation and burden of marriage in the lives of these men. Central to the definition of an arranged marriage is agency. Where parents and elders take a role in choosing a spouse, but ultimately, the choice is left with the bride and groom (Uddin and Ahmed 2000). The varying level of choice in an arranged marriage can be understood through existing literature:

> "Although making a clear distinction between arranged and forced marriage
> seems relatively simple and straightforward, in between these two poles they
> shade into one another through varying degrees of social and cultural
> expectation: exercise of control, persuasion, pressure, threat and force in the

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context of gendered inequalities which create the potential for exploitation. Within such constraints and despite the extent of their subjugation, women exercise their agency in complex and often contradictory ways as they assess the options that are open to them, weigh the costs and benefits of their actions, and seek to balance their often competing needs with the expectations that weigh upon them." (Anitha and Gill 2009 pg181)

Anitha and Gill (2009) have suggested here that an arranged marriage for women is far more than a question of 'choice'. Sharam and Izzat are also taken into consideration when deciding on whether to enter into a marriage and indeed remain in the marriage (Gangoli et al 2006). My research will explore this in terms of males and locate this 'choice' within the framework of family and religion. Anitha and Gill (2009) state that 'the difference between arranged and forced marriage continues to be framed in binary terms and hinges on the concept of consent' (Anitha and Gill, 2009: 1). Furthermore, Sheehan et al (2000) argue that *Sharam* and *izzat* play a role in forcing young people into marriage and also keeping them married even if they are unhappy. This will be explored within this thesis (see section 5.5) as I will evaluate the role that 'pressure' plays in transnational consanguineous marriages.

Forced marriages can be understood from a number of different theoretical perspectives (Samad and Eade 2003). Samad and Eade (2003) highlight four perspectives; Ethnic, generational, gender and class. They argue that to focus on one theoretical perspective in order to understand the everyday lived social experiences of forced marriage is not possible. If an ethnic perspective is taken, then it would encourage the focus on religion and culture whilst excluding other factors. A generational approach, where differences between generations within a community are explored can mean that factors which explain generational differences can be ignored. Focussing on gender can mean that forced marriage is framed under the banner of domestic violence, which means that male victims of forced marriage often get ignored. Finally, social class needs to be considered alongside other variables as its connection to other factors such as ethnicity can be complicated (Samad and Eade 2003) Thus, they conducted their study around British South Asian Muslims and marriage by looking at all four theoretical perspectives. This study is very significant when it comes to my research and its main conclusions will be referred to throughout the findings chapters in this thesis. My study looks at marriage through mainly a generational and gendered lens, looking at males, rather than as an issue

of violence against women, but considers other factors which may play a part in how marriage is negotiated amongst the participants of the study.

Forced marriages have been framed as violence against women both in academic and media discourses. This can mean that the involvement of men in forced marriage can be ignored, and men as victims of forced marriage are invisible in debates around the issue. Samad (2010) argues that men are absent from studies and policy around forced marriage because of their silence on the matter in public forums, due to questions of masculinity being raised. Samad found that men forced into marriage were sometimes already in heterosexual or homosexual relationships that their parents disproved of. He also found that men forced into marriage would enter a 'marriage of convenience' where they would have a wife at home and a partner outside of the home. This can lead to physical and mental health issues. However, this research will show that another factor as to why men do not speak out against these issues because they find it difficult to define these marriages as forced, as they have given consent to be married, albeit tacitly and under cultural pressure to do so. Samad (2010) argues that in order to have policy which targets men, they will have to speak out against this forced marriage. Cultural pressure in addressed in Chapter seven of this thesis.

Previous studies suggest that the understanding of forced and arranged marriages amongst Black and minority ethnic communities in Britain is lacking, with participants of studies often slipping between using terms 'forced' and 'arranged' (Gangoli et al. 2006). Gangoli et al. (2006) also talk about the issues of shame and honour (sharam and Izzat) and their roles in persuading young women to marry according to their parents' wishes. The issues of forced and arranged marriages in the UK were seen as a result of the clash of two different cultures: home and abroad, respondents spoke of emotional blackmail and mental pressure. Respondents also said that there was a difference between the genders and what is accepted in terms of marriage. For example, it was more acceptable for men to have love marriages than it was for women. They found that men were less likely to view their marriage as forced, even if there was evidence to say that it was. What they refuse to acknowledge is further reasons as to why the marriage might have taken place. It is my argument in this thesis that this type of marriage is part of a negotiation in which the male is able to achieve a goal. Criminalising forced marriage can have negative consequences for minority communities who are associated with the practise. New laws introduced in June 2014 make forced marriage a crime in the UK.

With a maximum penalty of up to seven years imprisonment, there are concerns that this will drive forced marriage further into invisibility. I will argue that definitions of forced marriage need to change in order to recognise and uncover forced marriage involving British South Asian Muslim males as victims.

2.4.3 Consanguineous and Transnational Marriage

Marrying a direct relative, often a first cousin, especially from abroad, is a prevalent practise within south Asian communities. (Shaw 2001). It has been argued that this is a practise that is used to strengthen the family bond (Basit 1997; Bhopal 1997; Shaw 2000; Shaw and Charsley 2006). It is especially relevant when one spouse lives in the home country, as then they are able to live in the country of adoption. Muslims often justify this transnational, consanguineous marriage by referring to the Daughter of the Prophet marrying the Prophet's cousin (Basit, 1997). My research highlights that this is still a practise in the UK and that cousins are entering into arranged marriages so that their spouse can enter the country and apply for a British Passport. This is another practise which is carried out because of the intense socialisation process and the concepts of Sharam and izzat. In order to maintain Izzat, and even to build on Izzat, daughters are promised to family members for marriage (Jefferey 1976). This practice of inviting family members from abroad can be traced back to the 1950s with the first influx of immigrants to the UK (Lewis 1994). I will also demonstrate that this is a part of the negotiations of the Business of Marriage, as the participant, is acting under the threat that he or she may face, of being banished, if they do not abide by the decisions taken by their elders. This thesis will show that parents who insist their children enter into a consanguineous marriage, where one party lives in their country of origin, are not simply upholding the cultural practices of their home countries, but are doing so in order to invite daughters or sons of siblings into Britain. There are financial and social advantages to living in Britain which can be exploited. This is another aspect of life and marriage which must be negotiated by British Muslims. As stated in Chapter One, literature on transnational marriage tends to focus on women entering Britain and where men are present in these studies, they are presented as cold and calculating. In Europe, much of the discourse surrounding transnational marriage concerns Muslim immigration (Kibria 2012). Literature on men making the journey to their parents' country of origin is non-existent.

. If there are cases of young females being forced to go abroad, why do we not hear the same stories with males? It has been suggested earlier in this chapter that admitting to having a forced marriage is a threat to masculinity, but this thesis will argue that these men have made the decision to marry from their parents' country of origin willingly. Having done so as part of the 'Business of Marriage'. Charsley (2013) suggests that most transnational marriages are successful, however my research shows that when these marriages are unsuccessful, the couple stay together for the probationary period required by law in order for the incoming spouse to receive a British Visa. I also question to what extent successful means that the marriage is a happy one.

There is literature which suggests that attitudes towards arranged marriages in the west are changing. As connections to the country of origin (mostly in the Indian sub-continent) weaken, the process by which a partner is selected is also changing, partners are being found by one's own choice, but married with the consent of the parents (Wakil, Siddique and Wakil 1981). Zaidi and Shuraydi (2002) state there is a tension between Pakistani Muslim women living in North America, who do not agree with the arranged marriage system and their parents who hold different views about marriage. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, educated British Muslim women and their families do appear to be rejecting transnational marriages. Where the Pakistani community is strong, such as in Bradford, transnational marriages are more likely to be entered into (Ahmed 2012).

2.5 Conclusion

From this literature review, a number of aspects of British Muslim life can be summarised: Firstly, there is a process of intense socialisation from an early age where the expectations from culture and religion are communicated. This leads to a strong connection to the parent culture and also religion for British Muslims. Shame (Sharam) and honour (Izzat) are extremely important within South Asian communities and can be used in order to control the younger generation who are taught that respect for elders is of primary importance in both their religion and their culture. Cultural practises can be disguised as religious duties within Muslim households, which makes the process of socialisation easier. Young people are also given examples of those who have been removed from the community and labelled bisharm, strengthening the social control of

them. Secondly, whilst British Asian Muslims identify strongly with their religion and culture, there appears to be a process of drift occurring amongst some of the community where they act outside of these rules particularly when it comes to leisure and intimate relationships. This has been demonstrated through the literature on intimate relationships before marriage as well as through literature on leisure.

This section has also demonstrated that arranged marriages and particularly transnational consanguineous marriages are common amongst British Asian Muslims. Literature which focuses on the British Muslim males' experience of transnational marriage is non-existent which leads to an incomplete understanding of the transnational marriage process. There is also a lack of research which explores the reasons behind entering into relationships before marriage, when an arranged marriage is inevitably accepted. An understanding of the reasons behind these two aspects of life is insufficient. Literature also suggests that understandings of forced marriage amongst British Asian Muslims is lacking with evidence suggesting confusion between what is an arranged marriage and what is considered a forced marriage.

This thesis will add to this literature and provide an insight into the decision making processes behind leisure and arranged marriages for British Muslim males who have largely been ignored and under theorised in discussions around marriage. The next chapter will explore the theoretical framework which is used to analyse the data collected during fieldwork for this study.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: TAKING THE STRAIN

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two of this thesis highlighted an intense process of socialisation that is taking place in British South Asian Muslim communities. This chapter presents the theoretical framework that forms the basis of the empirical chapters of this thesis (Chapters Five, Six and Seven). Firstly, I justify my use of the sociology of deviance in order to locate the decisions made with regards to leisure and marriage amongst British South Asian Muslim males. I argue that the process of intense socialisation is producing a pressure to conform to the home culture of their parents and to do as parents and elders wish in terms of their everyday behaviour and their choice in spouse. I argue that this is happening as British Muslims are battling between various frames of reference, one being culture of their parents' home country, and religion and also western culture which they are exposed to outside of the home. This means that they react in ways in which they either conform all of the time and conform some of the time, or do not conform at all, creating a space for deviance to occur. This allows me to place their activities within Merton's (1938) deviant adaptations.

Secondly, I discuss the absence of British Asian Muslims from literature around masculinity and argue that the pressure to conform also extends to traditional understandings of manhood. I argue that choosing a spouse can be viewed as part of 'hegemonic masculinity' and taking this choice away can mean that young people act in ways to compensate for this.

I then explore theories of anomie and strain and how these theories can be applied to British Asian Muslim males when negotiating leisure and marriage. I provide a general review of how these theories have been used in criminological and sociological research. I then explore the modes of adaptations offered by Merton (1938) and theorise about what each deviant adaptation would include in terms of British South Asian males' negotiation of marriage and leisure. I argue that the conformist is a Muslim male who follows his religion very closely and organises his life in order to avoid religious non-conformity. The conformist enters into an arranged marriage because of his commitment to religion

or his commitment to cultural practices.. He does not marry in order to inherit wealth but in order to fulfil religious obligations. I will argue that the innovator drifts from religious conformity and demonstrates a weak commitment to religion and rejects an arranged marriage. It will be argued that the maximiser (Murphy and Robinson 2008) in this context drifts habitually into religious non-conformity and does not have a strong commitment to religion. The maximiser accepts an arranged marriage due to the financial benefits that come along with it. I explore Merton's deviant adaptations within this context. This chapter will seek to develop existing understandings of theories of anomie and strain and how they can be applied in the context of arranged marriages.

Finally, this chapter explores the theory behind the methods of negotiation. Firstly, *Drift* (Matza 1964) is explored as an explanation of how the respondents move from religious and cultural conformity to non-conformity. In order to move between these two modes, *Presentation of self* (Goffman 1959) is used. This theory is explored as a method used to achieve this drift and to conceal activities that fall outside of rules set by religion, culture and the family.

3.2 The Pressure to Conform

As highlighted in chapter two of this thesis, the intense process of socialisation that is occurring in some British Asian Muslim households, arguably with the main aim of pressurising the individual to enter into a consanguineous marriage, is creating a pressure amongst young second generation British Asian Muslim males to conform to their parent culture. This is in addition to the pressure to conform to British culture, in which they have grown up in, from wider British society. The way in which they respond to this pressure to conform means that they choose to conform or they choose to deviate either some of the time, or all of the time (Wardak 2000). Therefore, I have decided to locate this behaviour within the sociology of deviance. Deviance is defined and culturally produced in the context of family, biraderi and the localcommunity (*biraderi*) through concepts such as *sharam, Izzat* and *biraderi* as discussed in the previous chapter. As discussed in chapter two, examples of those who have deviated are used to reinforce this social control. The disjuncture between cultural and religious rules imposed by the family

and western culture, that the males have been brought up in, create the strain that may result in deviance. This strain will inevitably produce a range of responses. Therefore, Merton's theory of Anomie and Strain is relevant to this thesis as it allows me to locate these responses within Merton's deviant adaptations. The respondents would either conform to parent culture and religion at all times or deviate from it at certain times. Thus, the sociology of deviance is relevant to this thesis. As literature suggests, deviance is often secret (Wardak 2000; Alexander 20010) therefore a deviant lifestyle must be managed and a variety of identities must be presented. This will be conceptualised through literature surrounding the 'self' (Goffman 1959).

3.2.1 Masculinity

The pressure to conform to religion and culture has been discussed above and in chapter two, but young British Asian Muslims are also under the pressure to conform to traditional masculine stereotypes. Despite the increasing attention paid to Muslim men in academic and popular debate, there is a noticeable absence of Muslim men from discussion around masculinity (Phoenix 1997; Archer 2001). Alexander (2001) argues that traditionally, Asian communities in Britain were imagined as female, with concerns over marriages for young women. This has been discussed in Chapter 2. Thirteen years on, it can be argued that with current political and academic debates centred on radicalisation, and grooming, Muslim males have come to the forefront of the public and political imagination. Where Asian males have completely been ignored, are in discussions regarding hegemonic masculinity. Taking the concept of hegemonic masculinity which centres on the idea of male dominance over females and applying this to the respondents of the study leads to fascinating analyses. Connell (2005) states that dominant definitions of masculinity can be found in social institutions, mainly the family being the social institution that this research is concerned with. It could be argued that choosing a spouse, through traditional means such as dating, falling in love and proposing, are part of the family institution. What this thesis will show is that, this decision is taken away from some of the respondents, be it by choice, or not. Kimmell (1994:125) states that the definition of hegemonic masculinity requires 'a man in power, a man with power and a man of power'. It could be argued that taking away the decisions of who a man is going to marry, is taking away a form of power from the man. This

research explores the expression of masculinity of the group of British Asian Muslim males. Ramji (2007) explicitly connects this expression of hegemonic masculinity with intimate relationships outside of marriage. She also found that Muslim men would date girls outside of their own religion and ethnicity before settling down with a Muslim girl who was more 'modest'. This project will seek to explain this phenomenon through the lens of marriage – it will be argued that it is the denial of the choice of partner which leads these young men to display a hyper masculinity before settling down with a Muslim partner, one which is often not of their own choosing. Ramji fails to recognise that this display of masculinity is a result of the men being unhappy with the arranged marriages, but agreeing to them because of the cultural burdens placed upon them and their desire to achieve the culturally prescribed goal.

3.2.2 Anomie and Strain

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based around the concepts of 'anomie' and 'strain'. Throughout history, anomie has been understood in different ways, but is normally used to describe the absence of norms or laws. Durkheim (1933) was the first to use the term to explain human behaviour. In order to understand Durkheim's definition of anomie, it is important to understand the way in which he described the evolution of societies. Durkheim, writing at the time of changing social conditions in France, described early societies as 'mechanical'. These societies were held together through solidarity, shared aims and similar roles for its members. These societies had a low division of labour. As technology and the economy advances, along with the growth of societies, the relationships between members change. Work becomes more individualised and specialised. Durkheim referred to these societies as 'organic'. Durkheim viewed crime as a normal occurrence in society. In mechanical societies, the law would reaffirm the normal order of things and in organic societies, law would integrate society. Durkheim argued that crime served a function, to maintain social rules and mechanisms of control. For anomie to occur, Durkheim (1897) argued that financial or industrial crisis must occur. Durkheim saw anomie as the result of the absence of societal norms or regulations over people's desires and aspirations (Williams 2012).

Merton (1938) drew on the work of Durkheim in order to explain crime in the USA. Whilst Durkheim's (1933) explanations of anomie were a reflection of the changing nature of society in France at the time of his writing, for Merton (1938), anomie was a

routine inbuilt feature of the social world, resulting from the tension between culture and social structure. For Durkheim (1933) anomie referred to the absence of norms which were required to regulate human behaviour but for Merton (1938), anomie was a result of the presence of these norms. When people cannot achieve their goals in acceptable ways, anomie occurs. Merton argued that American society encouraged members to achieve absolute wealth, the 'American dream', but in practise, not everyone could achieve this legally and only a minority would enjoy such success due to limited opportunities. He called the process of disjunction between goals and the means of goal attainment the 'strain to anomie'. The culturally prescribed goal becomes internalised by members of society that even when it was not attainable due to economic conditions, there was still a 'strain' present to achieve it. Merton (1938) argued that crime arose as an individual adaptation to pressures which arose from the social structure. Four 'adaptations of deviance' were seen by Merton to result from the 'strain to anomie'. The table below summarises Merton's deviant adaptations.

Mode	Culturally prescribed Goal	Institutional Means
Conformist	Accept	Accept
Innovator	Accept	Reject
Ritualism	Reject	Accept
Retreatism	Reject	Reject
Rebellion	Reject/Replace	Reject/Replace

Table 1 Merton's modes of adaptation to Anomic Strain (Merton 1938)

Merton's (1938) anomie and strain theories tried to uncover the reasons behind varying levels of criminal behaviour and why some individuals were more likely to deviate than others. Merton argued that conforming or normal behaviour was learnt through institutions within society. As discussed in chapter two, British South Asian Muslims go through a process of intense socialisation where behaviours which are acceptable are communicated and learnt. This is central to this thesis as it creates the conformity which British South Asian Muslims must abide by in the eyes of their elders in terms of their family and of the wider *biraderi*. Merton (1957) argued that pressure and expectations

from social institutions could lead individuals to engage in behaviour outside of these norms to achieve the culturally prescribed goal. Strain theories are based on Merton's anomie theory, and set out specifically to explain crime. Strain theory argues that people are more likely to engage in crime when they cannot get what they want from legitimate channels. They become frustrated or angry, and they may (a) try to get what they want through illegitimate or criminal channels, (b) strike out at others in anger, or (c) make themselves feel better through illicit drug use. Strain theories describe the types of strain that contribute to crime, and the factors that influence whether one responds to strain with crime (Agnew, 2001: 293). Agnew (1992) argued that strain may also result from the loss of positive stimuli (things like the death of a relative of friend, breaking up with a partner, or moving to a new community), and from the presentation of negative stimuli (like physical assaults, verbal insults or unreasonable demands). Such strain will lead to crime when individual have certain deficiencies like poor coping skills, lack of support structures and personality traits like impulsivity or irritability. Anomie and Strain theories have been used to describe how criminality can arise from a number of social causes. For example, Passas (2000) suggests that crime results from globalisation and neoliberalism increasing an individual's desires. Passas refers to this as *global anomie* and *dysnomie theory.* Cloward and Ohlin (1961) explained through *differential opportunity theory* that crime occurred when an individual's desire for wealth was unlimited but the means to achieve it were limited. This lead to a discrepancy between what was desired and what was available through legitimate means.

The findings chapters (5-7) of this thesis will demonstrate that for some British Muslims, the culturally prescribed goal is to maintain a strong family bond and also to achieve wealth. Chapter five will also demonstrate that for some British Asian Muslims, a means to achieving this wealth is to have an arranged consanguineous marriage, often transnational in nature, and to inherit the family wealth. This means that family bonds also remain strong. Murphy and Robinson (2008:503) argue that Merton did not consider individuals who engage in both 'legitimate and illegitimate means of opportunity in pursuit of the American Dream'. It is my argument that British Muslims who are entering into an arranged marriage, but also acting outside of the rules of the family discretely, are using both legitimate means and illegitimate means in order to achieve their goal.

With regard to this research, the culturally prescribed goal is similar to that described by Merton (1938). As shown in chapter two of this thesis, Wealth and family

are of great importance to the respondents but their ways to achieve it are different to what Merton (1938) described. The goal of the respondents of this study is to achieve wealth and also to maintain a strong family bond. Referring back to chapter two, this is evident in previous literature. What this thesis will demonstrate is that in order to achieve this goal, the majority respondents in this research must enter into an arranged marriage. As Chapter two highlighted, British Asian Muslims go through a process of intense socialisation where rules are learnt. They also encounter different rules and norms outside of the home, so they are exposed to a plurality of views. Merton's deviant adaptations and how they apply within my research will now be discussed under separate headings.

3.2.3 Modes of Negotiation

In this section, I discuss the deviant adaptations and how they are applied in this thesis. What needs to be made clear is that the behaviour of these men, whilst deviating from rules, is not criminal, but the framework explained above still applies as they are breaking the rules that apply to their religion and family. Within this section, I will be discussing Merton's deviant adaptations as the empirical chapters (Chapter 5, 6 and 7) builds on these deviant adaptations by exploring the way in which they achieve the culturally prescribed goal of wealth and the maintenance of strong family bonds. The four deviant adaptations discussed by Merton will be theorised here as to how they apply in this situation. Table 2 displays the modes of negotiation considered by this research. I have replaced the institutional means with consanguineous or transnational marriage as this thesis will argue that this is the means available to the respondents through the family. I have replaced criminality with drifting between religious conformity and non-conformity as this will demonstrate the commitment to religion and culture of these respondents. I will argue that where commitment to religion and culture is weak, drift is occurring, and a consanguineous or transnational marriage is entered into in order to inherit wealth and to maintain family bonds.

Mode	Culturally prescribed Goal	Consanguineous Arranged Marriage?	Is Drift Present in Leisure/religion?
Conformist	Yes	Yes	No
Innovator	Yes	No	Yes
Ritualism	No	Yes	No
Retreatism	No	No	Yes
Rebellion	Replace	Replace	Replace Religion
Maximiser	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3 Modes of Negotiation with regard to marriage and leisure

The table above offers the modes of negotiation that have been discovered and theorised throughout this research. In order for us to consider the means to achieve the goal, drifting from religious conformity to non-conformity must also be considered. Thus, there are two aspects to how the goal is achieved.

This section will now discuss the modes of negotiation and offer an explanation. I will theorise about the conformist, Innovator, Ritualist, Retreatist, Rebel and Maximiser. The next chapter (chapter five) will present empirical data to show how the conformist achieves the culturally prescribed goal. It will be argued in the next chapter that the in Chapter Seven that the maximiser is reproducing the Business of Marriage within British South Asian Muslim communities.

3.2.4 Conformity

According to Merton (1938) the conformist accepted the culturally prescribed goal and also the institutional means to achieve it. The conformist does not engage in criminal behaviour in order to achieve the culturally prescribed goal. Within this research, the conformist accepts the culturally prescribed goal and also has an arranged marriage because this is in line with cultural practices. However, the conformist may choose not to have a consanguineous or transnational marriage. The conformist maintains autonomy in his selection of potential spouse. The conformist will follow the rules of Islam regardless of whether or not there is a goal to achieve. The conformist follows the rules of religion

and acts accordingly in his leisure time, organising his leisure and his everyday activities to prevent *drift* into non-conformity. The conformist has an arranged marriage due to belief in the religion and not solely because of the attainment of wealth. Therefore, if the goal of the conformist is wealth and family, he will achieve in the traditional sense of having employment and earning money legitimately. However, he still achieves the goal of maintaining family bonds and inheriting the wealth of the family. As discussed in chapter two, in his study of British Pakistani Muslim males, Wardak (2000) defined the conformist as someone who followed the culture, norms and values of their Pakistani culture and had a strong religious belief. I have also considered marriage within my own conceptualisation of the conformist however, if culture and religion and conformed to, then arranged marriage is also inevitably conformed to. Wardak (2000) argued that if an individual had belief in the societies norms and rules, they were less likely to break them. This is true of the conformist. Within my research, I found a number of conformists who were in the process of having an arranged marriage. They spoke fondly of the process and how they were given freedom to choose a partner. These respondents were all very well educated and in well paid employment. This is consistent with literature on British Muslim women and how they negotiate marriage discussed in Chapter 2. These respondents also spoke of their understanding of the difference between religion and culture, and that this understanding was given to them by their parents. Marriage is not seen as a means to attain wealth, nor is it promised – but because they have belief in the religion and an attachment to cultural practices, they do have an arranged marriage and they are in a position where they are able to have more control over who they marry. I discuss this further in Chapter five. Conformists would employ strategies in order to avoid drift, this is also discussed in Chapter five. The conformist is able to have an arranged marriage without pressure to enter into a transnational consanguineous marriage because he is not pressured or socialised into entering this type of marriage by his parents. However, a conformist could also be someone who conforms to religion and culture and also enters into a transnational consanguineous marriage under pressure from his parents. My research did not reveal any conformists who had a transnational consanguineous marriage. Having grown up in a British Asian Muslim community, I can say with confidence that conformists who enter transnational consanguineous marriages do exist. Future research will be conducted in this area.

3.2.5 The Innovator

According to Merton (1938) the innovator accepts the culturally prescribed goal but rejects the institutional means to acquire it. The innovator would also engage in illegitimate means to achieve the culturally prescribed goal. With regard to this research, the innovator would accept the culturally prescribed goal, but reject marriage as means to achieve it. There would also be drift present in the innovators in terms of leisure and religion. Both aspects of how the goal is achieved are rejected. Theoretically, the innovator, whose parents wanted him to marry his cousin or another member of the family, would marry against the wishes of his parents, or would have to convince his parents to allow him to marry according to his own wishes. Wealth would not necessarily be passed onto the innovator, but the innovator would achieve this through traditional means if he desired so. The innovator would display a weak commitment to religion but would adhere to some aspects of it. He would display habitual drift away from religion. He would also try to conceal this drift from his family so not to reveal his weak commitment to the religion. The innovator still believes in Islam, but does not abide by its rules at all times. The innovator is discussed in detail throughout chapter five of this thesis. The innovator is similar to Wardak's (2000) category of 'part-time conformist' who adhered to some parts of the religion and would hide deviance in order to keep it a secret from their family and biraderi. Wardak does not consider marriage here so the 'part time conformist' may well be more suited to the category of Maximiser depending on whether or not he entered into an arranged marriage (discussed in section 3.2.9).

3.2.6 The Ritualist

Merton (1938) described the Ritualist as someone who rejects the goal, but accepts the institutional means to achieve it. Within the context of this research, the Ritualist rejects the goal, has an arranged transnational consanguineous marriage and does not drift from religion. There would be no drift present in their leisure activities, like the conformist. The Ritualist would be someone who has lost faith in the religion inwardly, but has not left the religion outwardly. They would still refer to themselves as Muslim. During the course of this research, I did not come across anyone who I would consider a Ritualist, as the Ritualist does not communicate his off faith and therefore will identify as

being Muslim. A Ritualist then can only be identified as one if he admits to having left the religion but not having told people. This did not happen during the research, but this does not mean that Ritualists do not exist within this community. Online forums such as 'Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain' (ex-muslim.org.uk) reveal 'ex-Muslims' who have inwardly left the religion but have not communicated this to their family. They continue living as Muslims and cover up any transgressions. Others do not transgress and keep living as Muslims without revealing their true faith.

3.2.7 The Retreatist

The Retreatist, according to Merton (1938) rejects the culturally prescribed goal, as well as the institutional means to achieve it. Murphy and Robinson (2008) argue that the Retreatist would reject criminality as an alternative means. Within the context of this research, the Retreatist would reject the goal, not have a marriage at all, and also drift in terms of leisure and religion. Theoretically, this may be someone who never gets married in order to avoid having an arranged marriage. The Retreatist abandons the religion inwardly, but does not communicate this to others. If the Retreatist does openly communicate this to others and challenge the social, moral and religious order of the community, then he would be considered a rebel, discussed below.

3.2.8 The Rebel

The Rebel, according to Merton (1938) replaces both the goal and the means to achieve it. Theoretically, the rebel, with regard to religion and culture, would abandon the religion entirely, outwardly. Due to the nature of this research, I did not come across any rebels as the project was looking for, by definition, those that identified as being British Muslim Males. The rebel may have converted from Islam to another religion or atheism. Technically, anyone who does not have a goal of wealth and the maintenance of strong family bonds, and outwardly leaves Islam, would be considered a rebel. Wardak (2000) considered a rebel to be someone who openly challenged the moral and social order and who openly deviated it from it. Wardak does not state that these rebels are

converts away from the religion but openly challenging would suggest that they have a weak commitment to their faith.

3.2.9 The Maximiser

The Maximiser, according to Murphy and Robinson (2008) uses both legitimate and illegitimate means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. They argue that the Maximiser uses aspects from both the conformist and the innovator. The Maximiser in terms of this research is someone who accepts the culturally prescribed goal and also has an arranged often consanguineous and transnational marriage. However, they have the arranged, often a transnational consanguineous, marriage because of the goal of wealth and family bonds and not because of their faith in the religion. This is evident from the fact that they drift from the religion in terms of leisure and relationships before marriage. The maximiser, like the innovator drifts habitually, and uses techniques and strategies in order to make this process easier. Murphy and Robinson also state that the Maximiser might offer techniques of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza 1958) for their criminal behaviour. Within my research, there is also evidence of this. I discuss this adaptation in detail in Chapter five as I argue that the maximiser is vital to the reproduction of the business of marriage. As discussed previously, Wardak's (2000) category of 'part time conformist' may well be the same as the maximiser as it appears as though the part time conformist is maximising his cultural capital. Although to fully accept this, we would need to understand the type of marriage the part time conformist enters into. If he enters into an arranged consanguineous marriage in order to inherit wealth, then he should be considered a maximiser. If he rejects this type of marriage then he should be considered an innovator. A table of respondents by deviant adaptations can be found in Appendix C.

The table below from Murphy and Robinson (2008) shows Merton's (1938) deviant adaptations with the added dimension of criminality. The Maximiser would accept the culturally prescribed goal and the institutional means to achieve it, but also engage in criminal behaviour. As is demonstrated in the table, the innovator also engages in criminal behaviour but also rejects the institutional means to achieve the culturally prescribed goal.

Modes of Adaptation	Cultural Goal	Institutional means	Criminality
Conformity	Accept	Accept	Reject
Innovation	Accept	Reject	Accept
Ritualism	Reject	Accept	Reject
Retreatism	Reject	Reject	Accept
Rebellion	Replace	Replace	Accept
Maximisation	Accept	Accept	Accept

Table 2: Murphy and Robinson (2008) Deviant adaptations including criminality

3.3 Methods of negotiation

Having established that deviance is taking place amongst this group, the strategies used to achieve this deviance will be located within a symbolic interactionist framework. I sought to theorise the movement of individuals between conforming to religious, cultural and family rules and the way in which some of these activities were concealed from elders. I chose to focus on processes of *drift* (Matza 1964) to explain the deviation and *Presentation of Self* (Goffman 1959) to explain how this was achieved.

3.3.1 Drift

Matza (1964) provides an understanding of subcultures and groups of juveniles who are deviant but argues that these groups are not solely committed to these deviant acts. Being delinquent is not a requirement of the group, but there is scope to do so. Matza (1964:28) calls the movement of an individual between conventionalism and delinquency, *drift*. A person drifts in and out of conformity. Matza accused earlier theorists such as Cohen (1955) of being too positivistic and argued that that they 'over predicted' criminality. Matza took the view that individuals were not either 'criminal' or

not, but that people drifted between varying values and views. He argues that "The delinquent transiently exists in limbo between convention and crime, responding in turn to demands of each, flirting now with one, now the other, but postponing commitment, evading decision. Thus he drifts between criminal and conventional action" (Matza, 1964: 28). In this conception of 'drift', delinquents are not compelled nor committed, they are also not choosing to deviate freely. Delinquents are not different to those who conform, nor are they the same. The same rules are followed but they are unreceptive or resistant to others and their motivations are closely linked to dominant institutional arrangements. Neutralisation of acts which fall outside of the norm is possible, therefore they are able to take a 'moral holiday' from the ties that bind because the authorities facilitate that neutralisation. The ease at which neutralisation of binds can occur is learnt through routine everyday interactions with the authorities. They are aware that being caught is likely, but if they are caught, the consequences can be negotiated and further neutralised. Therefore, the successful delinquent learns that it is possible to drift back and forth between conformity and non conformity so long as there is not a punitive reaction. This theory is very significant when it comes to this study. The group of males I am looking at do not conform at all times to what they believe they should conform to, i.e. religious or cultural rules, but move from conformity to non-conformity due to different situations or settings Sykes and Matza (1957:667-669) look at how delinquents use *techniques of neutralisation* in order to drift between conformity and delinquency. They identify five techniques, the first being *denial of injury* where the offender will claim there has been no victim to his delinquent act. Secondly, *denial of responsibility* where the behaviour is blamed on someone else, or another situations such as a bad upbringing. Third, *denial of victim* where the delinquent believes the victim was deserving of the crime. Fourth, *Condemning the condemners where* the delinquent places blame on society, calling law enforcers hypocrites. Fifth, *appeal to higher loyalties* where the delinquent will justify his actions by claiming that his loyalty to the group, and to the rules of the group are more important than those of the victim. This thesis will use these existing techniques of neutralisation and apply them to how this group of British Muslim males neutralise their behaviour. Techniques of neutralisation have been used in the past in order to explain behaviour which is seen as going against religion. Dunford and Kunz (1973) investigated a religious community who believed that shopping on a Sunday should not take place, due to a divine law, but did so anyway. They researched a predominantly Mormon community where the church stresses that Sunday shopping should not take place. They

found that in the majority of cases, 78%, active church goers would shop on a Sunday and use techniques of neutralisation in order to justify their actions. They argued that their findings were significant because they showed the usefulness of the application of techniques of neutralisation and that their findings challenge the assumption that religion is a controlling force on people's lives. This was a quantitative study and they used made up scenarios to gauge the attitudes of the respondents, for example, they asked if someone was sick and they needed medicine, would the respondent deem it necessary to go shopping? This in my opinion is not the ideal way to generate data for a study on techniques of neutralisation. The way in which this study has been conducted is to ask the respondents about their day to day lives, and then to locate those activities within the confines of religious rules, then through analysis the techniques of neutralisation could be determined. This study does not locate these techniques of neutralisation specifically, but there is evidence to suggest that they are being used in order to navigate drift between religious conformity and non-conformity. This is discussed further in Chapter Six.

3.3.2 Presentation of Self

The way in which drift is achieved and facilitated will be examined through Goffman's (1959) 'Presentation of Self'. Goffman (1959) was concerned with identity and how we play a part in the world, how we perceive ourselves and are perceived by others. He also talks about how individuals behave in a given situation. He likened an individuals interactions and ways of behaving to theatre, likening interactions to performing in front of an audience. This work is key to understanding how people develop their situational identities and in order to understand one's identity within a group and group behaviour, it is important to understand Goffman's theory.

Goffman (1959) presented his concept of the 'front', this is how an actor normally performs in a given situation. This is an amalgamation of one's social role, how one interacts and what the audience expects of the actor. The actor must ensure that this front is credible by acting in the way the audience want them to behave and doing this consistently. Goffman linked appearance and manner to our front, appearance being linked to culture and what is expected and manner being how we decide to play the role we are assuming. If there is not consistency between out appearance and manner, we may upset or confuse our audience. The social setting is also a part of the front, the setting

is something we are a part of and then leave. This is very important to this study as I will argue that the some British Asian Muslims display varying fronts given the situation they are in and this allows them to keep some leisure activities that are outside the rules of religion, culture and family discreet. Goffman also talks about risk taking, and says this shows one's strength of character, this behaviour would exist outside of how one would normally behave, it may be to rebel against the mundane. So for example, a young male, who is taught to behave in a certain manner by his parents, who goes outside of the home setting and behaves completely differently is taking a risk whilst conforming to different fronts. An example of this would be concealing the fact that one consumes alcohol from his parents, coming home drunk would be taking a risk. Another example might be someone concealing a relationship from a parent, meeting in secret and organising their relationship in order to conceal its existence. Goffman also talks about actors having a range of different fronts for different situations. This could be used to explain the behaviour of people when taking part in different sub-cultural, cultural, or religious activities. He also says that we may conceal certain aspects of our private front which we believe are not acceptable to others in order to maintain standards in front of other people. I will apply this to the behaviour of the respondents to analyse the way they manage a secret identity.

Goffman's (1959) examines team behaviour. His definition is that a team consists of individuals who work together towards a goal. All team players must consent and conform and each member must assume a role. Each member of the team must display a front which is consistent with the entire team's performance; this means that the team is consistent in interactions with the audience. The team must remain as one; any dissent is not shown to the audience. There might be some discussion about others in private, but this is not discussed in front of the audience as they would seem less credible. The front stage is where the team gives is performance to make the audience aware of its goals and position, they conform to what the audience want. The back stage is a private area where any disputes can be solved. The outside, or off-stage, is a space where individual members of a team may gather and give a performance which is not in line with the teams overall performance. This research finds that British Asian Muslim males tend to socialise with other British Asian Muslim males, and even though they are aware of the restriction posed upon them, the breaking of religious and cultural rules are accepted but the consequences

of the breaking of the rules remain unspoken. These transgressions are also not communicated outside of the group to those who would expect them to behave differently.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the analytical framework of this thesis which inform the analysis of the empirical data in chapters five and six of this thesis. Anomie and strain theories have been explored in this chapter and Merton's deviant adaptation as they apply in the context of religious drift and marriage have been discussed. The adaptations that will be discussed in chapters five and six will be the conformists, the innovator and the maximiser as these are the adaptations which were discovered during this research. It is argued that the conformist does not drift from religious conformity and enters into an arranged marriage because of this. The innovator drifts from religion, remains Muslim, but rejects an arranged marriage. The Maximiser drifts from religious conformity but does not reject an arranged marriage. This Chapter also explored differential association theory which will be used in the next chapter to explain the varying levels of religious drift from conformity to non-conformity present within these adaptations.

Finally, this chapter highlighted the theoretical framework behind the methods of drift. Firstly, I discussed Matza's (1964) *Delinquencey and Drift* in order to explain the drift that is taking place from conformity to non-conformity. Secondly, I discussed Goffmans's (1959) *Presentation of Self* which will be used to describe how drift is faciliatated as the respondents must maintain their religious 'front' when in the company of family, but not when in the company of their friends. Finally I provided a brief discussion of masculinity theory in order to highlight the absence of British Muslims from this literature. I will discuss masculinity in chapter five when addressing the issue of intimate relationships before marriage among the respondents and I will argue that some British Asian Muslim males are displaying a hyper masculinity before marriage to compensate for not being able to choose their own marriage partner.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters in this thesis laid the foundations to the theoretical and conceptual ideas that shape this research as well as the theoretical frameworks that will be used in the empirical chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). In this chapter, I present the methodological approaches that were used in order to collect data to answer my research questions. I explore how these approaches aided me in understanding the negotiation of the obligations of family and religion amongst second generation British South Asian Muslim males. The methodological tools I used helped me to answer my key research questions will be explored in this chapter. The research questions I aimed to answer, which, as discussed earlier in the thesis, are:

1. How do second generation British South Asian Muslim Males come to understand the institution of arranged marriage?
2. What does the institution of arranged marriage 'mean' for British South Asian Muslim Males?
3. How do British South Asian Muslim Males negotiate the obligations and expectations that surround the institution of arranged marriage?
4. How is the Business of Arranged Marriage reproduced in British South Asian Muslim families? Will the Business of Arranged Marriage continue to exist with the third generation of British Asian Muslim males?

Firstly, I explore the research strategies utilised in my research. I discuss the theoretical aspects of doing ethnographical research and argue that in order to gain the trust of the individuals involved in the study, it was important to develop a level of trust with them. Spending thirty months in the field allowed me to integrate with this group and to gain a level of trust which allowed to collect a wealth of data. I argue that to fully understand religion and culture, one must immerse oneself into a research setting. Secondly, I explain the research design and strategy. The research was mostly conducted as an ethnography of a group of users of a shisha café in North West London between January 2010 and June 2013. I present how I came to find this café and why it became a good site for research. I talk about the research setting in detail as well as how the sample

was decided and recruited. I then explore the use of interviews and participant observation as research tools which were used in order to collect data. I also talk about how doing ethnography as an insider might have had an effect on the research but also how I was in a privileged position due to my personal background as a second generation British Pakistani Muslim male. This section is then completed by exploring the ethical considerations of this study, namely informed consent, handling sensitive issues and reciprocity. Finally, I provide a profile of my research participants to complete this chapter, exploring the ethnic makeup of the group, there ages, marital relationship statuses and occupations.

4.2 Research Approach

Ethnography is a form of qualitative research which involves a number of techniques, tools and methods such as interviewing and participant observation (Fielding 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Punch 2005). The ethnographer, it is argued, must become a part of the 'natural setting' (Fielding 2001; Noakes and Wincup 2004; Bryman 2012), thus I chose a setting in which young British Muslims males were already a part of and one which I thought I would be welcome in. A shisha café where many second generation British Asian Muslim males gather to socialise and smoke flavoured tobacco from a pipe seemed ideal. It could be argued that this would have been my natural setting regardless of whether or not I had chosen to do research there or not, however this is not the case. Whilst I did use shisha cafes before starting this research, I would frequent them very rarely. For the purposes of this research, I frequented this particular shisha café daily. My research required me to not only gain access to a group of individuals, but to gain their trust in order for them to be completely open and honest about their personal, public, private and secret lives. For this reason, an ethnographic approach was taken to the fieldwork which I felt would allow me to become a part of the world of the respondents.

Ethnographic research is a way for us to look at the ways in which humans interact with one another in various situations, it is also a good way for us to research deviant cultures and criminals (for example Goffman 2015, Venkatesh 2009; Wacquant 2008; Foster 1990). Whilst I am not researching 'criminal' behaviour, this research does explore how religious and cultural rules are broken, so we can apply the same framework to this study. Rather than sitting down with an active criminal with a pen, which is less likely to

lead to accurate findings, one can be less formal and ask a more variety of questions by not making it seem like a formal interview (Ward 2008). McCall and Simmons (1969) state that ethnography includes:

> "Some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artefacts; and open-endedness in the direction the study takes" (McCall and Simmons 1969:1).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:2) add to this description of ethnographical approaches to research by stating that:

> "The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned".

This is the approach I took to this research, immersing myself in the setting and recording the everyday activities of this group. It has been argued that the description of cultures becomes the primary goal of ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) which was one of the goals of my study. As stated above, ethnographical approaches are a way in which to research deviant subcultures. Whilst this study is not exploring criminal deviance, it is however looking at the way in rules are broken within a given situation. Those rules, it can be argued, because are based in religion, are more important that the rule of law.

4.3 Research Design and Strategy

This section will discuss the research design and strategy. Firstly, I discuss the setting for the participant observation and recruitment of respondents. I detail how access was obtained and how respondents for interviews were recruited. I discuss the advantages of using qualitative interviewing for my research and some of the difficulties I faced in the field. I then explore the ethical considerations and discuss my role as an 'insider'.

4.3.1 The Setting

Most of the research was conducted at a shisha café in North West London. Twenty interviews were conducted after meeting respondents here and spending time getting to know them. As argued above, an ethnographer must immerse himself or herself in the daily lives of individuals (Fielding 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Punch 2005) In order to do this, I had to find a setting that second generation British Asian Muslims spent a lot of time in and was accessible to me. The shisha café at which I conducted most of my research was accessible in the sense that I could spend as much time there as I wanted and the owners were happy for me to conduct research there. Jupp (2006) defines access to a research site as the process of gaining and maintaining entry to a setting or social group, or establishing working relations with individuals in order for research to be undertaken. I discuss how this access was granted and negotiated further along in this chapter. The majority of customers also appeared to be British South Asian Muslim. The respondents who participated in the study, from the shisha café, were all regular users, sometimes spending most of the day, when they were not at work or university, in the shisha café. The shisha café was located in Brent, North West London. The tables below show the ethnic and religious makeup of the area from the 2011 National Census. The first table demonstrates the religious make-up of the area, quite clearly demonstrating the high number of Muslims present. The second table shows the high number of Asians in the area. In fact, those from Asia make up over half the total population. This is important to remember in the context of this study.

Religion	Total Number
Christian	129,080
Buddhist	4,300
Hindu	55,499
Jewish	4,357
Muslim	58,036
Sikh	1,709
Other Religion	3,768
No Religon	33,054
Religion Not Stated	21462
TOTAL	311,215*

Table 3: Religion in Brent (Office for National Statistics 2012)

*This is the number from official census data, which appears to be incorrect. The total should be 311,265 based on the above numbers.

Ethnicity	Total Number
White	112,560
Gypsy/traveller/Irish Traveller	320
Mixed	15775
Asian/Asian British: Indian	58,017
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	14,381
Asian/Asian British Bangladeshi	1,749
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	3,250
Asian/Asian British: Other Asian	28,589
Black/Africa Caribbean/Black British	58,632
Other	17,942
Total	311,215

Table 4: Population by Ethnicity of Brent (Office for National Statistics 2012)

A shisha café is a place where people gather to smoke flavoured tobacco from a hookah, this practise is thought to have originated in India. As tobacco is being smoked, shisha products cannot be sold to those under 18 years of age. However, this shisha café allows those under the age of 18 to use the premises as a social place, as long as they are not smoking. In practise, rarely do those under 18 use the café, those who were interviewed by myself were all 17 years or older (see section 4.4). Whilst being at the shisha café and smoking tobacco for those under eighteen might be seen as a form of 'deviance' both in terms of religion and the community, there was no evidence that this was considered as so by the respondents. Thus, this is not considered as deviance in this research. With enough room for around 40 customers at its maximum capacity, this café

provided the intimate setting I was looking for, in order to complete this research. The shisha café is owned by two brothers from a Pakistani family of ten siblings. What should be noted, is that I was not a stranger to this area. I had gone to high school in this area and still had friends who lived in the area. This was instrumental in me being accepted by this group and allowed to conduct my research here. I had not used this shisha café prior to this research, and I did not know any of the research participants from the shisha café before finding the café. In saying that, I have not returned to the café since completing this research and do not plan to. I smoked shisha during my time in the field, as well as previous to this, but I no longer smoke shisha. I have come across some of the respondents since the study has been completed, but I have not socialised with any of them.

My field research took place between January of 2011 and June of 2013. As stated earlier, the research took place primarily in North West London, where 28 of the respondents took part, and in Bradford, where 2 respondents were interviewed. Thirteen of the twenty-eight respondents were recruited through already existing networks of friends and colleagues. Whilst I did not interview any family members, I did interview some friends who came to know about my research and asked for their stories to be told. The criteria for selection for this study was that the respondents and participants had to be over 17 years of age and self-identify as second generation British South Asian Muslim. According to census data, there are approximately 2.7million Muslims in the UK. Those of Pakistani decent make up the largest number of Muslims, followed by Indian and Bangladeshi (ONS 2011). This was reflected in my research sample, with a larger number of those from a Pakistani sample (see section 4.4). I give a profile of participants in section 4.4 of this chapter.

Recruitment and Access

I discovered this research site almost by accident. A friend and I were looking for a new café which served shisha as our usual shisha café had closed down. We hadd known about this café for a long time but were reluctant to go there, it did not seem as welcoming at first glance as it was when we first entered. Immediately upon entering, we were made to feel very welcome; we were greeted with smiles and a friendly *salaam a laikum* (Muslim greeting meaning peace be with you) from one of the owners and a staff member. After we had been seated and our order taken, I quickly assessed the area and the other customers there and decided this would be a good site for my research if I was able to

gain permission for it to be so. The friend I had visited the café with at first made an interesting comment – *They're all just like you!*. He was referring to the fact that they were mostly British Asian Muslims. I met Fareed[2] that day, who I later interviewed, and told him about my project, he said there was not a problem with me meeting and interviewing people there as long as the interviewee was comfortable with being part of the project or that I did not disturb the customer's shisha smoking experience, I guaranteed him I would not be doing this, he also said I had to clear it with the owners, Wajid and Rafiq. I met Wajid and Rafiq a few weeks later and confirmed with them that this would be okay, I interviewed them later on in the process also. All that they wanted was for me not to name the café in the project and to keep their identities anonymous. Quite soon after this, the café closed for refurbishment, what was supposed to be two weeks, turned into a 2 month break, I kept in contact with the owners and with Fareed during this time by Facebook and text messaging, and made my way to the grand opening. They had completely transformed what was a small unimpressive, rather dark looking shisha café to a sophisticated lounge which was much more prominent on the high street. This was great for my research as it brought more people into the café, people who were willing participants in my research.

The respondents were chosen based on the criteria that they identified as British Asian and Muslim and were at least 17 years of age. I became known as a PhD student who was doing research, but also as a regular customer who was at the shisha café on a regular basis. Just by being there meant I was in contact with a lot of the customers and asking them to take part in my study was relatively simple. I was known as a regular user of the café, so talking to other regular customers was not considered out of the ordinary. I would tell customers my reasons for being there, but after a few encounters, this was largely forgotten, apart from the occasional query as to how my research was going. Recruitment from the shisha café was, by no means at all, a challenge. Recruitment in Bradford, however, posed more of a problem, which is discussed further along in this chapter. Had I spent more time in Bradford, and engaged with the community more, I would have generated more of a sample, but generating the same level of trust was somewhat impossible as I was considered an outsider due to the fact that I was from

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[2] All names have been changed to ensure anonymity

London. I spoke differently, I dressed differently and I had never been seen before in the area.

Ramadan, the Islamic holy month where Muslims abstain from eating, drinking and smoking from sunrise to sunset, played an interesting part in the project in terms of access to the respondents and their behaviour. This will be further discussed in the findings section of this thesis (see Chapter Five, Six and Seven). In terms of access, many of the respondents were unavailable during this time, some would frequent the shisha café late at night, after they had broken the fast. This did not pose a big problem, I still used the café, all be it less regularly, as I was also observing the month of Ramadan, and whilst I did not ask questions directly about Ramadan during interviews, it seemed to come up as a point of discussion amongst some respondents and backed up my views on *drift* (Matza 1964) and religion (see Chapter Six).

As the researcher for this project, I spent lot of time with the subjects, engaging with them in their everyday lives in order to get inside this world and write a detailed analysis of what is happening. Geertz (1973) refers to this type of research as 'thick description'. He argues that it is a particularly good method of research when looking at different cultures. By this, I mean I noted everything that was said and done and observed the participants in their natural environment and this helped me to formulate interviews, as often I would ask questions based on conversation I had had with respondents earlier.

Observations made at the shisha café largely served as a tool to inform the interviews which came later on during the data collection process. I kept a field note diary in which I wrote down important issues which I wanted to discuss during one to one interviews. The field note diary was kept largely out of site, and often I would wait until I was alone in order to write down my thoughts. Although, at times when I did have my field note diary within view, and even at times when I was making notes, this did not seem to bother the respondents, this would merely act as a catalyst for them asking about my project, and would invite the question of 'have you finished it yet?'. The fact that I was doing a PhD impressed these respondents. Observations extended beyond the shisha café, my experiences led to invitations to take part in activities elsewhere, some of these were relevant to the project, such as shopping trips where I was fully able to engage with the respondents, experiencing first-hand how they managed their finances, what decisions they made about where to shop and what to buy. I was also invited to take part in gaming

events, where groups of boys would gather to play the latest computer games. These were not just interesting for me as a researcher, but also a very enjoyable experience. Since finishing the fieldwork, I have kept in touch with some of the respondents and some others I met and did not interview, they have become friends and I will in all probability still be a part of their lives for a very long time. One particular daytrip that stands out occurred during a very wet and cold November's day. I was invited along to a shopping trip at a very busy market. One of the group was looking for a new jacket, this I thought was going to be a short trip, but it took some time, I left having got to know the group very well, albeit wet and cold! The day was finished off with a trip to the shisha café in order to dry off and relax before heading home.

Qualitative interviews

I kept a field note diary of my experiences in the field and notes from interviews. Interviews were both recorded on a Dictaphone and transcribed, or, in a few instances where the respondent did not want the interview to be recorded, notes were made and then later written up and showed to the respondent to correct any errors, and in some cases, add to what they were saying. Most of the interviews were recorded and transcribed straight away. My interviewing style was loosely based on the Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM), where interviews are broken down into three sub-sessions (Wengraf 2006). The first sub-session is where the interviewer asks a single question and lets the respondent answer, without interrupting. This is known as a Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative, or SQUIN. The interviewer takes notes during this session and in session two, asks questions from what the respondent has said in session one. There is an option for a third session once the analysis is complete from session one and two where the interviewer can ask further questions. I would ask a general question to begin with such as 'Tell me about yourself' and whilst I wouldn't split the sessions such as in BNIM, I would ask questions based on what the original answers were. This made the whole experience seem less formal to the respondent, and more like were engaging in conversation. I used an aide memoir in order to ensure that similar themes were covered during the interview (see Appendix B). Twenty interviews were conducted by meeting respondents who were customers at the shisha café, I then used snowball sampling and existing research and personal relationships in London and Bradford to conduct the other

ten interviews. I asked respondents to recall incidents where they had drifted from religion, relying on their memory.

4.3.2 Ethical considerations

Appendix A shows the consent form which was used during this project. Verbal consent was sought when meeting respondents for the first time and they were then asked to sign the consent form when they were interviewed. I explained the process at every stage, explaining that I could be using the day to day activities as examples in my work, and that they had the option of withdrawing from the study at any time. I decided to interview only respondents over the age of 17, as I would be talking about sensitive issues such as relationships. I was careful to monitor the tone and behaviour of respondents during the interviews so that I could cease with a line of questioning if I thought that the respondent was beginning to feel a little uncomfortable. This was negated by the fact that I had spent a long time in the field and gained the trust of the respondents. Parental consent was obtained for respondents under the age of 18. I was concerned that this may have been an issue, but this seemed to be a straightforward process. The consent form was completed by a parent and individual consent was also obtained.

The respondents shared intimate details about their private lives with me, I had to be very careful that even after the interview I had finished, I did not end up giving the respondent advice on what they should or should not be doing in such circumstances. Most of the respondents were more than willing to share details of their personal lives, even those that felt ashamed of past experiences, guaranteeing anonymity and the fact they were talking to an 'insider' must have made them feel at ease and able to talk freely, as well as having been in their lives for a good four months before the interviews began. Many of the respondents said they felt a sense of relief once the interviews were over, relief that they could talk about their experiences and locate them within their religion and culture, something which they hadn't really thought about in the past.

A concern of mine before entering into this study was that my morals may be compromised. I was afraid of having to take part in activities in which my faith in Islam would be put to the test, or I would enter situations which would see me fall short of the

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law. These concerns were unfounded. That is not to say that I could not have extended this study to look at criminal behaviour, but this did fall outside the scope of this study.

4.3.3 Conducting Insider Research

Being a British Muslim male, I was at a distinct advantage when conducting the fieldwork for this project. I was able to fully immerse myself into the lives of ordinary second generation British Muslims like myself. Much of what I was finding, I was expecting to find, but there were times during the course of the research when I was surprised at what I was finding. Many of the respondents were just like me, with similar backgrounds and upbringing. Part of the reasons I wanted to conduct this study was because of my own experiences growing up as a second generation British Muslim male living in London, as discussed previously in the Introduction. Merton (1972) discusses 'insider research' and argues that insiders, who have knowledge about a particular community, from already having had contact with the community, are at a distinct advantage because it is difficult for an 'outsider' to gain the same level of access. Haniff (1985: 112-113) argues that an outsider would not have the same level of understanding, or achieve the same level of trust as an insider:

> "It is only when we are perceived and accepted as an insider that we can truly understand the meaning of the lives we study. An insider or native must take this status seriously. Its methodological implications are profound, for it is this group who can either do the most harm or the most good" *(Haniff 1985, p. 112–13).*

Whilst I can consider myself an insider in terms of religion and some aspects of Pakistani culture, there were clear differences between myself and most of the research respondents. For example, the respondents I was involved with on a daily basis all had different interests in terms of how they dressed, what music they listened to and what their hobbies were. I was accepted as an insider because of my religion and ethnicity but it was clear that my views on religion and past time were very different to theirs. Song and Parker (1995) acknowledge that insider research is more complex than it looks:

> Dichotomised rubrics such as 'black/white' or 'insider/outsider' are inadequate to capture the complex and multi-faceted experiences of some researchers such as

ourselves, who find themselves neither total 'insiders' nor 'outsiders' in relation to the individuals they interview.

Whilst I did not try to be someone who I was not, I was aware that I would need to do research on some of the things which were talked about on a day to day basis at the Shisha café, I began to listen to music that was playing there, I was often teased about my dress sense (image and style was very important to the respondents at the café), but ultimately, it was my ethnicity, religion and experiences in life which meant that I was accepted as an insider. Whether or not these are 'inner qualities' as discussed by Muggleton (2000) is up for debate, but I would argue that the inner qualities you need to possess for this type of research all comes down to accepting the people you are interviewing and not judging their behaviour:

> "Those who merely 'adopt' an unconventional appearance without possessing the necessary 'inner' qualities are regarded... as 'plastic', 'not real'.. a subcultural 'Other' against which the interviewees authenticate themselves." (Muggleton 2000: 90)

What was clear was the level of understanding I had already about my respondents' behaviour, about the reasons why they acted in certain ways in certain situations, meant that they did not need to justify their actions to me. Only when being formally interviewed, I asked them to explain such things, it was clear that this was for the purposes of the project, rather than to explain it in a way that I would understand it.

Hodkinson (2005) accepts insider research is a valuable tool in order to conduct research on youth cultures, but also insists that the researcher must clarify how their position has affected the outcome. I am certain that in no way has my position affected this research in a negative way. I believe I was able to fully understand and encourage the respondents to be honest and open with me because of the fact I was an insider. There were some times during interviews where I would ask questions I already knew the answers to, like explaining certain concepts in Islam or in Pakistani culture, this was something that was easy to do, and did not seem strange to the respondents, who understood I needed to do this in order to produce results.

Whilst the ease of access to the world of these young men was refreshing and posed little problem, I was very aware of 'going native'. I enjoyed being at the Shisha café, and I enjoyed the company of the respondents there, we would often talk about

shared interests such as football and the gym, as well as personal issues anyone in the group was having. I had by all intents and purposes become 'one of the group' a 'brother'. This often left me with a dilemma of whether or not I should write up some of the things which were discussed or things which I had seen. Hobbs (1988) also talks of this dilemma when researching entrepreneurship in the East End of London, where he spent some time doing ethnographic work in a pub and often had to remind himself that he was not there to socialise, but would often wake up in the morning having had too much to drink the night before. This left him with the dilemma of deciding whether or not to include these activities in his write up. I have written up most of what I have seen and heard, other aspects, which are outside the remit of the study have not been presented in this thesis. However, in the conclusion (Chapter 8) I will make recommendations for future research, which will include aspects of my experiences which were outside the remit of this study. It was difficult for me *not* to 'go native' as these respondents and this setting was very familiar to me. Keeping that line between researcher and friend was a difficult one, however one that I managed well by keeping my relationship with the respondents as one of a researcher and a customer of the shisha café.

Had a white, female, young researcher tried to do this research, it is my opinion that she would have struggled to first gain the access to the sample group and then gain the same quality of information that I have done. Even during my time in Bradford, the fact that my accent was different, and even though I was using a gatekeeper to gain access, I was considered an outsider. This meant that not only did people not want to be interviewed, they refused to meet with me at all. They approached me with caution, suspicious of my motives for wanting to do this research. Literature speaks of the validity of data collected and interpreted (for example Stanley and Wise 1993), but the more pertinent question should be one of access. It is my view that should an 'outsider' have tried to conduct this research, then the respondents would have become defensive, as the outsider would have been a threat to their cultural heritage. I was seen to be part of the British Asian Muslim community and was therefore accepted by the respondents.

What gave me the advantage was my lived experience of what I was researching. In many respects, I had lived through the experience of leading a dual cultural life and experiencing the dilemmas life brings when trying to negotiate these cultures. I was recently married in a traditional Pakistani marriage, which gave me the experience necessary to do this research. In the eyes of my respondents, I was very much one of

them. This is supported by Mohammad (2001) who argues that shared common cultural or religious traits with their research subjects may be in a better position to understand the respondents' version of reality and 'produce authentic and moral authority to personal history' (Mohammad 2001: 104). Being an insider was not something I was just anticipating or dreading, it was something I was relying on in order to complete the fieldwork. However, there can be drawbacks to insider research, Kobayashi (1994) argues that the researcher may assume a naïve connection to the researched, based on physical attributes such as 'race' or 'sex'. In order to eliminate any bias, I made the decision to not interview or involve in any way, any members of my family in the study as I did not want to assume that my experience of growing up as a British South Asian Muslim male was one that was shared by others.

4.4 Profile of research participants

For this research, I interviewed 30 males who identified as Muslim and were of south Asian origin. Two participants were not of south Asian origin, but were part of the friendship group I interviewed. Where these interviews are used, it will be made clear that they are not speaking from a south Asian perspective, but from a Muslim perspective. I had considered not using this interview, but this interview was unique, this will be addressed in the findings section of this thesis.

4.4.1 Age Range of the Respondents

The bar graph below illustrates the respondent's age categories: Twelve respondents fell in the 17-21 age range; Seven respondents fell in the 22-26 age range, ten respondents fell in the 27-31 age range; one respondent was thirty-two years of age. This age range, according to Wardak (2000) meant that British Asian Muslims were under less social control than their younger counterparts. This meant that I would be able to determine t the extent to which my respondents who were 17 years of age or more, still conformed to teachings of religion and culture from their parents and their community.

Age Range of Respondents
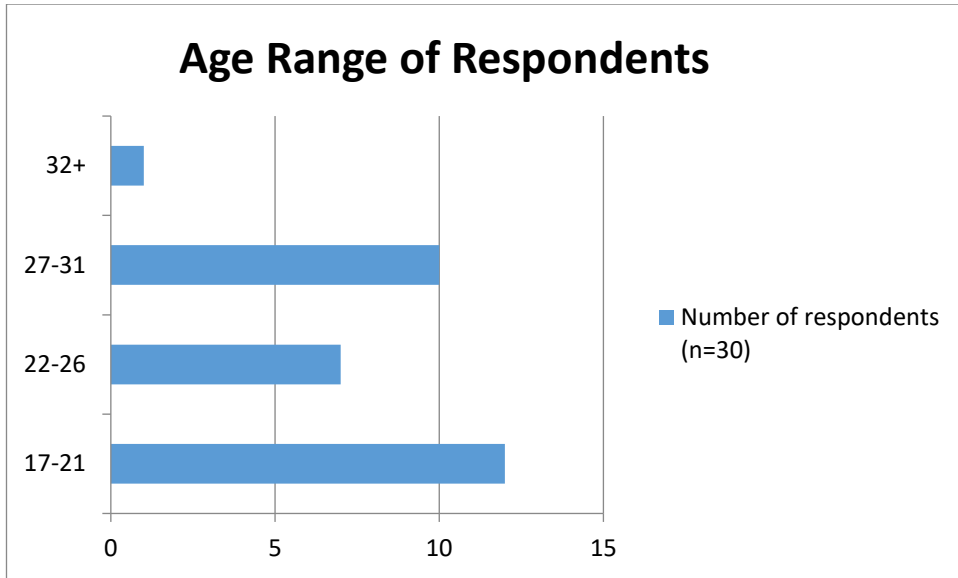
Chart 1: Age Groups of Respondents

4.4.2 Ethnic Origin of the Respondents

As Table 5 below indicates, a Large majority of the respondents were of Pakistani origin (24). All but one of these was born in the UK, this respondent came to the UK when he was under five years of age. Two respondents were of Indian origin, both of them born in the UK. One respondent was of Iraqi decent but identified as South Asian, this respondent was born in the UK. One respondent of Bangladeshi origin, who was also born in the UK. One respondent was of Afghan decent and came to this country under five years of age. Only one respondent was of mixed origin, Pakistani and Indian; This respondent was born in the UK.

Ethnicity	Number of respondents (n=30)
Pakistani	24
Indian	2
Iraqi	1
Bangladeshi	1
Afghan	1
Mixed (Indian/Pakistani)	1

Table 5: Ethnicity of respondents

4.4.3 Occupation of the Respondents

The respondents of this study, at the time of interview, were in full or part time employment, or full time occupation. One respondent had recently graduated from university and was looking for employment and one was considered long term unemployed. In my research sample, fifteen respondents were in full time employments, there was a mixture here of self-employment (3) and working as an employee (12). Two respondents were working part time and nine respondents were in full time Education, either through university degrees (4) or attending the local Sixth form college (5).
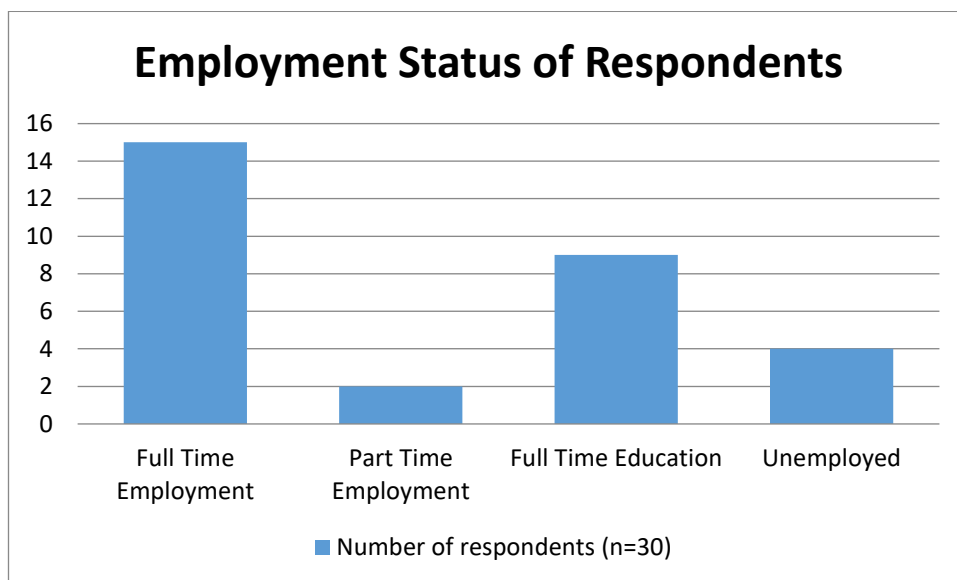
Chart 2: Employment Status of respondents

4.4.4 Relationship Status of the Respondents

At the time of interview, eighteen of the respondents were single. This was a rather murky category, as while the respondents would identify as single, some of the respondents would admit to having multiple relationships. Also, some of the respondents would report that they would be marrying their cousins, something which was assumed from an early age (see chapter 5). Four of the respondents were in long term relationships and one was engaged. The respondent who was engaged was having an arranged marriage. Seven respondents were married, although one of these anticipated his divorce (see Chapter 5).
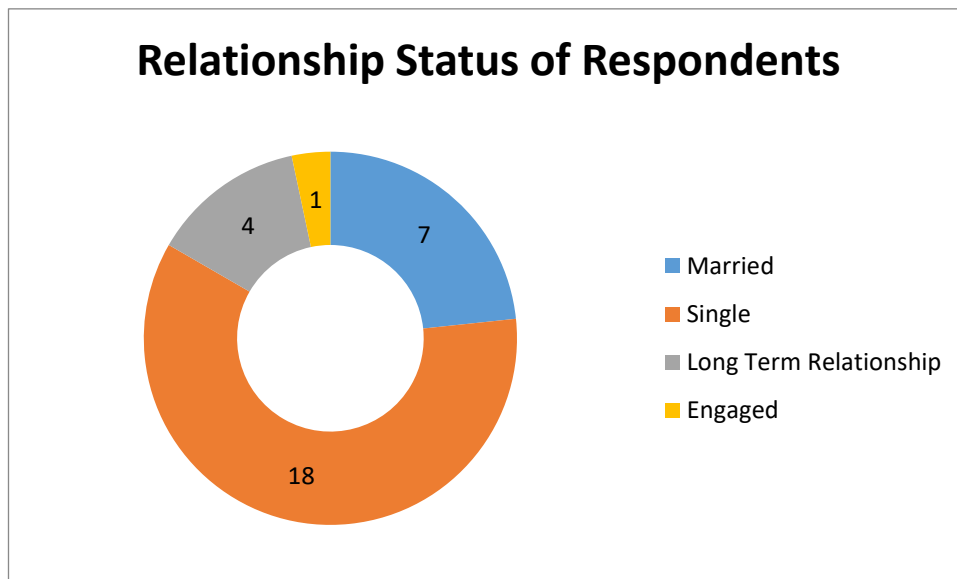
Chart 3: Relationship Status of Respondents

4.5 Limitations of Research

I have presented the methodological approach to my research, but there are some limitations which must be acknowledged. Firstly, the sample size of thirty respondents does not allow me to make generalisations about British Asian Muslim culture, but gives me an indication as to the workings of a British Muslim family. Ideally, a larger sample group from a variety of research sites would be included. This would allow me to make cross site comparisons and comment on British Asian Muslim culture more generally. However, I have argued that a strong relationship is required in order to gather the data required in this project and to do this over a number of research sites would pose many problems with respect to time. A way to overcome this can be to conduct a series of studies in different locations and then to compare them with one another. This will be considered for future research in this area. Another limitation of the study was that I was unable to interview the girlfriends of these respondents. This would have allowed me to comment on their experiences with the Business of Marriage and their reasons for entering into relationships before marriage. Where these girlfriends were not Muslim, it would have been interesting to explore their understanding of British Asian Muslim culture and in particular their understanding of British Asian Muslim marriage. However

this would have posed ethical concerns as I would have had to ask them personal questions about their relationships with the respondents. In my opinion, the respondents would not have been comfortable with this. A separate study on the girlfriends of British South Asian Muslim males can be conducted in order to explore this.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodological approaches used within my research as well as provided a profile of the participants of this study. An ethnographic approach was taken to the research with qualitative interviews and observations used as the main methods for data collection. I argue that this method was required in order to develop a bond with the respondents. I asked personal questions about religion, culture, family, relationships and marriage which required a feeling of trust between the interviewer and the respondent. I also argue that being an insider with advanced knowledge of being British Asian and Muslim gave me an advantage when it came to developing trust and being able to understand the intricate details of their lived realities. I acknowledge the limitations of my research as the majority of respondents were recruited from one site so are not representative of all British Asian Muslim males. Whilst there was an attempt to use two geographical locations for data gathering, practical limitations meant that the majority of respondents were from London. However, the employment statuses, ages and relationship statuses of the respondents vary greatly which enables me to look at this sample in more detail. I outlined how the research site came to be discovered and my experiences of doing research there. A profile of respondents has been provided and shows that respondents came from a varied age range of 17-35 and were from a range of employment and educational backgrounds.

The next two chapters in this thesis will present the findings from the research. Firstly, I explore how the deviant adaptations discussed in chapter three with regards to leisure, religion and marriage, focussing on the Maximiser. I argue that the Maximiser is crucial to the reproduction of the business of marriage within British South Asian Muslim families.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CONFORMIST

5.1 Introduction

The chapters proceeding this one provided a review of the literature that informed this research. I have also provided an overview of the analytical framework that will be used to analyse the data collected during fieldwork in the empirical chapters. I have also highlighted the methodological approaches to this research in Chapter four. This thesis so far has demonstrated that there is an intense process of socialisation taking place in some British South Asian Muslim households, with concepts of shame and honour being used in order to control and regulate the activities of members of the community (Wardak 2000). Pleasing and obeying elders is viewed as extremely important in both the culture of South Asian Muslim families and within Islam which emphasises respect for parents in the Quran and Hadith. Religion and culture is communicated from a very early age in a strict and large family setting where often, three generations of family members are living together. This means that religious and cultural practises are communicated and learnt from elders of the family from a very early age. Shame and honour (sharam and izzat) are used in order to control the activities of young people and to ensure that they conform to cultural and religious norms (Wardak 2000; Alexander 2001). It has also been argued that the family inheritance is also used as way in which the younger generation are controlled, with the threat of no inheritance acting as another form of social control (Wardak 2000). This thesis has also demonstrated that consanguineous transnational arranged marriages are common within British South Asian communities and are used in order to maintain strong family bonds with those who live abroad (Basit 1997; Bhopal 1997; Shaw 2000; Shaw and Charsley 2006). This thesis will now argue that this intense process of socialisation is the first stage in the 'business of marriage'. In order to do this, I will explore the way in which the rules of religion and culture communicated by this process of socialisation impacts on the everyday lives and activities of British Asian Muslim males and how this is connected to the type of marriage they end up having. In particular, I will focus on the negotiation of leisure, intimate relationships before marriage, and decisions taken regarding marriage.

This chapter is the first of three where I present data from empirical research. I begin by focussing on the respondents whose commitment to religion is strong and refer

to this group of respondents as 'conformists'. Merton (1938) referred to conformists as those who accepted the culturally prescribed goal and also accepted the institutional means to achieve it. I will demonstrate here that the conformist does conform to religious rules and teachings. It is demonstrated that when drift from religious rules occur, this is not habitual and a rare occurrence. It will be shown that conformists are able to recall incidents of drifts and show remorse for them. The conformists organise their lives in order to avoid breaking rules rather than to facilitate the breaking of rules. The conformists make a clear distinction between religious rules and cultural practises, something which is taught to them by their families. This means that their socialisation is different to those who are not taught the difference between religion and culture and thus the boundaries between the two are not blurred. I found that these young men would not have relationships before marriage and would enter into arranged marriages because of their commitment to the religion. They would retain autonomy in their choice of spouse, consistent with arranged marriages in Islam, with no force being applied. Being highly educated would give conformists a wide choice of potential partner, consistent with existing literature on British Asian Muslim females (Ahmed 2001, 2012).

5.2 The Conformist, Religion and Culture

As discussed in Chapter 3, Merton (1938) described the conformist as an individual who accepts the culturally prescribed goal and accepts the institutional means to achieve it. The conformist rejects criminality as confirmed by Murphy and Robinson (2008). As stated earlier in this thesis, within the context of this research, the conformist accepts the culturally prescribed goal and also has an arranged marriage because this is in line with Islamic teachings. His reasons for having the arranged marriage are not solely to achieve wealth, but to ensure his religion is being followed. However, the conformist may choose not to have a consanguineous or transnational marriage. This does not mean that this type of marriage is outside the rules of Islam, but it does mean that the conformist has a choice of marrying his cousin or not without any repercussions. The conformist will follow the rules of Islam regardless of whether or not there is a goal to achieve. The conformist follows the rules of religion and acts accordingly in his leisure time, and also has an arranged marriage due to belief in the religion and not because of the attainment of wealth. Therefore, if the goal of the conformist is wealth and family, he will achieve

in the traditional sense of having employment and earning money legitimately. What must also be stated is that the conformist may inherit the family wealth, including the family home, regardless of who he marries and this may be in the conscience of the conformist, but my research did not reveal this. Out of the thirty respondents interviewed during this project, five were considered conformists. Asim, Jamaal, Kali, Hass and Hanif. Jamaal and Hanif were in well paid jobs and Asim, Kali and Hass were attending university in order to be able to achieve well paid employment.

As discussed in Chapter two, British Muslims see Islam as a way of life (Norcliffe 1999) and display a strong bond to religion (Modood et. Al. 1997). Islam impacts on every facet of everyday life from leisure, to education to work and family life. This was found consistently amongst the conformists in this study whose commitment to Islam remained strong at all times. All five conformists did not display any drift (Matza 1964) from following their religion during my time in the field and explained that if any drift did ever occur, it was momentary and not habitual. At times, it happened by accident. Because this drift was not habitual, nor did it frame their way of thinking about achieving a goal, they are considered conformists and not maximisers. This is consistent with conformists found in Wardak's (2000) study where they would conform to rules around religion and culture. The conformists in my study considered the rules of Islam for any decision taken in life and stayed true to their belief at all times. None of the conformists were married, but one was engaged, one was in the process of looking for a partner and one was planning on having an arranged marriage after he graduated from his undergraduate degree. It is important to establish the rules that the conformists abided by in order to compare how the other respondents behaved with regard to religion and culture. Asim describes that his religion is a big part of his life below:

> **Asim**: "That's right, yeah, religion is a big thing in my life. It controls me in a way, in a way tells me what and what not to do, who and who not to go with and um do things with them or just its like, it's like a set of rules you just abide by. Not only is this for yourself but it makes you a better person and it appeals to other people as well in a way that if they see someone doing good, it's from the religion, it's not from the person itself so it shows more about the religion itself."

Kali also felt the same way as Asim, he felt that abiding by his religion was extremely important and mentions the five pillars of Islam as something which must be adhered to

at all times. The five pillars of Islam are declaring there is only one God and Mohammed is his messenger, prayer, fasting during Ramadan, giving charity and performing pilgrimage to Mecca:

> **Kali:** "You have to take what your religion says first. Islam is a way of life, like, the five pillars of Islam, you know, you gotta do those things, otherwise how can you be Muslim? That's the most important thing in my life, making sure I'm abiding by my religion."

Asim, like the other conformists, prayed five times a day and everything he did in life, every decision he made, was taken after consideration of whether or not Islam allowed him to, or not. During my time in the field, we had a conversation where he was considering not going to university because the loan he would have to take would not be sharia compliant. He explained that there are strict rules on paying and receiving interest from loans in Islam. He was searching for ways as to how he would be able to take this loan without breaking the rules of Islam. For example, he was considering taking the loan, and then donating a part of his future salary to a Muslim charity, but was at odds with himself as to whether or not this would negate the sin of taking the loan in the first place. This is an example of the many ways in which the conformist consider religion before making a decision on everyday activities. There was also a sense that whilst the conformists were following their religion, that there were always ways in which they could improve on the way they were practising their faith:

> **Jamaal:** "I try and keep my prayers on time, fasts, I do my wajib. I do what's necessary and I try and stay away from what's not allowed and then, that for me, that's the basics, you've got to do that, that's where you start from and then anything above that is just extra. So, if I do, any charity work that's voluntary, that's just extra, but I try to keep my basics solid and then try to build from that if I can."

Jamaal states in the above quote that he tries to avoid deviation away from the religion, this will be discussed further in the next section. The conformists were raised with a clear distinction being made between religious duties and cultural practises. They were well aware of the differences between what was expected of them by their religion and what was expected of them by their families or by their culture:

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> **Interviewer: "**So what's the difference between religion and culture?"
>
> **Hass**: "Okay, no that's a good question. Um, you, this is what my parents did anyway, they taught us our own religion first and foremost, that's, I don't think that's something which is controversial. You definitely have to have an understanding of where you come from, your culture, your background, but also you have to have an understanding, which my parents did do, about other faiths, to give whether it's to put your own faith into perspective, or to increase your awareness of other things so you can make the choice, regardless of the reasons."

Conformists also suggested that some British Muslims were confusing religion and culture and that some Muslims would put too much emphasis on cultural practices. Hass believed that religion was not something that was concrete and could be adapted as societies developed, allowing the integration of Muslims into that society:

> **Hass: "**Okay, religion is set in stone. Um, it's not, I'm not saying it's not flexible because I'm a proponent of religion being something which you mould to the times, which you take in context, culture is a lot more flexible. So say for example a wedding, if you are taking them on the basis solely of religion, then there are certain, um, um, um, events which constitute a religious wedding. So in our culture, a lot of people have, taken, not offence, a lot of people on the religious side have quotation marks, they would take offence to things like music at a wedding, things like dancing, things like mixed, um, weddings. That's our culture, that's the cultural significance, of things like that, so religion is, it's a lot more definitive, and culture, you work around it and different cultures can mix and they form new cultures."

Hass refers to modern British Muslim weddings when asked about the differences between religion and culture. As stated in chapter two, the modern British Muslim wedding is often a mixed event with both men and women present. There is also often dancing at these events and Hass refers to these as being problematic with many Muslims disagreeing with this practise. Hass refers to this as a cultural practice and suggests this outside of the teachings of Islam. This is evidence for the fact that cultural practices are merged with religious duties within the British Muslim community as suggested by Jacobson (1997). The quote below demonstrates that Kali, like the other conformists was

raised with a clear distinction between culture and religion. He states that his father taught him the difference between religion and culture from an early age:

> **Kali:** "Yeah people confuse religion and culture, but my dad always taught me, don't take culture first, take religion first and do what the Quran and the hadith say."

This meant that conformists were able to abide by solely religious rules and were able to choose whether or not cultural practices were adhered to, this is important when considering how British Muslims are socialised. Hass makes it clear that religious duties should take precedence over cultural practices:

> **Hass:** "Oh yeah, definitely, if our culture has taught us to, um, do something or other, I would give that less significance than if our religion has taught us something. Cos we see that as, as I said before, I was a British, Pakistani, Muslim, um I don't see that as contradictory, but the thing is where Islam tells me to do one thing and the other two might have a different opinion, 99% of the time. Cos if you believe in the faith, they you believe that as an infallible approach to living your life. So you would put that on just a bit of a higher level than the other two."

The conformists agreed that culture and religion were two separate entities. With religion playing a bigger part in their lives, they were adamant that cultural practises had no place in religious beliefs. Hanif sums this up below:

> **Hanif:** "What is culture and what is religion? Culture, is not part of religion."

It is clear from these quotes that there is a clear distinction between religious duties and cultural practises. Jamaal was very complimentary of his parents in this regard, that his parents made the distinction between what was Islamic and what were aspects of their parent culture; he was also very critical of those that did not make the distinction between the two:

> **Jamaal:** "So she's gone further (Jamaal's mother) and she's able to look at it from an Islamic perspective. But because she has gone into it further and she is able to look at it from outside the box, and in terms of Islamic thinking as well, a lot of people don't realise, that, Islamic thinking is not what we've got back home. That's not what we've got back home. Islamic thinking can and is applied within todays laws and within the principles that we've got. Like for example, concepts

with interest and banking, Islam's not, it's got rules and regulations for all of these and how we can live within a western community, but still keep our religious, thing on poin., I think that's where my cousins get a little bit confused, they don't, they get stuck, where do we go? And they get stuck they don't realise, because they haven't looked into. You know some things won't make sense in terms of an Islamic concept, like for example, err, why are we allowed to take interest and not take interest."

Jamaal also indicates that Islamic teachings could be applied in the western world, this shows however, that the culture of a country can also determine how religious duties are followed. Jamaal argues that Islam allows him to do this. Whilst respondents who did not fall under the conformist adaptation were also aware of the differences between religion and culture, they were scathing of the perceived mixing of the two, these findings are much like research discussed earlier from Jacobson (1997) who stated that religion was often used as a cover for cultural practises. This will be discussed further on in chapter six when I explore the innovator and the maximiser. But what this does highlight is that conformists have had a different upbringing in terms of being taught religion and culture to others within this research. Culture and religion have not been used interchangeably in order to get them to behave in a certain way. This indicates that when religion is used as a cover for cultural practises, it is done for a particular reason, I will argue that this is to facilitate the business of marriage and to control the younger generation. Conformists also felt that Islamic teaching and western culture were compatible and not necessarily two separate entities:

> **Jamaal:** "They will only see what the back home Islam says about certain concepts. They don't go into to it further, enough to see whether, some of our western concepts actually marry up with Islamic concepts, because they haven't looked at it in enough depths. They've just looked at it from the surface. But when we look at it at actual depths, a lot of the western ideas and morals actually line up completely side by side, but because people haven't looked at it in depth, it's getting confused I suppose."

Kali also felt that British Culture and Islam were compatible but felt that this was more difficult in recent times due to the terrorist incidents involving Islamic extremism in the media:

Kali: "Islam and British culture? Yeah there's no reason why you can't take part in both. I mean, you don't have to have the same leisure activities, but if core values are the same then why not? You don't have to go to the pub to get drunk to feel British, but you do have to feel accepted. Sometimes it's hard, especially nowadays with all the terrorism in the media, but you have to believe that deep down we're all the same."

As discussed in Chapters one and two of this thesis, the spotlight on British Muslims in both media and political discourse has been strong since the September 11th terrorist attacks in New York. This is clearly something that Kali is concerned about and there is some indication that it is affecting his ability to fully integrate into British society.

Understanding the difference between religion and culture did not mean that parent culture was then abandoned by the conformists. It did mean that the conformists had a choice as to what aspects of the parent culture they could choose to adopt. They retained a sense of ethnic identity and identified strongly with their parent culture. Jamaal gives the example of wearing traditional clothes to weddings and wedding celebrations when he marries, he will keep the cultural aspects of the British Muslim wedding (discussed in Chapter two), he also highlights language as being an important part of his parent culture and something he would like to pass on to this children:

Jamaal: "I try and keep to my roots in the sense that, when I'm, for example when there's babies in the family, we don't speak to the babies in English. I speak to babies in either Gujarati or Urdu or something like that, um, so, I dunno if its passing on your mother tongue, you don't want to forget your mother tongue. Um, I wear salwaar kameez to weddings, I'll keep my traditional clothes, even the wedding occasions have, the dholki, the mehndi will all be there, um, so I kept a lot of culture. A lot of it has been kept, a lot of it has been discarded because it doesn't make sense to be perfectly honest. But yeah I try to keep a lot of my culture, but I think its, not its, cultures, that's the thing, with our culture, its got the Indian culture, the Indo-Pak culture that's been fused with the African culture from when my parents were in Africa. It's been fused with the English culture as well, cos obviously I was born here, my parents have been living here for the vast majority of their lives as well, so it's just a whole mix but we do definitely try and keep our roots. I wanna keep my roots, its where I'm from at the end of the day."

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This is consistent with existing literature which suggests that South Asians were keen to retain part of their parent culture, such as language, religion and family values (Modood et al 1997). What is clear from this section is that the upbringing of the conformists has allowed them to make the distinction between religious and cultural practises, it will be demonstrated that this is not the case when the overall aim is the reproduction of the business of marriage (Chapter 6).

5.3 Avoiding Drift

It has been determined that conformists had a strong belief in Islam and that they were clear as to the differences between cultural practises and religious duties. They were taught these differences from an early age and were able to choose the aspects of their culture that they wanted to adopt. Drift (Matza 1964) from religious conformity and non-conformity was a rare occurrence for the conformists. It was not habitual and they organised their lives in ways to avoid drift. They actively tried to conform to their religion at all times. In fact, the conformists were able to recount specific incidents in which they had drifted from religious duties, showing remorse for having done so. For example, Hass talks about a time in which he went to a night club and was able to recount this time as being one of the few that he had knowingly acted outside of his religion:

> **Interviewer**: "Why did you go clubbing?"
>
> **Hass**: "I dunno, it was peer pressure (laughs). Nah the people that I was with, they were really close friends, so yeah I went with them. They weren't Muslims."

When asked why he drifted on this particular occasion, Hass states that he drifted from his beliefs when he was socialising with friends who weren't Muslim. In this section I will explore this further and argue that conformists form friendships groups with other Muslims who are conformists as a strategy to avoid drift. Another example of drift amongst the conformists and being able to recount single incidents is Jamaal's experience of smoking marijuana when he was younger and his reasons for doing so:

> **Jamaal**: "And then after I had it, don't get me wrong, it was err, it was a, strangely good feeling if that makes sense, you know people tell you I hated it. I didn't hate it, I'll be honest but, I knew immediately, I thought, I shouldn't have done that. It

was one of those things inside, I could feel wasn't right, a lot of the time I let my conscious guide me, if I feel it's not right, I'm not gonna do it, and I felt it wasn't right. So, I thought I'm not gonna do it again, so I left it, yeah it was that one time."

Jamaal did not refer to his group of friends as Hass did, but stated that it was his belief that what he was doing was wrong which lead him to decide that he would not do it again. He did not explain his initial drift, but his reaction to it ensured that he did not do it again. This is similar to Wardak's (2000) study where he found that conformists believed in the normal and moral values of society and had a strong belief in Islam, this would mean that they did not deviate. He also found that when young people had a weaker belief in Islam, they felt less guilty about deviating. It is clear that Jamaal's belief in Islam is strong and therefore he felt guilty about his transgression and made the decision not to transgress in the same way again.

Conforming and following religious duties with little drift was achieved through careful consideration and negotiation of everyday life. Conformists would organise their lives so that Islam was easier to follow, employing various strategies to conform to the religion. One of the strategies used would be to surround themselves with other Muslims in terms of their friendship groups. Conformists would socialise with other Muslims so that they did not have to explain certain decisions and organising leisure was made easier. Jamaal explains the reasons behind having mainly Muslim friends to socialise with:

> **Jamaal: "**We all know that we don't drink. We all know that we don't eat at certain restaurants where there's no Halal food. We all know that we don't go clubbing etcetera, etcetera, so it does make it a lot, lot easier in that sense that, when we go out, we know where we are going. Everyone knows with each other that you know that we don't go to these places. You don't have to explain it to them, um and no one really kicks up a fuss about it really, cos everyone knows automatically. we just know, um, yeah so, they're all Muslims though."

I discovered during the research that the conformists did not necessarily socialise with other conformists at all times, but they did socialise with *mainly* conformist Muslim males. This was clear from who they socialised with at the shisha café and the discussion I would have with them. The discussions would normally be based around Islam. They would attend the shisha café together and whilst they would be in the presence of others their seemed to be more of a friendship with others who I would consider 'conformists'.

Not all of these conformists were available for this study, but this was the impression that was given to me by the ones who were. When they did socialise with Muslim males who were not as religious as them, they did so only in activities which would mean that no drift occurred. They would not, for example, attend night clubs, or go on holidays with Muslims who displayed habitual drift away from religious conformity. Hass states that this forming of friendship groups was because of his religion but not because it was a rule of the religion, but where his religion placed him at a given time. It was natural for him to meet other Muslims because of his day to day activities. He would meet people at the mosque or at other social events, making it inevitable that his friendship group would be Muslim:

> **Hass**: "No, no, that was probably because, like I said I was going through my initial religious phase at that time. So it was probably, we met them all at the mosque at the university. We met them all at events, but that's not to say that they were um, they were, religious? Even if they just came to Friday prayer as opposed to the rest of the prayers which some of them did, and we just got talking. I think probably religion probably opened up the door to becoming like close and tight with them, but there was nothing which specifically made us tight."

What this quote also indicates is that there was a point in the life of Hass in which he became religious. It appears as though Hass has not always been a conformist, he refers to this point as his 'initial religious phase'. He also states that this phase occurred during his time at university. This is in contrast to Wardak's (2000) findings that conformists would be younger boys who had not yet been exposed to western culture. Whilst my study does not look at younger boys, it has found that conformity can occur later in life after exposure to the western world. This may be because of the process of socialisation being different to those in Wardak's (20000) study who emphasised the social control that was taking place. The conformists in my study had been raised to understand the difference between religion and culture and were able to choose aspects of the culture they wanted to adopt. Therefore a more favourable view of religion was created for the respondents in my study.

Hass and Jamaal's organisation of leisure to include those who are also conformists can be understood using differential association theory (Sutherland and Cressey 1960). Having friendship groups constructed of mainly conformist Muslim males

means that the rules around religion have already been understood by the group. The learning within the group that these rules are favourable takes place, even if it is unspoken as Jamaal suggests, therefore no deviance or transgression from these rules takes place. Hass's deviance from religion occurred when he was in the company of friends who were not Muslim and did not see clubbing as a violation of rules. Hass then took part in this activity because he was not in the company of individuals who had a collective agreement about the rules of Islam. Had he been in the company of conformist, any talk of clubbing would have been met with opposition and therefore Hass would not have taken part. Conformists avoid drift because they socialise with other conformists where a favourable view of religion is communicated and agreed upon. This favourable view of religion may be because of their upbringing where religion has not been used as a way to instil cultural practises into these individuals. In Chapter six I compare this with the upbringing of innovators and maximisers and argue that their upbringing where religion has been used as a cover for cultural practises results in them having an unfavourable view of religion.

Free mixing between females and males is forbidden in Islam and conformist also held the view that socialising with females was against the teachings of Islam and would also be avoided by the conformists. Jamaal also explains that he does not socialise with females, in accordance with Islamic teachings:

> **Jamaal:** "Err, socialise, no? Um, I work with lots of girls, I mean in my company, where I'm working it is mostly girls that work there. Um, we talk, have a laugh, but work, is work and outside of work, talk to them online, how you doing, things like that, but, my spare time is reserved for my other friends. Yeah, its faith, it's nothing against them, it's nothing, um, they're all really lovely people, but faith wise, this intermingling on a social slash informal way is not allowed. So I generally try and stay away from it as well"

From the quote above, Jamaal demonstrates drift into non conformity (Matza 1964). He first states that he does not socialise with females which would mean he is conforming to his religion, but then states that he talks to girls online which demonstrates drift into non-conformity. It appears as though Jamaal does not view this as socialising and free mixing with females, nor does he view this as him moving outside of his religion. This may be an indication that the internet is removing the physical boundaries that exist which restrict Jamaal from socialising with females. But it also indicates that this can be done in private,

and that Jamaal does not have to show that he is doing this. Jamaal is demonstrating that he has different versions of the 'self' (Goffman 1959) by doing this. He has one self in the real world and one self in the online world. This is an interesting aspect of the self and generates arguments around conformity to religion in the online world, but not one I can fully explore within the remit of this thesis which looks at conformity in the real world. It is an aspect that I will explore in future research. However it could also be argued that Jamaal treats females the same way online that he does in the real world as his use of the words 'how you doing, things like that' seem to indicate. Jamaal admits that living and working in Britain, socialising with females is something which is inevitable but has never had a problem explaining his stance to others he also explains the strategies that he uses in order to avoid the situations where males and females would be socialising together:

> **Jamaal:** "I mean, in some cases its unavoidable in the sense that, we'll have group meetings, but again, you know, we'll have group meetings after work, um, for work purposes. I'd still, you know, team building if that makes sense. We'll have gone to a work meeting all day and then everyone will go out for dinner. Um, generally if it is a mixed dinner, I'll say hi to everyone outside, have a cup of tea and then I'll let them go on their way. I'll let them have their diner and I'll talk to them about it afterwards. Its pretty good, they all understand anyway so."

It is not only intimate relationships before marriage that are forbidden in Islam. Inter gender friendship groups are also forbidden and the above demonstrates that conformists choose to avoid this where best possible but also acknowledge the challenges involved in doing this. This is consistent with literature in this area which suggests that young Muslims are adhering to this practise (Ghuman 199). What this demonstrates is that Jamaal, along with the other conformists, generally try to avoid drift in their everyday lives and their leisure activities as opposed to facilitating drift. It could also be argued that the internet is a tool which facilitates this drift, allowing Jamaal to socialise with females without physically being in their presence. This leads on to the topic of relationships and marriage, as choosing a partner for marriage if inter gender friendships are forbidden leaves only the option of an arranged marriage as a Muslim male would not be able to date in the traditional sense of the word. They would not meet someone and enter into a relationship before marriage. The process of arranging a marriage was discussed in Chapter two and will be referred to in the next section.

5.4 The Conformist, Relationships and Marriage

As discussed earlier relationships before marriage, as well as the free mixing of males and females, is forbidden in Islam, and seen as shameful in south Asian Muslim communities (Handa 2003; Toor 2009; Wardak 2000; Dwyer 2000; Naidoo 2003). Therefore, none of the conformists had been involved in a relationship in the past. This was very important to all of the conformists as it was seen as something which was not negotiable in terms of religion. Hass explains that having a relationship before marriage is forbidden in Islam:

> **Hass**: "Yes, that's definitively a religious thing, that's definitely, definitely looked down upon, not the culture, the religion definitely looks down upon, um, relationships before marriage. On a personal perspective as well, I wouldn't want to have a relationship where it doesn't end in marriage."

Hass does not say that 'a relationship that doesn't end in marriage' is unacceptable which could be interpreted to suggest that relationships before marriage that end in marriage are acceptable for Hass. However, give Hass's views on Islam there was no indication that this was the case. It would have been interesting to ask him about this further and perhaps can be a further area for research. Kali explains that meeting someone in order to get married is difficult because of the rules around inter gender friendships, but he states that if he did meet someone he had an interest in for marriage, he would not pursue the relationship himself but he would do so through his parents, thus conforming to the Islamic way of finding a partner. This is consistent with the process of an arranged marriage as discussed in chapter two:

> **Kali:** "No, I don't have a girlfriend, that's forbidden in Islam. I won't have one either. If there was a situation in which I liked a girl, I don't really socialise with girls so I don't know how that would happen, but lets say there was, I wouldn't pursue it, I would do it properly, like ask my parents to find out about her and stuff and then do it the proper Islamic way, not just start dating or stuff like that. I mean, girls have asked me out through friends in the past, but I'm not interested, I just want to concentrate on what I'm doing right now and when the time comes, I'll get married."

Kali has also indicated that girls have approached him through his friends in order to facilitate a relationship. Assuming these girls are Muslim, this indicate that they are available for relationships before marriage. Alexander (2000) found in her study of Bengali young males that Bengali girls were unavailable for relationships outside of marriage, but this quote from Kali suggests that this may not be the case. This is discussed further in the next chapter as the relationships of innovators and maximisers are discussed. Kali also states that he wants to concentrate on what he is doing now, and by this he means his education. He had hopes to attend a high ranking university and to secure a well-paying job before he married.

> **Kali:** "I want to make sure I'm in a good job, hopefully I'd go to a good uni' first and then I can have a good job and then I'll get married."

Whilst families being involved with the decisions regarding marriage is not unusual, there is evidence to suggest an increased level of involvement amongst British South Asian communities (Samad 2010). The conformists in this study were all planning on entering into an arranged marriage in the future. Basit (1997) found that participants in his study did not find arranged marriages restrictive or oppressive and this was a view shared by the conformists which was clear from the way that they spoke about the process. Jamaal was in the process of finding a suitable partner for marriage. They all retained choice in who they were going to marry and had certain criteria that should be met. Agency was important in the process of an arranged marriage:

> **Asim:** "It would be arranged but with my like conditions in a way, what I would prefer, I'd have a say in it as well, but they would find it for me."

Asim is describing the process by which a marriage is arranged, discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis (section 2.4.1), where he indicates his preferences to his parents and they take the lead in finding him potential partners through existing friendship and kin networks. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) refer to this type of arranged marriage as a 'modified traditional' arranged marriage (as discussed in Chapter 2). Jamaal provides further insight into this process below:

> **Jamaal:** "So, what I have, it was basically my mum and my sister and they will come to you and you know, we need to start thinking about you, you are getting to um, an age where you should think about it and they're like, well, what, on a serious level what would you be looking for in a girl. And I said well, I'm looking

for a girl ideally that looks like Megan Fox (we laugh). The first thing that happened was that my mum said no, that's not happening, so realistically speaking, I said well, I want a good girl, um, she doesn't have to be, she doesn't have to have a career. If she's educated that's better. Ideally I would, prefer someone that's educated. Someone that's religious, um, because then at least that way I feel a little bit more compatible. Someone I can talk to really speaking, and looks yeah, looks will help."

All of the conformists retained a sense of choice in marriage, stating that a partner had to meet certain criteria to be considered for marriage. The above quote indicates that parents do take a role in when their children marry as Jamaal's parents approached him asking about marriage, rather than Jamaal approaching them. Jamaal was in full time employment and was ready to start looking for a partner so he agreed. For Jamaal it was very important to find a partner that that would be willing to live with his parents. This was something which was very important as South Asian Muslim culture states that the youngest son in a family will live with and support his parents in old age (Basit 1997). Jamaal was the only son in the family and was very keen for this to happen. It should be considered then, that although Jamaal's commitment to religion was strong and his commitment to parts of his culture was strong, by getting married and living in the family home, he would inherit the family home. This means that marriage and living in the parental home are a means to achieve the culturally prescribed goal of wealth and maintaining family bonds, discussed earlier in this thesis. All the conformists stated religion as the most important factor when looking for a partner. Their potential spouse had to be a practising Muslim. This was not a religious requirement as Muslim men can marry any woman who is 'of the book' (Muslim, Christian or Jewish) (Khadduri 1977-1978) but conformists found it important their partner was Muslim. For example below, Jamaal explains what he looks for in a potential partner for marriage:

Kali: "So, basically, religion is the first thing I would look at. She has to be Muslim and she has to be a practising Muslim. She has to pray, she has to know the religion and she has to dress appropriately. She has to be able to read the quran, she has to be a practising Muslim otherwise it would be too difficult otherwise. If she was educated that would be good, cos I want someone I can talk to, I want someone who knows about stuff. She doesn't have to work because I can support the family, but I want someone who has been educated ideally. Obviously, I have

to find her attractive, that's quite important to me. I don't want to be in a situation where I don't think my wife is good looking. Anything else, I don't know, she has to be a good person, get on with my family. She will have to want to live with my parents too. I don't know though, we might move out for a bit and then come back and look after my parents, that's an option too."

To Jamaal it is also important that his partner be educated as he himself was highly educated. He felt as though this would mean they would have more things in common. This is consistent with literature that suggests British Muslim women are becoming educated and attending higher education institutes in order to negotiate a better choice of partner with their parents (Ahmed 2001, 2012). Attraction was also considered to be of importance to the respondents. This process appears to be one of negotiation as the potential husband is able to dictate his terms to his parents and is then presented with a number of options to consider before making his choice. If there are certain aspects of a potential partner he does not consider to be favourable, he can reject it and negotiate another partner. The process appears to be emotionless so far, with no talk of love or feelings. It appears as though the 'ideal' situation is created by the person getting married and then this is arranged by his parents.

Religion was always mentioned when asked what the respondents look for in a wife even amongst those who were not considered conformists. Even when the commitment to religion was weak, respondents felt that the single most important aspect of a partner would be their religion. A number of reasons were given for this and will be discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 7). Hanif and Hass summarise this view that religion is the most important characteristics of a potential wife, more important than her ethnicity:

> **Hanif**: "Um, so you, you'd have to, there's certain tick boxes, criteria that you have to like fulfil. Um, religion for me is always a priority. Um, the family, um, and then there are, everything else you can more or less work around I believe. And then there's anything else, like attraction. But everything else, you can work around. With women, tis slightly different, cos, there a bit more malleable, as I would say, so, so however they are, you can kind of like, depending on what he girls are like, you can kind of mould them however you want."

Hass however wanted to marry someone who has lived in Britain, indicating that a transnational marriage was something that he would not prefer:

> **Hass:** "Not necessarily, British, who has lived in this country yes, Pakistani not necessarily, because I think we live, as I said we live in a multi-cultural society here, so um, that would, the fact that you get along with the person would override any differences in culture. I think the differences in religion are insurmountable, I don't think you'd be able to, nothing would override them."

Whilst ethnicity was not seen as important in a potential partner, religion was important for a number of the respondents, both those who would conform to religion and those with a weaker commitment to their faith. Those with a weaker commitment to faith will be discussed in the next chapter. Mainly, the respondents felt as though a religious spouse would make themselves more religious in the future. Also, they felt a religious spouse would be able to raise their children in a better way than a spouse who had a weaker commitment to religion. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7 of this thesis. It appeared as though the conformists in this study were able to choose their spouse from a large selection of potential partners. They were able to have a list of criteria that had to be met for them to agree to the marriage. Jamaal explains the reasons behind why some instances where he was introduced to a potential *rishta* (engagement), it did not end up in marriage:

> **Jamaal:** "So, they had an idea and I think they looked around the community and they basically saw a few girls and they thought I might get along with them and they approached the parents and said look, are you looking to get your daughter married? Etc. etc. it's like my son, they basically just arranged to meetings, and I've met so far, I've met 3 girls, in fact I met the third girl, um, two three weeks ago. First girl didn't work but because I, one I wasn't attracted to her, I know that sounds superficial to say that."

As mentioned earlier, Jamaal was looking for a partner who was well educated, and as it has been stated previously, all of the conformists were either well educated or planned to study in the future before marriage. Again, this process appears to be emotionless for the respondents who have certain criteria that a partner must meet, with no mention of love. What this indicates is that the choice of partner is not about individual needs, but there is

an emphasis on maintaining the social order in terms of the family. There is an assumption that shared beliefs and values around religion, culture and the family would lead to a successful marriage.

Kali thought having an education would help him to find a suitable partner for marriage:

> **Kali:** "I think if I've got a good job and a good education then I'll be able to find someone I can get on with and someone who is a good Muslim. I'd like them to be educated too, I think that's important if we're going to get along."

These findings are consistent with literature on British Muslim women who achieve a high level of education and can thus negotiate a better choice of partner for them with their parents (Ahmed 2012; Ahmad 2001; Dale and Ahmad 2011). It appears as though having an education and a good job does indeed mean that you are able to find a spouse who is also well educated. This appears to be the case of conformists, however it is difficult to say this within the scope of this research. There may well be other British Asian Muslim males who have a large pool of potential partners who are not well educated. I did not come across any during my field work. In my experience as a second generation British Asian male, having an education and well paid jobs makes your appeal better. I was approached at number of times whilst in my third year of university and asked about my marital situation and if I was in the process of looking for a partner. I have also been approached whilst working at universities too. It appears as though a potential partner is more attractive if they have a good education and a well-paid job. It also appears as though British South Asian Muslims feel as though having the same level of education as their spouse is important in order to be able to get along. Whilst having 'criteria' for a partner might be considered rather picky, it must be remembered that Muslims do not 'date' before marriage. Having criteria for marriage, it seems, helps to narrow down the list of potential partners.

What is clear regarding the conformist is that they would seek to organise their lives in order to avoid drift in terms of leisure and religion. This makes them different to the majority of respondents who would seek to facilitate drift in order to take part in activities outside of rules of the family and religion and will be discussed further in this chapter. Therefore, methods of drift are not applicable to the conformist as they are to others who try to facilitate drift. The conformist in terms of this research can be

summarised as: Someone who follows their religion completely with very little, sometimes unintentional, drift. The conformist understands the difference between religion and culture and has been raised to acknowledge those differences. The conformist enters into an arranged marriage with plenty of agency involved in the process. The conformist is at no point offered any incentive for entering into marriage, the conformist's goal is not to achieve wealth through his marriage, but to improve his faith towards his religion. The conformist is a generally well educated person and this means he has a larger pool of potential partners. The conformist can also choose which aspects of culture to follow in his day to day life as the differences between cultural practises and religion has been explained to him. In terms of *presentation of self* (Goffman 1959), the conformist does not need to employ various 'fronts' for various audiences in terms of his belief. He may well do this in other areas of his life, but in terms of religion and how he conforms to it, he does not need to do that. He merely adopts one front and uses this in all situations.

These findings are consistent with literature that suggests that Islam can be a strong barrier to deviant behaviour and that a strong belief in the norms and values of a society will mean that individuals are less likely to break its rules (Wardak 2000; Wardak 2002; Ajrouch 2004) This was a consistent theme amongst the conformists, the idea that religious rules should not be broken and should be taken into account when making everyday decisions. Wardak (2002) argued that the mosque as well as the family created social order and meant that conformity to them would result in less deviant behaviour. The conformist clearly have a strong commitment to religion and this regulates their behaviour. Yahyaoui et al (2013) argued that young people who were heavily influenced by Islam showed greater restraint of sexual behaviour and intimate relationships than young people from other religious backgrounds. This was also demonstrated in this section where the conformists demonstrate that sexual relationships before marriage were not considered an option.

What should be noted is that the choice of the conformist to have a marriage appears to be a free choice and no pressure is applied from their parents to enter into a consanguineous transnational marriage. This is how the socialisation of the conformist differs to that of the maximiser and innovator, which will be discussed further in Chapter Six and Seven. The conformist speaks positively about his upbringing and the way in which he has been raised. This does not mean that he has not been a part of a process of

socialisation or social control, but the aim of that socialisation and social control has not been to pressure him into entering into a consanguineous transnational marriage.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, it has been shown in this section that the conformist does not drift from religion and culture habitually, and actively organises his life in order to avoid drift from religious duties. This chapter has highlighted specific incidents of drift amongst the conformists and the reasons behind this and differential association theory have been used to explain this. The conformist considers Islam before making any decisions regarding leisure, work and home life. The conformist avoids drift by employing a number of techniques, one of them being to socialise mainly with other Muslim males which strengthens his belief and also makes it easier for him to negotiate leisure. The conformist has been brought up to understand the difference between religion and culture and can choose which cultural practises to adopt. I have argued that this has led to a favourable view of the religion and thus his adoption of it. The conformists enters into an arranged marriage, with a choice of who he wants to marry in line with his Islamic faith. The conformists cites strong faith in Islam as the most important characteristic of a potential partner. The conformist also believes that his faith in the religion can always be improved and marriage is one of the ways in which to do that. The conformist does not use marriage as a means to achieve wealth, but does this through becoming highly educated and attaining well paid employment. However, this does not mean that the conformist will not inherit the family wealth and the assumption that his is not important to him should not be made. The conformist will be aware of the fact that marrying and moving into the parental home will result in him inheriting a share of the family wealth and possibly the inheritance of the parental home. One conformist stated the importance of finding a partner who was to live in the parental home with him for cultural reasons. He was in well-paid employment so we can assume that he was telling the truth but we should not discount the role that the family inheritance plays in this process. This thesis will now move on to considering those who have a weaker commitment to religion and similar themes will be addressed.

CHAPTER 6: THE INNOVATOR AND MAXIMISER

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter argued that the conformist has a strong belief in religion and had a clear understanding of the difference between religion and culture. The conformist rarely drifted from religious rules and organised his life in order to avoid drift. Where drift did occur, it was momentary and conformist were able to recall specific incidents of drift. This chapter will explore both the innovator and Maximiser and demonstrate a number of things regarding the way in which they associate with Islam in their everyday lives. In Chapter three, I described the innovator and maximiser as a British Muslim who drifts from religion on a habitual basis. The difference between the innovator and the maximiser lies in marriage. The innovator rejects an arranged marriage and the maximiser enters into an arranged marriage which will be discussed in Chapter seven.

Firstly, it will be shown that the innovator and Maximiser understand religion in the same way as the conformist but have been subject to an upbringing where religion is used as a cover for cultural practices. This means that the way in which they have been socialised is different to that of the conformist who has been taught the difference between religious duties and cultural practises. The innovator and Maximiser also differ from the conformist in the way in which they organise their leisure. The conformist actively avoids drifts, where the innovator and maximiser seek to facilitate drift away from religious conformity. It will be shown here, that a number of techniques and strategies are used in order to do this so that the innovator and maximiser can take part in activities outside of the rules of religion and the family. In particular I focus on how the drinking of alcohol and relationships before marriage are negotiated and managed as a secret deviant identity. This drift is present as a reaction to the pressure to conform to both religion and cultural rules set by the family and wider biraderi, and wider British culture. This satisfies one of the criteria highlighted in Chapter three, where the innovators and maximisers drift from religion and culture.

As stated previously, the major difference between innovation and maximisation lies in marriage. The innovator rejects a consanguineous transnational marriage, whilst the Maximiser accepts it, thus reproducing a system of transnational marriages. This will be discussed in Chapter seven. This section will also demonstrate that the commitment to

religion and culture for the innovator and Maximiser is weak, but they still remain as Muslims, so they have not replaced this. Therefore, this is not an example of rebellion. Had they outwardly left the religion and also rejected an arranged marriage, they would be called rebels. Due to the nature of this research and the recruitment processes, no rebels were interviewed. However, an interesting research project would be to investigate if any ex-Muslims left the religion because of pressure to marry according to parent's wishes. This section will demonstrate that commitment to religion and culture is weak among the innovators and maximisers by exploring the leisure activities and intimate relationships of the Maximiser and demonstrating the drift that occurs away from religion.

6.2 Understandings of Religion and Culture

In order to understand whether or not innovators and maximisers drift in terms of religion and culture, and thus fulfil the criteria for maximisation and innovation stated in Chapter 3, it is important to establish their understanding of religion. Understandings of religion and culture of the innovator and Maximiser were the same. Both agreed as to the duties of Muslims, often referring to the five pillars of Islam, prayer, fasting, the declaration of faith, giving to charity and performing pilgrimage, to explain what those duties were, with praying five times a day often referred to as the most important aspect of being a Muslim. Understanding the religion was not a problem, but conforming to it proved to be far more difficult for the innovators and maximisers than the conformists:

> **Rafiq**: Erm, see there's one compulsory action that every Muslim must take. Although you are a good Muslim a bad Muslim, whatever type of Muslim you are, you must pray five times a day, that's one of the five pillars of Islam. I don't pray five times a day, err, the other pillars of Islam are erm, taking the shahada, which is believing that there is one god and that prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H (peace be upon him) is the last messenger, erm, fasting, one is pilgrimage and one is giving charity. I sort of fulfil my charity, I would like to go hajj one day, pilgrimage, erm, I fast every year, the month of Ramadan, erm and the other is the shahada (declaration of faith). I do bear witness that there is one god and Muhammad P.B.U.H is his last messenger, so in that aspect I do 4 of the 5 pillars of Islam, but the pillar that I don't do is very very important, because it's the most

steadfast pillar, it's the most consistent pillar of Islam, its meant to be done day in day out for the period that you are alive."

Rafiq Acknowledges that prayer is the most important pillar but also admits that he does not pray. He knows that he should pray but it appears as though his commitment to religion is weak, therefore he does not. He also does not mention any of the other rules of religion that should be followed and from his quote, it appears as though he is following Islam most of the time apart from his lack of prayer. However this is not the case as will be discussed further in this chapter. Saki also referred to the five pillars of Islam and admitted he did not pray as he should except for *Juma* prayer. This is similar to Wardak's (2000) findings, who stated that 'part time conformists' who violated the social and moral order of a British Muslim community would maintain links to the community usually by attending Friday prayers:

> **Saki:** "Muslims have to pray, they fast, they give charity, the go on hajj and they do this declaration that they are Muslim. You have to be a good person too, its not just about those things. There's other stuff too like reading the Quran, other things that count towards your religion.. I don't pray, maybe sometimes of Fridays in the mosque but I don't pray five times a day."

It also became clear, both through observations in the field and during interviews that innovators and Maximisers were not abiding by the rules of religion and that religion did not take precedence when making decisions regarding leisure even though they were aware of the obligations and consequences for not following these rules. All the respondents named prayer as being the most important aspect of being Muslim, but only the conformists in this study prayed regularly and habitually. They would often excuse themselves at the time of prayer and would fulfil their obligation to the religion. What was interesting during my time in the field was the obvious shame and regret that was evident amongst the innovators and the maximisers that they were not praying when the conformists would. Innovators and maximisers would remark as to how they *should* be praying quite often, but none of them seemed to have the commitment to complete this part of their religious duty. The innovators and maximisers prayed on occasion such as on *Eid* (Muslim holy festival), during *Ramadan* (Islamic holy month where Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset) or some Fridays (Muslims pray in congregation every Friday). These were occasions when it was seen as more important to be following the religion

more carefully. One respondent explains this drift (Matza 1964) by referring to these people as 'Friday Muslims':

> **Afridi:** "There are too many fake people out there, people go to Juma on a Friday and then go out clubbing at night, they are the hyprocrites, girls in hijabs who go and see their boyfriends, they are the hypocrites. I lie to my parents yeah cos they will bollock me otherwise, but I don't pretend to people to be something I'm not, the world is full of Friday Muslims!"

Afridi displays a 'front' (Goffman 1959) here. He maintains a front to his parents that he is committed to religion by lying to them and states that other individuals do the same by attending Friday prayers, much like the part time conformists in Wardak's (2000) study. This allows Afridi to maintain another front and secret identity in order to take part in activities outside of the rules of his religion and family outside of the home setting. Afridi even refers to this presentation as 'The Friday Muslim' because they present a 'front' when they are at mosque on Fridays but another 'front' which is non-religious at other times. There is evidence here of Afridi using techniques of neutralisation in order to offer a justification for this drift away from conformity, by shifting the focus of the conversation to other Muslims who are 'worse' than him, he could be trying to *condemn the condemners* (Sykes and Matza 1957) where he points the finger at the people making the judgment in a bid to excuse his own behaviour. This was some indication that even though some respondents were aware of the teachings of Islam and they felt as though they should be obeying them, their commitment to religion was not strong enough to ensure that they did follow the teachings. They would often try to justify the reasons behind this:

> **Sameer:** "I pray on Fridays, I try go every Friday. I got the day off work so I can go on Fridays, but I'm just too busy for all that right now. I dunno, I just don't really feel like it, I know it's bad, and I'm busy with work and stuff too.. But my parents don't say anything to me. I mean, like if they had taught me properly maybe it would be different, but they care more about other things like who we marry and that we don't go out with girls and stuff."

Again, Sameer is also condemning the condemners in a bid to justify his non-conformity to religion. This also indicates that the innovators and maximisers feel contempt for the way in which they have been taught about religion and the fact that cultural practices have

been given more importance than religious duties in their upbringing. What is also interesting here is that it appears as though on Fridays when Muslims pray in congregation, some of the respondents are aware of a presentation of self (Goffman 1959) taking place. This allows them to demonstrate a commitment to religion that is not there, but allows them to transgress from religious duties outside of the home setting.

Other respondents would talk about the future and how they hoped that one day they would pray often and fulfil their religious duties:

> **Rafiq**: "To be honest with you, I think, in my opinion, I should be praying five times a day. I think this, there is no excuse not to be praying five times a day, for me, that's good enough man. I mean you do other things like recite the Quran and whatnot, but, for me, praying five times a day, giving your charity, fasting, you know, obviously, you believe in the one god and his final prophet, and err the last thing is if you can in your lifetime, go for pilgrimage, hajj. That's intended, that's my intentions and clean intentions as well. I genuinely wanna, you know I've dreamt about it, so you know like people dream to do, drive a fast car, I've dreamt about going to hajj and umrah. Umrah I'm ready to be honest with you, hajj Inshallah one day as well. If that works out, it's all about your circumstances at the end of the day."

This future of the respondents be discussed further in chapter seven of this thesis. What was also apparent was the way in which religion and culture was presented to the innovator and Maximiser was vastly different to the way in which the conformist had been taught. It was discussed earlier that religious rules were not used as a way in which to implement cultural practises in the upbringing of conformists, however this does not appear to be the case in terms of innovators and Maximisers whose experience is similar to that described by Jacobson (1997) who argues that in some Muslim households, religion is used as a cover for cultural practises. There appeared to be a belief that religion and culture were often presented in the same way by the elders in order to embed cultural practises into the younger generation. There were many examples of this given by the respondents. Wajid explains that having to live with his parents after marriage is not a religious duty, but a cultural expectation. However according to Wajid, it is not communicated in this way:

> **Wajid:** "There's a wedge between what you believe and what the older generation believe. I don't see myself as Pakistani, I'm a British Muslim, not a British Pakistani. The issues are not Islamic, they are cultural, for example, Islam says look after your parents, it doesn't say you have to live with them. You inherit the Pakistani culture by default, you get confused as to who you are, what you believe, some people don't know the logic behind meeting non-Muslims, core values matter to me."

This communication of cultural practises as religious duties was also apparent in other areas of life, for example, Majid argues that the cultural practise of wearing traditional clothing is communicated as a religious duty when it fact it is not:

> **Majid:** "Some people mix up culture and religion, your culture is taken before religion which is wrong. Like all the girls in Bradford wear traditional clothing, when it doesn't say anywhere in the Quran that you have to do that."

Rehan recalls a time when he was unable to go on a school trip because his mother said it was against his religion, this is a clear indication of the process of social control and intense socialisation that is taking place, religion is being used as cover for cultural practises as well as for social control of the younger generation:

> **Rehan:** "Sometimes they try and make you do stuff because they will say that it's a sin if you don't. But it's not. It's just because they want you to do it and they use religion to tell you to do it. It doesn't say to do it like that in the Quran.. Like there was a school trip to wales when I was younger and my Mum said you can't go because it's against your religion. I was only like 11 at the time. I thought that was wrong. I don't think school trips are against my religion. I just think that she didn't want me to stay away from home overnight. They think we are gonna get up to bad stuff."

Wajid, Majid and Rehan are describing a tension between elders of the family who placed too much emphasis on culture and the younger generation who come to be aware of the differences between religious duties and cultural practises and want to adhere to religion more and be able to choose which cultural practises to follow. This is consistent with literature from (Jacobson 1997) which suggests that some British Muslims have been raised with cultural practises disguised as religious obligations. This is was evident with the majority of innovators and maximisers, for example, Rafiq and Rehan feel that culture

was given too much importance over religion by the South Asian community. He felt as though religion should be adhered more than cultural practises:

> **Rafiq**: "But I believe that the Asians from India, Pakistan are sort of take it to another level. They take their pride and family respect or culture sometimes further than their religion which is wrong. If you ask me religion should be preliminary and yes, your culture and religion are very similar then it should be based around your religion. You shouldn't make up rules about religion, you should go by what the Quran says and if the Quran says it's okay then it's okay. If the Quran says it's not allowed then it's not allowed. It should be that simple."

He also indicates that pride and respect are of great significance to British South Asian families which is consistent with literature on Sharam and Izzat, as defined earlier in this thesis (Gangoli et al. 2006; Afshar, 1994; Khanum, 1995; Ballard 1994; Wardak 2000). It is clear from this section that the experiences of the innovators and Maximisers compared to that of the conformist is vastly different. Conformist, as discussed earlier, were taught the differences between cultural and religious duties and were given the choice about which cultural practises they adopted. It appears as though innovators and Maximisers have had no such choice and that religion has been used as a way to implement cultural practises. This will be discussed further in the sections on marriage (section Chapter Seven). This might be an explanation for the weaker commitment to religion than the conformist. The socialisation process by which cultural practises are learnt, could possibly leave the innovators and maximisers confused about religion and disillusioned with culture. There was some indication that this was the case within the interviews:

> **Umar:** "The way they teach us is wrong as well, it's like we're forced into it. You are afraid you might get hit if you get it wrong. Mosque classes were like that, but its different now I heard. Maybe that's why we run away from religion as soon as we are old enough to get away with it. Sometimes you don't even know what is religion and what is not!"

It has been established in this section that innovators and maximisers have a weak commitment to religious obligations and that their upbringing may have played a part in this. In the previous section, it was discovered that conformists have a strong commitment to religion and culture and have been raised to understand the differences between religion

and culture. Thus, this section has demonstrated that innovators and maximisers fulfil the part of the criteria to be considered in this category, as discussed in Chapter three. The next section will consider to what extent drift is occurring through leisure activities and how this drift is facilitated.

6.3 Commitment to Religion

Whilst conformist, who had a strong commitment to religion, rarely drifted from religious rules, innovators and maximisers drifted habitually away from religious teachings. The reason why they are not considered under the Rebellion adaptation is because they remain Muslim and they still show a commitment to becoming more religious in the future (see Chapter 7) as well as self-identifying as Muslim. If they had outwardly left the religion as well as drifted away from its obligations, they would have been considered as rebels. I will explore this in this section as well as in the next chapter. Innovators and maximisers used a variety of techniques in order to conceal drift from their families. Firstly, I will consider the way in which they drift generally when it comes to religion.

Here, Kashif describe how he has two sides to his behaviour, he has a religious side that he presents to his 'religious friends' and family, and he has his side which he describes as his *hood side*. Kashif is demonstrating Goffman's (1959) Presentation of Self. Kashif is 'performing' for his audiences. One of his audiences are his friends from 'the hood' and the other are his 'religious friends' and parents. Kashif is presenting two different 'fronts' to these audiences. One of his fronts is of a conformist, the front that he presents to his religious friends, someone who follows the rules of the religion and does not deviate. His front to his friends from 'the hood' is different as he describes his behaviour as 'doing bad stuff':

> **Kashif:** Yeah definitely, cos, I obviously I don't want err, like, one of, I have the good side and the bad side. I don't, I don't want people knowing that I'm part of the other side. For example, I don't want people from the hood knowing my really religious friends and stuff like that. And also I don't want my very religious friends to know that I'm always in the hood and doing bad stuff and smoking weed and stuff cos obviously that's not a good thing for other people to know. And for

me to come back on Tuesday and start praying again when I've been doing bad the whole week. And also there's the thing with my parents cos they they have good image of me but they know I'm not perfect and I do, do bad stuff and they've always taught me I'm not perfect but I can't be going astray too much and I can't, I can't do certain stuff."

What this demonstrates is that Kashif's commitment to both settings is tenuous; his commitment to his religion appears weak as he only shows conformity when he is in the company of his religious friends, unlike the conformists whose commitment to religion remains no matter who the audience are. By referring to his 'hood' self as 'bad' he does indicate that he believes his religious side is his good side – he is freely admitting to having a good and a bad side, where his good side is his religious side. This indicates that he feels he should be following his religion at all times, but like the other innovators, he does not do this. This form of drift happens for Kashif everyday as he presents a different front to various audiences in his life.

I also witnessed a form of drift on a longer scale. Ramadan, the holy months where Muslims fast from sun up to sun down was observed by the majority of respondents. This was a time at which I witnessed the most drift *into* religious conformity. Respondents would do more than they would on an ordinary day in order to ensure that their five daily prayers were completed and they would not take part in leisure activities that would generally fall outside the rules of Islam. This drift into religion lasted the whole month, but then almost instantly, after the month had finished, the innovators and maximisers would begin to facilitate drift again. At times, conversations at the shisha café would centre around planning activities such as going to clubs after Ramadan was over which is an example of the level of thought that goes into drifting from religious conformity to non-conformity. It is an active thought process that needs management. Kashif explains the importance of Ramadan to Muslims:

Kashif: Well there's also another thing, cos basically err, I am Muslim, and I don't want to be like this err actually cos I have times where I do, I do, pray and for example Ramadan is coming up soon and you don't want to be like this during Ramadan, cos then your fasts will not be accepted, cos when you're fasting, you can't just not eat and drink cos it's not about that, it's also about other things, for example, you can't touch girls, you can't talk to girls with the wrong intention,

you can't swear, and yeah, yeah definitely and there's times when I do, when I do care about my religion and I do follow the rules and sayings more than I would during any other month in the year

In the quote above, Kashif is describing the front (Goffman 1959) that is required in order to conform to religion during Ramadan and how this is different to the front displayed normally. He lists the things that he cannot do during Ramadan, which are the things that he would normally do. Saqlain in the quote below attributes the change in behaviour to the devil being locked away and makes it seem as though his drift from religion outside of Ramadan is caused by an external force:

> *Saqlain:* "I'm not a hard-core religious person like reading the Qur'an, praying 5 times a day, I'm not doing that at the moment, maybe because I'm, they say the devils behind you, or, how shall I put it, there's always someone stopping you from doing the good deeds, but in the month of Ramadan, they're all locked up so, you've got a chance to do it so you try more, if you ain't gonna achieve it, that shows that you're just bad yourself at the end of the day, you don't want to go by your religion, you just want to do what you wanna do so, its like, in Ramadan I stop listening to music in my car, where normally I listen to so much music, so."

Saqlain states that his behaviour during Ramadan changes because this external force is no longer present and that because he is not a bad person, he conforms to his religion. He attributes these fronts (Goffman 1959) to this external force. This indicates that whilst Saqlain displays a weak commitment to religion outside of Ramadan, he still has belief in it, otherwise he would not conform during Ramadan either.

Ramadan is seen by Muslims as a month where reward for completing religious duties is plentiful. Whilst some drift did still occur during Ramadan, such as missing fasts and prayers, the level of drift was much less. Those respondents who were in relationships would change their behaviour also, often not seeing their partners, or refraining from sexual activity during the month:

> **Interviewer**: "Okay, did you have this girlfriend last Ramadan?"
> **Max**: "Yeah."
> **Interviewer**: "Did you see her last Ramadan?"
> **Max**: "Yeah."

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Interviewer: "You did?"

Max: "Yeah."

Interviewer: "Okay, but is it the same when you meet up?"

Max: "Err, no, not really, not at all."

Interviewer: "It's not?"

Max: "No, cos you have to resist temptation, because even if you touch her, you break your fast."

Even though Max would still see his girlfriend, thus still drifting during Ramadan due to the fact that Muslims are unable to mix with members of the opposite sex, he would change his behaviour when around her. He accepts this compromise in order to complete his obligation of fasting during Ramadan. This was made easier by the fact that Max's girlfriend was also Muslim and would have also been completing her obligation to fast during Ramadan.

Drift into religious conformity during Ramadan demonstrates that whilst the commitment to religion was weak for innovators and maximisers during ordinary days, their commitment to religion was strong at particular times. During Ramadan, innovators and maximisers were able to show the same front in all of their surroundings. There was no need to change their manner or their presentation of self because they became practising Muslims at this time. There was also an indication that those that drifted into religion and out of religion were hypocritical and even those that did not have a strong commitment to religion tended to have a negative view of this drift:

Saqlain: "Um, to tell you the truth, um, to some call, I do say I'm religious, but not fully religious to extent where I'm praying five times a day or anything like that. But when it comes down to um, Ramadan, the fasting period, I do go to the mosque, I do, do my stuff that needs to be done. But at the end of the day I've got a lot of things to say about that as well. It's just like, alright, we do, do it for that month, for the sake of it. But I just think, for that one month, changing yourself and then after it finishes and everything, you go back to your normal selves, not that I'm saying we drink alcohol, we do any bad things or anything like that. But I'm just saying like, we just don't do the five times, all the stuff that we need to do in our religion, but for that period, we do, do it."

This could be an indication that Saqlain feels as though commitment is an all or nothing phenomenon. He feels as though people should display a strong commitment to religion at all times, or not at all. This is a strange way of thinking given that Saqlain himself drifted regularly into religious non-conformity and freely admits that. In Ramadan, however, Saqlain would change his behaviour quite a lot. He was known for driving nice cars and playing loud music in them, during Ramadan, he would not play any music as he saw it as against Islam, his daily life would change to where he was praying five times a day and he was actively avoiding drifting into non-conformity. He obviously feels that he should be doing this all the time. Perhaps he is displaying guilt here for the fact that he is not conforming all the time and feels he should be.

So far, this chapter has demonstrated that innovators and maximisers are aware of religious obligations but drift from this on a regular basis. Referring to Table 3 (Chapter 3) this demonstrates that for innovators and maximisers, drift from religious duties is present, thus satisfying one aspect of innovation and maximisation with regards to this research. Murphy and Robinson (2008) argued that the maximiser would achieve a culturally prescribed goal through using both legitimate and illegitimate means and that criminality would be present. Innovators would use just illegitimate means to achieve the culturally prescribed goal and criminality would be present. The maximisers and innovators in this research are drifting from religious rules dependent on the situation, this analogous to criminality in this context. As stated previously, the difference between innovation and maximisation in the context of this research lies in marriage and this will be discussed in Chapter seven. The next section will explore the ways in which this drift is facilitated.

6.4 Facilitating Drift

As discussed earlier in this chapter, innovators and maximisers differed to conformists when it came to drift and the management of it. Conformists organised their leisure and work in order to prevent incidents of drift, they actively avoided activities that would lead to them breaking the rules of Islam. Innovators and maximisers however, did the complete opposite. As I will demonstrate in this section, innovators and maximisers use techniques and strategies in order to facilitate drift so that they could take part in activities outside of the rules of religion, culture and the family. Firstly, I will consider

the extent to which drift from religious duties is present and how this is achieved. Secondly, I will consider leisure, focussing on the consumption of alcohol as this appeared to be the most negotiated and strategic aspect of leisure. A strategy to facilitate drift has already been uncovered which was similar to findings from Wardak (2000). This was where *Juma* prayers were completed in order to maintain a 'front' (Goffman 1959) with the community of a commitment to religion in order to keep transgressions from religion and culture secret. This section will now explore how friendship groups are formed and how this facilitates the process of drift. . This section will also look at the strategies employed in order to facilitate the consumption of alcohol and other leisure activities outside the rules of religion and the family.

6.4.1 Friendship Groups: Enabling Drift

As stated earlier, conformists, whose commitment to religion was strong and did not display habitual levels of drift tended to socialise with other conformists which helped to avoid drifting away from religious teachings. Innovators and maximisers however, tended to base most of their social life engaging in activities with other innovators and maximisers who had the same interests as them, but also drifted from religion and culture in the same way that they did. This was established through the fieldwork as I observed the close friendship groups of the respondents. They also nodded towards the fact that they mostly associate with other Muslims during interviews. Afridi admits to socialising with others who had the same interests in him such as smoking shisha and going on holiday. He also states that none of his immediate friendship group pray, so we can assume that these members of his friendship group are either innovators or maximisers. He also states that he has friends who do pray, those we can assume are conformists, and states that activities which fall outside of religion cannot be conducted when they are present:

> **Afridi:** "Close friends are people who I have known for a long time, most of them are Muslims. We all have the same interests, we like smoking shisha, we like going out, we go on holidays together… No, none of us pray, I mean I have friends that do, but they won't come out with us and stuff. We can't do some of the stuff like drinking and stuff with them."

Majid states that his friendship group, comprised of all Pakistani Muslims had the same interests and past times but also formed a bond after the riots in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001 (see Amin 2002; Bagguley and Hussain 2003; Ray and Smith 2002; Webster 2003). Wardak (2000) found in his study that the Pakistani community in Edinburgh that young Pakistani children would socialise together as a response to racism and violence. This is similar to Majid's experience. Whilst I have not uncovered racism and violence as a key factor in the formation of friendship groups, Majid's experience is similar to Wardak's findings:

> **Majid:** "All Pakistani Muslims. We have just known each other for a long time, we all grew up together. It's quite a tight Pakistani community in Bradford, all the Pakistani boys stuck together during the times of riots and things. We look after each other Racism is definitely a problem here, not so much now, but it has been in the past… We have the same interests, same past times."

This is consistent with literature which suggests that British Asian Muslims generally socialise with other from the same ethnic and religious group as them (Alexander 2000; Bhui 2005), which allows them to develop techniques in which they can drift from religious and cultural rules. They are able to share techniques as to how to avoid detection and maintain a secret identity whilst drifting from religious and cultural restrictions.

What is clear from this section is that innovators and maximisers tended to socialise together, much like conformists formed friendship groups with other confirmists. This is an important part of organising leisure in order to either facilitate drift (innovators and maximisers) or avoiding drift (conformists).

6.4.1 Leisure and drift

I will now consider how drift is facilitated when it comes to leisure activities on an everyday basis. As stated earlier in this thesis, drinking alcohol and unsupervised mixing with females is considered against the teachings of Islam as it is forbidden in the Quran. Whilst I did not witness the drinking of alcohol during my time in the field, it became clear that this was something that some of the respondents took part in. Conformist did not drink or involve themselves in activities that included the presence of alcohol for the reasons stated above, but innovators and maximisers who displayed drift

away from religious conformity at a habitual level did take part in activities that involved alcohol and also talked about drinking alcohol. Attending night clubs seemed to be common amongst innovators and maximisers. As this was forbidden, innovators and maximisers had to keep this secret from their parents and wider family. In order to do this, they employed a number of techniques. Firstly, they lied about where they were going. They would often tell their parents that they were going out for dinner or somewhere other than where they were actually going. Afridi states that a simple lie such as saying he was going out for dinner would be enough:

> **Afridi:** "When we were going clubbing, we would just, just tell them something like we are going for dinner."

Rehan also agreed with this and used the same technique as Afridi, he also indicated that his parents would not ask many questions about where he was going.

> **Rehan:** *Yeah you just say you're going for dinner, or you're going to the movies and you'll be back late. They're asleep when you come home so its okay. They might ask some questions but they don't seem to care about going out and stuff.*

Saki also used this strategy with his parents and stated that this was not difficult to do:

> **Saki:** "They didn't really ask too many questions, but if they do, you just lie and tell them you're going somewhere else, it wasn't difficult."

These lies allow the respondents to drift (Matza 1964). They display a 'front' when with their parents who believe they are conforming to religion, but when they leave the house, they are displaying another 'front' by going clubbing and drinking alcohol. However, this appeared to be a strategy that worked only in the short term. Saqib talks of lying to his parents but also indicates that his parents became aware that he was not being completely honest:

> **Saqib:** "Um, it will just be, you know, it's, blah blah blah's birthday today and I have to stay with him for a while. And I wasn't driving at that point as well so I would be like, and he's the one that would be dropping me back home and I don't know when I will be back. And you that will be my excuse, you know it works once or twice, after a while, you know, it comes to that Pakistani err, dad um abuse where he goes 'watch when you come home and I'll break your legs' (laughs) so that sort of stuff yeah."

This was a view that was also communicated by other innovators and maximisers, that somehow, their parents were aware of their activities and even though they did not agree with them, there was an unspoken acceptance of these transgressions:

> **Sajid**: "See the thing about, I think my mum and dad, nah, I'd say my mum, I'm gonna say my mum a lot in this interview because she's had most impact in my life, more than anyone. The majority of my social life, yeah, was, even though parents might have been in denial or they knew anyway, I would still deny it. So obviously if I'm leaving home for 10pm, I can only be going so clubbing for example, okay you might be catching a film, but you won't be dressed to the nines, you won't be putting your aftershave on, you won't be getting 50 phone calls before you go out. And if anybody asks, I would just say, we're going out for a meal, it would that sort of stuff, oh I'm going out for a meal."

There was an indication that even if their parents did find out, this was unlikely to have an effect on them, but the respondents would still keep it discreet, possibly to avoid any shame on their parents:

> **Sajid:** "Oh yeah definitely, I would never ever admit to going clubbing, even if my mum knew I was. We'd have a conversation like, "don't go clubbing its bad for you this happens" so the conversations been had, we both know where I'm going, I would still make an excuse up that I'm not going there. It's silly really, when you think about it, I don't know why I did it. We both knew what was happening, I would still say I'm going out for a meal, it was always a meal (laughs) I must have gone out for a lot of meals! (Laughs)."

This is consistent with literature that suggests Asian Muslim males are given more freedom by parents than Muslim females (for example Ostberg 2003; Jacobson 1997; Alexander 2004; Basit 1997). Whilst this research did not consider the female experience, it does confirm that Muslim males are able to transgress from some religious and cultural duties without facing consequences, Kashif also confirms this by directly addressing the issue of the difference between male and female deviation in South Asian Muslim culture:

> **Kashif:** "Yeah that's all, cos you've got a reputation and you don't wanna mess that up. Cos, in my culture, reputation is really important. For example, if you were a girl, it's really different to being a boy. A boy is much more open and like free in our culture, they can do whatever they want and they need to make sure

that their status and reputation doesn't get damaged. But for a girl for example, if they go out and meat up with boys and girls goes out with boys and their family finds out, most families will tell other families and that's, that's, she'll be seen as like used, and no one, no one else will want her. No one would want to marry her.. And yeah."

In Matza's (1964:28) conceptualisation of 'drift' (as discussed in Chapter three), delinquents are aware that even if they are caught transgressing, the consequences are negotiable and the act can be neutralised. It appears as though 'drift' is being facilitated by the parents' of the respondents by them knowing about the transgressions, but choosing to remain silent. It is also quite clear from this data, that British South Asian males are given more autonomy is terms of leisure than British South Asian females. They are able to transgress without facing consequences and females are not able to do this. Whilst males are able to 'drift' (Matza 1964:28), because of this, females are not able to do so, it seems, as easily. It is clear from Kashif's explanation above that this is due to the concepts of shame and honour discussed earlier in this thesis but he uses the words 'status' and 'reputation' to explain this. He also states that a female's reputation is more important than a males because if she develops a bad reputation, consistent with literature in this area (Handa 2003; Toor 2009; Wardak 2000; Dwyer 2000; Dasgupta 1998; Varghese and Jenkins 2009; Hickey 2004; Abraham 2001; Durham 2004; Dasgupta and Dasgupta 1998; Naidoo 2003) He also states that she will not be able to find a partner for marriage. British South Asian males do not appear to have the same problems in this regard and are given more autonomy to transgress. Saqib talks about how it must be obvious that he is going clubbing but again, it remains unspoken in the house. Parents appear to be giving acquiescent consent, that as long as this transgression remains discreet and hidden, that it is okay for them to be drifting in this way.

> **Saqib:** "Well, I think my parents know, you know, that I do go out clubbing and whatnot. I mean they do know that I do not drink alcohol or anything like that or that sort but um, they know I go out every now and then, because I was talking to with one of my friends actually the other day where I said if I'm leaving the house at 11 o clock trying to look all sharp and everything my mum knows what's going down. So yeah I think they do know where I'm going and stuff, we just haven't had that conversation, like we're not open about that."

These transgressions, whilst obviously known by parents and elders, were kept discreet because of 'respect'. If we equate respect with Izzat (honour) then we can begin to understand the reasons behind why these transgressions, even though they are known, are still done discreetly:

> **Inzamaam:** "I have to keep some things secret. Like when I come home pissed, my mum probably knows I've gone clubbing but it's about respect as well. You can't do everything in front of them, because it's just not right, even if they might know.. If I am pissed I'll make sure I come home late, when everyone is asleep and just go straight to bed."

Being discreet in the violation of religious rules involved tactics to ensure that transgressions such as these did not become obvious, so that they remained unspoken. As Inzamaam stated above, when he was drunk, he would make sure he came home after the family had gone to bed, making sure he was not seen and avoiding any interaction after he had been drinking. Being out of sight when taking part in these activities that fall outside of religion was important:

> **Shabir:** "To be honest, I'm like another person at home, I don't tell my parents about drinking, girls, everything, like at home, I'll be a proper like good boy, but outside with my friends, but I think everyone does that, you're not gonna be the same person at home that you are with your friends, you're parents aren't like your friends."

Shabir also indicates here that he is displaying different 'fronts' (Goffman 1959) for his home life and his life outside of the home and says that at home he is a 'good boy' indicating that he sees his transgressions outside of the home and him being 'bad'. Avoiding members of the family when taking part in activities outside of religion, especially those that involve alcohol is consistent with existing literature (Valentine et. al. 2010; Demant and Landolt 2013). However it appears as though British Muslim males are using nightclubs rather than other private spaces when consuming alcohol. Further research would be needed in this area to see where this transgression is taking place and how this is managed, but through conversations with the respondents, it was clear that going to nightclubs was common among the innovators and maximisers. Goodman et al (2011) reported heavy use of alcohol amongst Muslims who consumed alcohol and from my observations and conversations with the respondents, this appears to be accurate.

It is clear from this section that drift was occurring on a regular basis amongst innovators and maximisers. They used a variety of strategies and techniques in order to conceal this drift, but in some cases, they admitted to their parents knowing about their transgressions. These transgressions were generally accepted, albeit not openly discussed. This is consistent with Matza's (1964:28) conception of 'drift'as discussed in Chapter three. The respondent's are aware of the consequences of the rules they must follow but are also aware that being caught will carry consequences, but also that the consequences could be negotiated. It is in fact that the parents' and elders of the respondets are facilitating this drift by turning a blind eye. The strategies they used included displaying a number of 'fronts' to hide their secret deviance. They did this by lying about their activities and also avoided coming home after having been drinking. Earlier in this chapter it was discovered that some innovators and maximisers would attend *juma* prayer so as to maintain the illusion of their commitment to religion. Coupled with the findings in this section it is clear that this is a deviant identity which is managed through the use of different 'fronts'.

6.5 Relationships before Marriage

As stated earlier in this thesis, Islam forbids intimate relationships before marriage and therefore being involved in a relationship before marriage demonstrates drift into religious non-conformity. Also, as discussed in chapter two, these behaviours are seen as shameful by South Asian Muslim communities (Handa 2003; Toor 2009; Wardak 2000; Dwyer 2000; Dasgupta 1998; Varghese and Jenkins 2009; Hickey 2004; Abraham 2001; Durham 2004; Dasgupta and Dasgupta 1998; Naidoo 2003). Innovators and Maximisers differ from conformists when it comes to relationships before marriage. As these are forbidden in Islam, conformists do not enter into intimate relationships before marriage but innovators and Maximisers do. As innovators reject arranged marriages and maximisers do not, this section will consider them separately as their reasons for entering into an intimate relationships differ in some respects.

6.5.1 The Maximiser and Relationships before Marriage

The maximiser, who according to Murphy and Robinson (2008) uses both legitimate and illegitimate means in order to achieve a culturally prescribed goal, will be considered in this section. Before discussing the maximiser and his involvement in relationships before marriage, we must first remind ourselves that the maximiser enters into a marriage arranged by his parents or elders which is consanguineous and transnational, this will be discussed in detail in Chapter seven. Therefore, relationships before marriage are not required in order to find a partner and are also forbidden in Islamic teachings. I found that there were two reasons as to why relationships before marriage would be entered into for a maximiser. Firstly, the maximiser like any other adolescent, would 'play the field' to fulfil sexual desires. Secondly, the maximiser might have plans of convincing his parents to let him choose his own partner, which later proved unsuccessful. Had he been successful in convincing his parents to allow him to marry according to his own wishes, rejecting the arranged marriage, he would be considered an innovator. Both of these reasons for pursuing intimate relationships before marriage demonstrate drift away religious teachings.

Firstly, I will consider those that entered into casual relationships before marriage in order to fulfil sexual desires. Here, Kashif talks about how he has multiple partners who he meets on a 'regular basis' in order to fulfil sexual desires:

Kashif: "I have some girls which I meet on a regular basis and I also have some girls, what's it called, it's a process you called, 'Mash and Dash', Beat and Delete, F**k and Duck."

Interviewer: "Tell me about that, what does that mean?"

Kashif: "Basically you, meet a girl, you talk to her, you make her somehow want to meet up with you, You use her, to be honest with you, you can say you use her, and then after you've used her, you lose interest in her and then you stop talking to her."

Interviewer: "Use, are we talking physically?"

Kashif: "Physically and emotionally yeah."

Interviewer: "Okay"

> **Kashif**: "Err, yeah it's mostly satisfaction for yourself and after you've got her, you've done your thing with her, you lose interest and you stop talking to her and you move onto the next one."

The language that Kashif uses here is very telling. His use of the words 'beat and delete' and 'mash and dash' indicate that these causal relationships are just that. There is no future in them and he is using them in order to fulfil sexual desires and leaves emotion out of them Casual relationships and casual sex were quite common amongst the maximisers who sometimes saw this relationships as something to do before marriage, in order to pass the time before settling down. Shabir sums this up with his use if the phrase 'pass the time', almost as though these encounters were all leading up to his arranged marriage:

> **Shabir:** "These girls were like, just to pass the time Not necessarily Pakistani or Muslim, but it's not as if I was looking for a particular girl, it was whoever came along, you flirt and stuff and things move along innit."

Shabir also indicates that the ethnicity or the religion of girls he would have casual relationships with was not important, again this situation was common amongst the maximisers who had casual relationships and casual sexual encounters. Ramji (2007) found that Muslim men often had relationships with women outside of their religion and ethnicity before settling down with a Muslim woman. They actively dated women who they considered immodest and would not marry before settling down with someone who they considered to be modest. Alexander (2000) also found that young Bengali boys would have relationships with females who were not Bengali before settling down with a Bengali wife. There was as indication of this during the research, the ethnicity of a partner for a casual relationship was not important but for marriage a partner had to be Muslim, as discussed earlier. At one point during my time in the field, a group of respondents went away on holiday, the group to have gone away were a mix of innovators and maximisers. When they returned they talked about their sexual encounters there highlighting the fact that casual sex was common within innovators and maximisers. This is vastly different to conformist who view sex outside of marriage as one of the ultimate sins. It did appear as though the maximisers were using casual sex to display their masculinity within their social group. They would often boast about their encounters with various females. I would consider this to be an expression of hegemonic masculinity and it could be argued that

maximisers are displaying this because of their knowledge that they will not be able to choose a partner in the future. As stated in Chapter three, Kimmell (1994:125) states that the definition of hegemonic masculinity requires 'a man in power, a man with power and a man of power'. It could be argued that taking away the decisions of who a man is going to marry, is taking away a form of power from the man. Thus it could be argued, given the way that Kashif has described his sexual encounters, he is displaying a form of 'hyper-masculinity' in response to this.

It is clear then, that some maximisers are entering into casual relationships for the purposes of being sexually active. However, some maximisers entered into relationships before marriages for other reasons. It became clear that even though the maximiser was aware of his obligation to have an arranged marriage, often knowing who he was expected to marry, he would enter into a relationship with hope that he would be able to convince his parents to let him marry according to his own wishes:

> **Umar:** "I wanted to marry her, she was a Muslim, Pakistani, nothing wrong with her. But my parents weren't allowing it. She has a kid and they said that's not right and that I should marry someone they wanted me to marry. Yeah I was really pissed off, but at the end of the day if your parents aren't happy then there is no point. I kept seeing her for ages, fighting with my parents and that, but in the end it was too much and I broke up with her."

Umar explains that his girlfriend, a Pakistani Muslim woman, who he wanted to marry, was not accepted by his parents. He indicates that he kept seeing her, but in the end he broke up with her. This suggest that pressure was applied by his parents so that he would end the relationship and marry according to their wishes. Umar indicates that he did this to keep his parents happy which suggests that the process of intense socialisation explored in chapter two of this thesis is working. By 'happy' we can assume that Umar considers this sacrifice as a way of maintaining the *izzat* of the family. As discussed earlier in the thesis, those who transgress religious rules and the social and moral values of the community threaten the honour of the family within the wider community or *biraderi*. What is also clear here is that Umar tried to innovate, he tried to marry a Pakistani Muslim girl who was not selected by his parents thus rejecting an arranged marriage but was unsuccessful in his innovation. One year after this interview, Umar was married to a relative from Pakistan. The pressure that Umar was put under in order to break up with

his girlfriend and to marry his cousin from Pakistan could be viewed as coercive consent (Philips 2000; Anitha and Gill 2009), which will be discussed in section 7.4 of this thesis.

The desire to somehow change parents' minds was common amongst the maximisers. Below, Max talks about how he does not agree with the arranged marriage process and that his parents might have an issue with him wanting to marry his girlfriend:

> **Max:** "If they accept my girlfriend right now, then I don't think there will be an issue. But yeah they will probably go out and search for themselves, that's how it is in my family. Because out there, there's a girl that's suited to you, and you can't just set them up to whoever they want. Like whoever is suited to them, cos everyone else is different and everyone is like unique about, has something unique about themselves, and yeah, you need to find your own girl to be honest."

I spoke to Max 18 months after this initial interview and he told me that he had broken up with his girlfriend because things did not work out. I asked him if he planned on finding another girlfriend for marriage and he replied that he was young and stupid when I interviewed him and that he was now sure his parents would never accept a spouse for him from outside of his family. He was now sure that he was going to have an arranged marriage to his cousin in Pakistan. This demonstrates that Max, when he was younger, was hopeful of convincing his parents to allow him to marry according to his own wishes, but this was quashed as got older.

As intimate relationships outside marriage fall outside of the rules of Islam (Coulson, 1979; Choueiri, 1990; Dahl, 1997) and are seen as shameful by Muslim communities (Wardak 2000; Dwyer 2000; Dasgupta 1998; Varghese and Jenkins 2009; Hickey 2004; Abraham 2001; Durham 2004; Dasgupta and Dasgupta 1998; Naidoo 2003), respondents would have to facilitate this drift (Matza 1964) into non-conformity much in the same way that they would have to facilitate other leisure activities that fell outside of the rules of religion and culture. Unlike going to night clubs and drinking alcohol however, it appeared as though parents were completely unaware of these transgressions involving females until they were directly told by the respondents:

> **Umar**: "You just have to make sure you don't get seen, that's the most important part. Don't go to places you might bump into family, that can be hard because all the Pakistanis seem to know each other, so you go somewhere like central so it's

unlikely one of your relatives is gonna be there. Sometimes when you get seen with a girl though you can easily just brush it off. Like you just say that it was a work mate, or you just say that it was a friend's sister or something like that. If parents found out then you would just have to break up, like they would probably tell you to move out and do stuff on your own and leave the family."

It is clear that unlike drinking and clubbing which was given acquiescent consent from parents, relationships were not given this same treatment for all respondents. This meant that they had to be kept discreet. As Umar describes above, one method to do this would be to avoid certain areas of the city where it was more likely to be seen with a girl. This is consistent with previous studies (for example Alexander 2000; Valentine 2010). If he was seen, he was able to explain it away. The consequences for having a girlfriend were clear for maximisers, it was to either leave the family which included all of the financial support the family provided, or to break up with the girlfriend and marry according to their parents' wishes. Having a girlfriend is not a transgression that is tolerated by the parents of the respondents, where there was evidence earlier in this chapter that other transgressions would be tolerated tacitly, there is not such strong evidence when it comes to intimate relationships. The reasons for this will be discussed further in chapter seven when I discuss marriage and the reasons why the arranged marriage is accepted. I will argue that financial dependence on the family means that maximisers choose to remain with the family and break off any relationship they have entered into.

In the paragraph above I argued that having a girlfriend is a transgression that is not tolerated by British Asian Muslim parents, however it could be the case that they provide the same tacit consent for these transgressions as other violations, but once these relationships reach the point of marriage, they put their sons under pressure to break up with their girlfriends. One respondent, Max felt like his parents might suspect he had a girlfriend, but they did not know for certain. He was not going to tell his parents about his girlfriend until he was in a position to marry her. Max also stated that he was certain that his girlfriend's parents did not know about him. He states that the situation in Pakistani families is different for females, who have less autonomy than males. This again, shows a level of autonomy that females do not receive from parents, Max talks about this:

Interviewer: "You say that your parents don't know, you say they might have an inkling, but they don't know."

Max: "Yeah."

Interviewer: "What about your girlfriend's parents? Do they know about you?"
Max: "No, they have no idea."

Interviewer: "Um, why is that, do you know?"
Max: "Well.. Cos.. In our religion, it's obviously not allowed, and um, well in our um.. In Pakistani families."

Interviewer: "Yeah."

Max: "Err, parents are more strict on girls. So I think if they found out they would just be like completely strict on her, lock her out of everything."
Interviewer: "What do you mean by lock her out of everything, can you explain that?"
Max: "Like err, they will feel like she is just getting used and so they will be more strict on her and just like restrict her from things that she'll do."

Whilst he is not sure if his parents know about his girlfriend or not, he is sure that his girlfriend's parents do not know about him. If they were to find out, there would be negative consequences for his girlfriend who would be subject to more social control. Max states that they would 'lock her out of everything' which could indicate that they would ask her to leave the family home, or that they would ensure that she is not able to socialise in the same way, placing her under greater restrictions. Max also talks about the differences between males and females within Pakistani households. He is aware of the difference between the ways in which females are allowed less autonomy than males. This demonstrates a clear disparity between the level of autonomy provided to British Pakistani Muslim females and British Pakistani Muslim males consistent with current literature and previous studies in this area (Roy 1998; Abu-Ali and Reisen 1999; Dwyer 2000; Abraham 2001). Further research would need to be conducted in this area but this might indicate that females are put under more strict social control than males because they are unable to put them under economic control. Traditionally, the youngest son in the family inherits the family home and the majority of the wealth. What this also indicates is that transgressions before marriage are tolerated, because the success of the

process of socialisation is determined by whether or not the individual marries according to his parent's wishes. If the individual marries according to his parents' wishes, then he is allowed more autonomy before marriage. Earlier in this thesis I demonstrated that even after marriage, transgressions were tolerated which indicates that the sole aim of the process of socialisation and social control, is for the individual to enter into a transnational consanguineous arranged marriage.

What is clear from this section is that maximisers do not solely enter into relationships before marriage for the purposes of sexual pleasure. They also enter into them because they have dreams of breaking free from arranged marriages and trying to give themselves a choice. They are trying to reclaim the agency and choice that has been taken away from them by their parents. However, some maximisers appear to be displaying a hyper masculine identity in which they try to sleep with as many women as possible before they get married. This could also be down to having the choice of partner, a fundamental aspect of getting married, taken away from them. There is also some evidence to suggest that parents are aware of some relationships but again, this is not spoken of and there are no consequences for the boys. They seem to be providing tacit consent for their sons to be involved in relationships before marriage and to transgress from their religion in other ways. However, British Muslim males are still actively trying to hide their transgressions from their family in order to ensure no shame is cast onto the family and their honour is upheld. This indicates that religious rules could be broken as long as this did not cause 'shame' on the family within the context of the wider biraderi. It also indicates that the parents of the respondents are facilitating 'drift' (Matza 1964:28) and that respondents are aware that they are able to 'drift' as long as there were no consequences to the family.

6.5.2 The Innovator and Relationships before Marriage

The innovator's and maximiser's experiences of relationships before marriage were similar. Some innovators entered into relationships for the purposes of pre-marital sexual intercourse, but others entered into them with a more long term view in mind. The difference being that the innovator often married someone he was dating, where the maximiser often had no intention of marrying in this way, or if he did, gives in to family demand to end the relationship. There was evidence to suggest that innovators, like

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maximisers were entering casual relationships outside of marriage before settling down. Inzamaam refers to these encounters as 'girls I've dealt with':

> **Inzamaam:** "I'm not gonna tell my mum about the girls I've dealt with, that's just something you don't do."

Sajid describes his casual relationships before he settled down in this way:

> **Sajid:** "With a lot of them, the other, the girl would know I'm in a relationship, and she'd be happy to carry on Um, otherwise it would be me hiding the fact that I'm in a relationship and we would just carry on sort of thing. It would be, the conversation of being in a relationship would never come up, you'd meet them, you'd have a laugh, there was never no pressure. Um, so an example, if a guy was to phone her I wouldn't care. I wouldn't ask who that was or, you're not really interested in sort of the ins and outs of their lives. Cos you're just meeting up, you're having a laugh, erm, it gets physical and then you go home."

Innovators would use the same techniques as maximisers when it came to avoiding detection and keeping girlfriends secret. They would avoid parts of the city that would mean that it was more likely for them to be seen by a member of their family:

> **Fareed:** "You have to be careful with girls. You can't go places you might be seen, you can't risk it. We know the areas we can go, you just gotta be clever."

Fareed indicates here that those places that are unsafe to go are known and communicated with the group, further strengthening the argument that the techniques to drift and violate rules of religion and the family are learnt in small intimate groups as discussed earlier. This is differential association (Sutherland and Cressey 1960). Innovators would also wait until they were ready for marriage before telling their parents about their girlfriends:

> **Interviewer**: "But there is your girlfriend that you don't tell your dad about."
>
> **Saqlain**: "I don't want to tell my dad about to tell you the truth. Maybe he might get a little bit more funny with me. I might not get that love from him (laughs)."
>
> **Interviewer**: "Is that difficult though, to sort of handle that?"
>
> **Saqlain**: "That situation about the marriage?"
>
> **Interviewer**: "Yeah."

> **Saqlain**: "Personally, I think, if I was to tell my dad, he would be upset about it, but my dad's not the type to argue about it or he's gonna have an argument with me. I just think that, his mood is gonna change, so I don't want to give him that pressure. He's in that stage where he's old now, and he should be retiring now, and I just don't want to put him in that predicament now where he will be upset and that. When the time's right, I'll just tell him, dad this is the story, this is how it goes, so, we'll go from there then."

Whilst I do not know if Saqlain told his parents about his girlfriend and whether or not they accepted this, I will assume that they will and he will marry his girlfriend. This means I have put him in the 'innovator' adaptation. If they do not accept his girlfriend and he ends the relationship, opting for an arranged marriage, he would be considered a maximiser. The experiences of innovators in terms of relationships before marriage is the same as maximisers who would enter into casual relationships as well as more serious relationships, where they differed was in the outcome of the more serious relationships. Maximisers would end relationships under pressure from their parents where innovators would convince their parents to allow them to marry according to their own wishes. This will be discussed further in Chapter seven as I consider the innovator and maximiser in terms of marriage and the decisions they make.

6.6 Conclusion

Unlike Conformists, Innovators and Maximisers both drift from religious duties and teachings habitually. They organise their lives in order to facilitate this drift. They demonstrate a weak commitment to religion and culture through both their leisure activities and their relationships before marriage. They achieve this by displaying a number of 'fronts' in different situations. Innovators and Maximisers differ from each other in marriage which will be discussed in chapter 7. Innovators reject arranged marriages whilst maximisers accept arranged, often transnational consanguineous marriages. It has been shown that the reasons behind Maximisers accepting an arranged marriage is largely down to their lack of financial independence. Innovators are able to retain autonomy in their choice of partner because of their financial independence. It has also been stated that it is possible to move between innovation and maximisation.

This Chapter demonstrated that innovators and maximisers tended to socialise with each other.. I have argued that having been brought up with religious rules used as cover for cultural practises, an unfavourable view of religion has been created. This is then communicated in intimate groups where members share the same beliefs and values. The techniques for drifting away from religious conformity are then learnt and shared. This enables innovators and maximisers to drift from religion and to maintain a secret deviant identity.

This chapter also found that innovators and maximisers would enter into relationships before marriage for the same reasons. Much like previous research which found that British Asian Muslims were entering sexual relationships before marriage, this study found incidents of casual sex amongst this group. However, maximisers would also enter into more serious relationships in the hope that they would be able to convince their parents to allow them to marry according to their own wishes. Where this was unsuccessful, due to pressure from the family to break up with their partner, they would end the relationship and marry according to their parents' wishes. Innovators would enter into serious relationships before marriage and be successful in their quest to convince their parents to allow them to retain autonomy in the choice of their partner.

In this chapter I have argued that the main aim of the process of socialisation and social control discussed in detail in Chapter Two of this thesis, is for the second generation British South Asian Muslim male to enter into a consanguineous arranged marriage. It has been demonstrated in this Chapter as well as Chapter Two that transgressions are tolerated by the family of the individuals, in terms of being given tacit consent to drink alcohol and enter into intimate relationships, before and after marriage, as long as the individual enters into this type of marriage and maintains the family honour by keeping these activities secret.

This chapter has demonstrated the first criterion for innovation and maximisation in the context of this research. This is the drift from religious conformity to non-conformity. Murphy and Robinson (2008) argue that the maximiser will use both legitimate and illegitimate means to achieve a culturally prescribed goal. In this research, the illegitimate means is the drift from religious conformity to non-conformity. This is present in the maximiser and the innovator. The next chapter will consider the legitimate means in the context of this research which is arranged marriage. It will be demonstrated

that the maximiser enters into an arranged marriage (legitimate means) and the innovator does not (illegitimate means).

CHAPTER 7: The BUSINESS OF MARRIAGE

7.1 Introduction

The chapters proceeding this have demonstrated a number of aspects of South Asian British Muslim life. Firstly, an intense process of socialisation of British Asian Muslims has been identified in Chapter two. This process involves the use of religion as a cover for cultural practises in order to control the younger generation. The younger generation are then caught between two cultures, that of their parents' home country and the culture in Britain that they have grown up in. They are under pressure to conform to both and the reaction to this has been discussed in chapters five and six. In chapter five I argued that the conformist abides by his religion and culture and has not been brought up with religion being used as a cover for cultural practises. The conformist actively avoids drifting from religion in his everyday life. I also argued that the conformist does not enter into relationships before marriage and has an arranged marriage in line with his Islamic faith. In chapter six I argued that the innovator and maximiser are different to the conformist in a number of ways. Firstly, they have been raised in an environment where religion has been used as a cover for cultural practises, resulting in them having a weaker commitment to religion. The innovator and Maximiser organise their leisure in order to facilitate drift away from religious and cultural rules. I highlighted a number of strategies used in order to do this. Innovators and Maximisers both enter into relationships before marriage for largely the same reasons as highlighted in Chapter six. The difference between the innovator and the maximiser lies in marriage. The innovator rejects an arranged marriage but the maximiser accepts one. This will be discussed further in this chapter as I explore the *Business of Marriage*. The intense process of socialisation can be viewed as the first stage in the business of marriage as it allows parents to socialise their children into accepting cultural goals.

Firstly, this chapter will explore the innovator and marriage. I will argue that the innovator rejects an arranged marriage and does so because he is able to support himself financially. It will then be argued that the Maximiser has an arranged consanguineous marriage, often transnational in nature, in order to achieve a culturally prescribed goal which reproduces the business of marriage amongst British South Asian Muslim communities. This culturally prescribed goal of achieving wealth and maintaining family

ties occurs because he inherits the family wealth. This section also shows that the financial situation of the maximiser is often the deciding factor when entering into a transnational consanguineous marriage. I will also argue that in return, the incoming spouse is given a visa and even when the marriage fails in its infancy, the couple will stay married legally long enough to satisfy the probationary period to apply for a permanent visa. Out of the thirty respondents interviewed for this project, eleven were considered innovators and twelve were considered Maximisers. Three respondents appeared to be moving between innovation and maximisation, this will be discussed further in this section when I explore temporary marriages and those who claimed to have married at an age they considered to be too young as well as *secret marriages*. This Chapter will also consider to what extent the *Business of Marriage* is indeed a process which facilitates forced marriages. It will be argued that the threat of no inheritance and the threat of being out casted from the community constitutes as pressure to conform to this type of marriage. This Chapter then considers the extent to which marriage acts as a point of transition to religious conformity and how the business of marriage may continue into the future. I argue that the Business of Marriage will continue until the fourth generation of British South Asian males as by this point, the inheritance from the family will have been passed on.

7.2 The Innovator and Marriage

The innovator and maximiser were similar in that they both displayed habitual drift from religion in their daily lives and they both entered into relationships before marriage for the same reasons. The innovator and Maximiser differed when it came to marriage. The innovator would reject an arranged consanguineous transnational marriage, where the Maximiser would not. Rafiq (an innovator) summarises in the quote below how his own experience differed to others he knew:

> **Rafiq**: "Relationships, I wasn't. I never introduced or never got any near to introducing any girl to my family. So I couldn't give you an example, but the one that I married, for example we were different castes, and we're a different caste. And in Asia or in, Pakistanis take it very seriously. They like to firstly like to try to inbreed you, get you married to your cousins, which is, no, there's nothing wrong with it, if it's meant to be, then it's meant to be. But they try to force it upon you to some level, Um, which may not always be the right thing to do but

because, I give you an example, so and so is born, so and so's grandparents is okay I want this person to marry this person in 20 years, that shouldn't happen, yeah? That is the biggest example, or so and so is twelve years old and so and so is eleven, and like okay, 'I'd like my daughter to marry your son', because we're related, you should always leave it to the moment that it's about to happen. So, A is an adult, B is an adult, can A and B get along, you may be cousins. I don't, I don't believe there is anything wrong with getting married to your cousin, it's about being able to get on and what also happens when you get married to your cousin, if things don't work between you and the cousin that you were with and you happen to have a divorce, it causes a lot of friction between the two families. So they don't consider that in the beginning, but what they do, they tend to, they want to find out about the caste, they want to make sure, well, preliminary, they want you to marry within the caste. If you're not gonna marry a cousin, but the alternative is, they come, they have a look at the family. If the family are respectful people, good people, well my parents didn't mind me marrying another caste, because we met the family and they were really, I believe that they are good people."

Rafiq highlights that the arrangement of a marriage can be agreed upon from a very early age between parents. He also indicates a number of problems if the marriage does not work out. He was the only respondent however to talk about 'caste' rather than just family which indicates another hurdle in being able to marry according to his own wishes. Rafiq also refers to 'friction' between families when arranged consanguineous marriages do not transpire the way that parents had planned. This can be linked to concepts of sharam and izzat discussed earlier in this thesis as parents are under pressure to maintain the honour of the family. Failing to abide by already established engagements between members of the community could possibly be a threat to the izzat of the family. He also indicated that he had some problems with convincing his parents but did not comment on what they were. I am assuming the problems that Rafiq is referring to are down to convincing his family that he wanted to marry through his own choice:

> **Interviewer**: "Were there any problems at all, sort of introducing and.."
>
> **Rafiq**: "Um, there were a few problems, but some problems that I, I don't feel to discuss, sorry."

Shaw (2001) states some 'arranged' marriages were 'engineered' by the two people involved in the process. She states that these marriages are often referred to as 'arranged love marriages' amongst British Pakistanis. We can describe the innovators marriage in this way as there is evidence that arranged marriages are being 'engineered' after the couple begin dating. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990) refer to this type of marriage as a 'cooperative' arranged marriage where they young person selects the partner but an essential part of this is the agreement between the parents. However, it could be argued that this is not an arranged marriage at all as the young people are in a relationship and have made the decision to marry before asking their parents' for permission. Sajid describes how he independently went to visit his girlfriend's mother, thus beginning the process of 'being introduced':

> **Sajid:** "Erm, the casual ones definitely not, 100% no, with my ex, it only became, it only came to my mums knowledge was after, I'd independently gone to see her mother. In regards to, being introduced formally, at some point her introducing me as somebody she liked, and only after I'd done that, on two occasions I think independently, it got to the point where you have to speak to your own mother about it. Erm, and that's the only point where I've spoken to my mum about any sort of female in terms of a relationship sort of thing."

There was also evidence of this from Awais who met his girlfriend a year before he got engaged and was seeing her throughout this time and after their engagement:

> **Awais:** "Err, basically I met her, I'd known her for a year, we got engaged, some people might say that's a bit too soon, and then roughly a year and half, about two years after we'd known each other. We'd been engaged for about 9 or 10 months, we got married. I would say it was very cultural, err, religion, religiously, err you know, maybe on the borderlines (laughs). It was very cultural and more, it was done in a modern manner sort of thing, you know, I still got to see my Mrs while we were engaged."

I asked respondents who were not yet engaged how they planned on telling their parents about their girlfriends and what problems they felt they would encounter. Saqlain talks about his Dad's 'backwards mentality' which indicates that his dad would want to arrange his son's marriage, but he also indicates that he has an ally in his mother. He anticipates that his mother would be able to convince his father that his son should be able to marry

according to his own wishes. I consider Saqlain an innovator at this stage, but if it turns out that his father does not agree to his marriage and he ends up breaking up with his girlfriend, then he would be a maximiser:

> **Saqlain**: "To tell you the truth, my mum is, because I'm quite close with my mum. While my dad's a little bit, he's cool, but he's a little bit, backward mentality. He likes to get your kids married in the family and that, but I'm not really on that.To tell you the truth, I think when I, when my mum discussed it with my dad, gonna discuss it with my dad, when the time is right, because I've got an older sister as well. so in our thing it's like, oldest get married first, comes down, down, down, so I've got older sister. I've got one sister older than me, one's married, she's got a kid, and the other one, she's lecturing at Kingston University. Yeah, hopefully now, we're looking for someone for her, so we've got a couple of people in mind. So once she's out of the way, then we'll start."

I also asked respondents how they managed to convince their parents to let them marry according to their own wishes when their parents had arranged consanguineous marriages. The overarching opinion was that respondents 'had to hold their ground'. That somehow, if they did not back down, their parents would eventually relent and let them marry according to their own wishes:

> **Inzamaam:** "You just have to be strong and hold your ground. I told my parents that I'm more than happy to move out. I just don't want to marry my cousin. I see her like a sister, not as a wife. I don't think it's right. I know that I can look after myself to be honest. I would move out. I would just go and then they'd probably come round eventually, but I just won't marry my cousin, it's just wrong. I guess I'm lucky that they backed down eventually."

This quote from Inzamaam indicates that there is pressure applied from parents. He also indicates that this pressure is both economic and social with the threat of throwing him out of the family home and him having to support himself. This is consistent with findings from Wardak (2000) who argued that the threat of being cut out of the family inheritance was used as a form of social control in British Pakistani households. As indicated in the quote above, Inzamaam was able to support himself through his work, and therefore this was able to resist this pressure. What should be noted though is that the innovators who married according to their own wishes, were all in a stable financial position. Rafiq,

Saqlain and Awais were all business owners, Sajid was in a managerial position and the rest of the innovators were all working in full time jobs. This is important to consider when I discuss the maximiser and the business of marriage. It appear as though there is a connection between financial independence and the rejection of an arranged marriage. The innovators have demonstrated this to some extent. They have put themselves in a position where they are able to move out of the family home if required. What is also suggests is that they are not willing to forgo the opportunity to choose their own spouse in order to inherit wealth from the family. As Inzamaam indicated above, living separately would mean that family ties were broken, but he also indicates that these can be repaired after time. This is why this aspect of the goal is not considered to be rejected by the innovators. Because all of the innovators are still marrying Muslim women and remaining as self-identified Muslims, even though they show a weak commitment to the religion, they are not considered as rebels. Had they outwardly left the religion, they would have been considered as rebels.

7.3 The Maximiser and Marriage: Reproducing the Business of Marriage

This section will now consider the maximiser and bring together the earlier parts of this thesis to produce my main argument that the maximiser accepts an arranged, often consanguineous transnational marriage and thus, reproduces the Business of Marriage within the British South Asian Muslim community. As stated earlier, the innovator and the Maximiser differ on this aspect of marriage. The innovator rejects an arranged, often consanguineous transnational marriage. The maximiser accepts this type of marriage often under the same pressure as the innovator. This thesis has already established that the maximiser has a weak commitment to religion. This section will determine that the maximiser does not want to enter into a marriage where he has no choice but to marry his cousin, but does so because of his financial and emotional dependence on his family. It has already been established that a maximiser will break up with his girlfriend under pressure from his family. This section will show that generally, maximisers do not agree with transnational consanguineous marriages but still enter into them. They have a negative view of consanguineous marriages.

Afridi describes his feelings towards transnational consanguineous marriages below, and he clearly feels that they should not happen. This was a view shared by many of the maximisers:

> **Afridi:** "That happens a lot, people marry girls from over there because they have no choice. Parents think yeah he's agreed and he's happy and once he's married everything will be okay. But they don't know that they are really making people unhappy. It's not fair on the girls from back home."

Afridi states that there is no 'choice' in the process but to marry according to parent's wishes. This indicates that this type of marriage is forced as the definition of a forced marriage, as provided in Chapter one, includes the words 'choice' (Home Office 2013:1) as central to an arranged marriage:

I will discuss this further in section 7.4, but this is a clear indication from Afridi that this type of marriage is entered into under some form of duress. Umar also states that he would not like to have an arranged transnational consanguineous marriage, but also suggests that choice is not his:

> **Umar:** "If I do end up with someone from Pakistan then I don't think I'll be too happy. I just think that person is like my sister, like I'm related to them, that's fine if you're okay with that but I just find it weird. I would rather marry someone from here."

Afridi and Umar talk about the transnational consanguineous marriage as having a negative effect on both the incoming spouse and the British husband. He is talking from his experience of it – not his own marriage as he was not married yet, but watching his cousins end up in loveless marriages or ending up divorced. Afridi also indicates that the British husband might stay married to his spouse but also see other women outside of the marriage and that this practise was accepted:

> **Afridi:** "Lots of my cousins just end up staying with her. They might be sleeping around and f*****g other chicks, but they stay with her at home. It's not right, that's not what marriage is meant to be. You're not meant to be miserable as f**k and f*****g other women.. They know, all they care about is the home life once you are married, as long as everything is cushy at home then it don't matter what you do."

This is consistent with literature on non-heterosexual British Muslim males mentioned in Chapter two of this thesis by Yip (2004) who suggested that transgressions outside of marriage were tolerated by British Muslim families. This is also consistent with findings in Chapter Six of this thesis where transgressions before marriage are also tolerated by the family. The tolerating of transgressions by the parents of maximisers appears to be consistent with one constant fact: marriage. As long as the son marries according to his parents' wishes, and he does so discreetly, then he is free to transgress and violate the religious, social and moral order of the community. What is clear though, is that the maximisers interviewed in this study did not want to have a transnational consanguineous marriage, but they either had already entered into one, or were anticipating entering into one in the future. This section will now explore the reasons behind why this happens.

7.3.1 Social and Economic Control and Marriage

Many of the maximisers expressed concern that their parents would ask them to move out if they refused to marry according to their wishes and marry their cousins. This is consistent with findings from Wardak (2000) who argued that an individual who acted outside of the social and moral values of the community was labels as *bisharm* and removed from the community. This person was also used as an example to others of what happens when someone acts outside of the values of the community. They would also be threatened to be cut out of the family inheritance in terms of money and property that was controlled by the older generation. The respondents in my study who I have identified as maximisers felt as though they would not be able to cope financially without the support of their parents. Many of the maximisers I interviewed were in low skilled jobs. For example, Umar was a security guard, Afridi worked as a sales assistant, Zack worked as a customer service assistant and Sameer also worked as a customer service assistant. Unlike the innovators, maximisers felt as though they did not have the financial capital required to detach themselves from the family. It must also be stressed that this research was conducted mainly in London where house prices and rental properties are relatively expensive. We must also remember that maximisers have been living in the parental house their whole lives and are unlikely to have experienced any independence, so the thought of moving out and becoming financially and socially independent can be daunting. Below are examples of this from the research:

Umar: "They will kick me out. Like, I have a house waiting for me if I do what they say. If I don't then I'm gonna struggle cos I don't make that much money from my job. I can't afford a place of my own, I can't afford to chill. I'd just be working all the time. It's just easier to say yes. I don't realty wanna break of from the family either."

What should be noted here is Umar's admission that he has said 'yes'. He has given consent for the marriage to take place. To what extent that consent is given freely will be considered further along in this chapter (section 7.4) when I consider to what extent the business of marriage is indeed synonymous with forced marriage. What Umar also indicates is that there is financial incentive to him getting married, he states that there is 'a house waiting for me' which indicates that Umar is entering into an arranged marriage in order to achieve wealth and stability. He also indicates that he would like to keep the family bond and that he does not want to live independently of them. These reasons for entering into a transnational consanguineous marriage were common amongst the maximisers:

Saki: "Yeah they would have probably told me I can't stay at home. I didn't wanna just break off from the family innit."

This is an example of being labelled *bisharm* (Wardak 2000). Even though my respondents did not use these words, we can assume that the same process that Wardak (2000) outlines, in the context of the biraderi, is taking place. Shabir also reported that he had a choice between marrying his cousin from Pakistan or leaving the family home:

Shabir: "My mum will say marry your cousin from Pakistan, cos that's what happens, if you get to a certain age, It's either that or leave."

What this demonstrates is that the maximiser is willing to forgo the opportunity to choose his own spouse in return for financial stability and to remain the family home and thus keeping bonds with family members strong. What should also be noted is that in some cases, the threat of no inheritance and of being removed from the community has not been made directly to the individual. For example, in the quote from Saki above, he used the word 'probably'. Other respondents discussed in this section have talked of what will happen, rather than what has happened. They have not been threatened but are aware of the threat that will come. This indicates that the process of intense socialisation and social control is succeeding in internalising the rules of the family and *biraderi* as well as the

consequences of transgressing from the social and moral values of the community. Thus, pressure is being applied from an early age and this pressure only needs to be applied again if the individual resists or tries to reject an arranged marriage. This suggests that sometimes, pressure is not applied, but the threat of pressure is there. Therefore, the consent given is tacit and under the assumption that the choice of marrying according to the parents' wishes or leaving the family will be offered. It is this process of intense socialisation and the threat of removal from the family and family inheritance that is reproducing a system of transnational consanguineous marriages within the British Asian Muslim community in the United Kingdom.

My research also revealed that whilst family ties were important in consanguineous marriages, keeping family wealth in the family was also a factor for parents. It was not just the case that inheritance was used as a means of social control, but they also felt it was important to keep the wealth within the family. In some cases, the parents of the respondents had worked hard, acquired property and accrued wealth. There was indication that consanguineous marriages were a way to keep this wealth within the family.

> **Zack:** "They're worried about their money too man, it's like, they've bought so many houses and have so much in the bank. They don't want to give that to just anyone, they want to keep it in the family."

Zack indicates that his family have a lot of wealth which they would like to keep in the family. So whilst the threat of no inheritance is used to control the younger generation as found by this study and by Wardak (2000), it appears as though the family also benefit by keeping the wealth within a close network of kin or the *biraderi*. Umar also indicates that this is the reason behind transnational consanguineous marriages:

> **Umar:** "Yeah money is definitely important. They want to make sure you don't waste it and they want to make sure they're looking after their nieces and nephews too. That's why so many people marry their cousins, its messed up."

It has been demonstrated that the wealth of the parents as well as the lack of wealth of the person getting married is important to consider within this process. It is clear that money plays a big part in the reproduction of this system. Firstly, financial dependence is key to the social control of young people. If they are able to support themselves financially then

they are able to reject an arranged marriage, if they cannot, then the only way they can achieve wealth is to marry according to their parent's wishes.

7.3.2 The Power of the Passport

So far, I have argued that maximisers do not want to enter into transnational consanguineous marriages and that they do so under social and economic pressure from their families. They are not in a position to be financially or socially independent, so agree to the marriage instead of moving out of the family home. What I will now consider is the other half of the negotiation, the parents and why they pursue transnational consanguineous marriages on behalf of their children. I have already argued that the transfer of wealth to another family member, rather than an individual outside of the family through marriage is desirable and an aim of the older generation. Here, I will argue that bringing family members from abroad into the United Kingdom is another factor as to why transnational consanguineous marriages are preferred by some British South Asian Muslim parents. What should be noted however is that this is from the view of the children and not the parents themselves as they were not part of the research sample and their views have been communicated by the respondents of this study. Therefore we cannot be sure there are no other reasons behind asking their children to marry their cousins in their home countries. However we can assume that the respondents have a good understanding of why this happens, given that they have witnessed the process from an early age, this being a part of the intense process of socialisation and social control that they endure. This research revealed that consanguineous marriages from abroad were being carried out so that the incoming spouse would be able to receive a British visa. There was also evidence to show that when a marriage failed, the couple would stay legally married for the length of time required in order to apply for an indefinite visa. This is similar to findings from Gangoli et al (2006). In the exchange below, Zach explains the reasons behind why he was still legally married to his partner, even though the marriage failed in its infancy. He married his first cousin from Pakistan after previously wanting to marry his girlfriend in the UK and entering into a secret marriage with her (see section 7.5.1). He had has a secret marriage here in the UK to his girlfriend, but ended up leaving her due to the pressure from his parents to marry his cousin from Pakistan. The marriage failed after his wife from Pakistan arrived in the UK:

> **Interviewer**: "What about you, why are you still married?"
>
> **Zack**: "I'm just getting her the visa, then that's it, that's when sh*ts gonna hit the fan. When the rest of the family find out, then it's gonna be f****d up, I'll probably move out then because my mum won't be able to keep us both in the house, and I'm the bad guy here."

Zack indicates that his wider family do not know that his marriage has failed, only his immediate family. This may be because this will bring the izzat of his family into question with the rest of the *biraderi.* The secrecy behind this might also be due to the the family not wanting the authorities to find out about the failed marriage and therefore rejecting the application for a permanent British Visa. Zack has clearly stated that he is only remaining married to his wife legally for the purposes of getting her a permanent British visa. Zack also felt that the promise of financial stability in Britain was a key factor in wanting to obtain a British visa, but he also felt that life in Britain was more difficult than what was presented to incoming brides:

> **Interviewer**: "Why is the visa so important?"
>
> **Zack**: "I don't know to be honest, they think it's so special to be living here. They probably want to claim benefits and all that, but it's not easy here. She should just go back to Pakistan and live with her family there. But she has her brother here, he doesn't know what's going on though."

It is clear from this quote that Zack is remaining legally married to his cousin for the purposes of obtaining a British passport. There was also evidence to suggest that this was a practise that was widespread amongst British South Asian families as Afridi also mentions the passport as being key to a transnational marriage:

> **Afridi: "**I think getting a British Passport is too important for the people back in Pakistan, they don't know how hard it is here, you have to work, it's not all cushy here."

This indicates that government policy where a probationary period of marriage has to be met in order to apply for a permanent British visa is creating situations where incoming brides are being made to stay in failed marriages until the probationary period is over. It also means that British husbands are also remaining in these failed marriages. What the

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respondents do not talk about is how bringing a niece over to the United Kingdom also aids in strengthening and maintaining bonds, as found in previous studies (Shaw, 2000; Shaw and Charsley, 2006). There is evidence that the attainment of a British passport and the importance of it is driving and reproducing the Business of Marriage. The respondents have also indicated in this section that they believe that life in Britain is not as comfortable the incoming brides believe it will be. Studies on migrant husbands (Charsley 2005; Gallo 2006; George 2005; Pe-Pua 2003) reveal that being in a new country and dependent on a spouse and in-laws can be very difficult and disempowering. Previous literature suggests that migration can increase a woman's vulnerability to becoming a victim of domestic violence (Ahmed et al. 2004; Hague et al; 2006). Literature also suggests that families can take control over migrant brides who do not share the same cultural values of them and this can cause a conflict between the spouses (Ahmed et al 2004). Racism and barriers with language can prevent migrant brides from seeking support (Gangoli et. Al. 2005). Further research would need to be conducted in order to study the migrant brides of maximisers in order to determine how they experience life in the United Kingdom. One can assume that if the husband is entering into the marriage for the purposes of inheriting wealth, or under duress, then the experiences of the bride may reflect this. If the husband is transgressing outside of the home, then it is possible that the bride is under the control of his parents. Given earlier findings in this thesis, that transgressions of maximisers after marriage are tolerated by the family, then a picture of an unhappy bride, who has a husband who is not committed to her begins to build. However, this is based on assumption and further research into this area needs to be conducted in order to gain a full understanding of the problem. However, previous research has highlighted the difficulties in conducting this research as cultural sensitivities of minority women and language barriers that prevent women speaking out against domestic violence must be considered (Burman and Chantler 2004, 2005; Wiggleseorth et al 2003).

7.4 Forced Marriage

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed to what extent pressure is applied to maximisers in order to get them to agree to an arranged marriage. I argued that I some cases, the threat of pressure, rather than actual pressure is enough to get them to agree to this type of marriage. This section explores to what extent the Business of Marriage is 'forced' in

nature and will discuss these issues further. As stated earlier in this thesis, the definition of forced marriage as provided by the Home Office (2013:1) uses the word 'pressure'.

Throughout this thesis, respondents have talked about pressure. The pressure that they are put under in order to break up with their girlfriends, the pressure they are put under in order to marry according to their parents' wishes. The pressure to conform to religious rules and cultural practises has been evident throughout this thesis. This chapter has demonstrated that this pressure can be both social and financial. I will argue that this 'pressure' begins from an early age through the process of intense socialisation that internalise these expectations of marriage, the inheritance of wealth and the maintenance of family bonds ensure that maximisers enter into arranged marriages.

Considering Zack's case which is also discussed in section 7.3.2 and 7.5.1, he stated that he was put under pressure by his family to marry his cousin. That pressure was both financial and social. By asking Zack to move out if he wanted to marry the partner of his choice, it put him under financial and emotional pressure.

> **Zack:** "It was just the easiest thing man, like, it was that, or move out, get a place of my own, leave my family. I can't afford to live on my own, and in the end, I thought yeah I can make this work. They convince you that it's gonna be okay, and that it's the right thing to do. They say girls from here won't fit in and won't be good for you. They make you think it's the only option. They keep trying to convince you until you give in, then when you give in they think you are happy with it, they think it's gonna be okay once you get married. Like its magic, like you can just get along with someone just like that. I guess a part of my did think that maybe it would be okay after the wedding, but I knew pretty much right away that I had made a mistake. I should be just told them to f**k off from the start."

What can be argued here is that pressure did not begin with Zack's reluctance to have an arranged marriage, it began at a much earlier age, when Zack was part of the intense process of socialisation that is evident amongst some parts of this community. It could be argued that this then, is a forced marriage. However, much like Gangoli et al. (2006) found, respondents did not view this type of marriage as forced. They felt as though they had given consent and had not been physically forced into a marriage and therefore were not forced to marry according to their parents' wishes:

> **Interviewer**: "Would you say you were forced into the marriage?"

Zack: "At the start, maybe, but then, I agreed. I just decided it would be the easiest thing to do. I mean, it was quite calm at home, I didn't get any bullshit, and I did break up with my girlfriend by myself. But, I don't know, if I had said no, and been a bit tougher, maybe they would have agreed, but I doubt it, they probably would have made it hard for me."

Interviewer: "So you did agree to the marriage?"

Zack: "Yeah, yeah definitely, it wasn't as though I was dragged onto the plane, it's just that you think about what life will be like, and you just do it."

What this indicates is that there is a lack of understanding of forced marriages amongst this community. Having said that, recognising this marriage as forced would not mean that these are then reported and action taken against the parents. As we have discussed within this thesis, respect for elders and pleasing parents is communicated and internalised by British South Asian Muslim males. It is this internalisation that would mean that these types of marriages would not get reported. Unlike other studies which have suggested that the under reporting of forced marriage concerning males is due to the threat to their masculinity (Samad 2010), I believe, based on my research that it is because of this obligation of respect, as well as notions of sharam and izzat that mean these forced marriages are unreported and unrecognised. This is because the process of intense socialisation means that children are pressured into accepting this marriages and also to give tacit consent. However in some cases, it could be argued that this is a strategic decision made by the maximisers in order to inherit family wealth and to maintain strong family bonds. However, it has been argued in literature that 'the difference between arranged and forced marriage continues to be framed in binary terms and hinges on the concept of consent' (Anitha and Gill, 2009: 1) and it has been suggested that the government needs to adopt new language in order to be inclusive of cultural practises which make it difficult for consent not to be given for a marriage. Previous studies have focussed on coercion and consent amongst women (Philips 2000; Anitha and Gill 2009) but have not done so in terms of the male experience. Similarly, Phillips and Dustin (2004) have referred to the distinctions between forced and arranged marriage, the forced/arranged binary a 'fragile distinction'. This meant that arguments around what constitutes consent in the context of cultural attitudes and beliefs become muted. Anitha and Gill (2009) highlight that coercion can occur without the need for direct threats and

can be achieved with subtle coercive forces that are difficult to identify. Therefore a 'choice' may have been presented as two opposing undesirable outcomes. In the case of my research, this choice is between having a marriage that conforms to the wishes of parents or marrying according to the respondents own wishes and leaving the family home and becoming financially independent. There is a gap in the understanding of the forced marriage when it comes to males and culture. This thesis has gone some way to addressing that gap.

It can also be argued that because the maximiser is aware of the cultural obligations placed upon him, that he will be removed from the family inheritance if he does not marry according to his parents' wishes, that he is maximising his opportunities. I have argued that the maximiser is under an intense process of socialisation from an early age and understands the consequences of not having a marriage arranged by his parents. He also understands that he will acquire wealth through this marriage. It can be argued that the maximiser is using this opportunity in order to acquire wealth. Therefore this is not a forced marriage as the maximiser is entering into this agreement willingly. This is what makes the maximiser different from the innovator. The innovator is in a position where he can reject an arranged marriage due to his financial stability. It is the maximiser who chooses to inherit wealth rather than earn it through traditional means that is reproducing the Business of Marriage.

From the findings in this section and this thesis in general, the Business of Marriage can be defined as: A system in which transnational consanguineous marriages are taking place under the following conditions: (1) There is a process of intense socialisation where respect for parents and cultural practises are internalised (2) where British nationality is given to the incoming spouse (3) where financial support is given to the British husband. We can also conclude that because the British husband does not have agency when it comes to choosing his partner and is tied by cultural norms and practises, often given the choice between an arranged marriage or to leave the family home, this practise arguably can be considered a forced marriage. Alternatively, the maximiser can be viewed to be using this type of marriage in order to inherit wealth. The government's definition of forced marriage should take into account pressure from cultural practises in order to combat this type of forced marriage where the victim is unaware that it is indeed forced.

7.5 Moving Between Innovation and Maximisation

So far, I have considered the adaptations of innovation and maximisation as fairly static. Merton (1957) argued that an individual could move between adaptations and that they were not fixed. I will now consider this in my own research. Whilst the conformist seemed to be a fairly static adaptation throughout life. There was evidence of movement between innovation and maximisation. Wardak (2000) found that age played a part in how one would conform to religion and culture. He found that younger respondents were more likely to be conformists due to the fact that they had not yet been exposed to western culture. Wardak argued that as children got older and the social control on them lessened, they then became more likely to deviate from religious and cultural norms. However, my study did not consider those under the age of 17, so a direct comparison with Wardak's (2000) study cannot be made. It can be stated that the majority of respondents, 25 out of 30, were either innovators or maximisers. This appears to be consistent with Wardak's (2000) findings. However, a further study would need to be conducted to investigate at which point the innovators and maximisers began to deviate from religion and culture. This section will now discuss the movement from innovation and maximisation by considering firstly the secret marriage and then a respondent who claims that he 'married too young'. I will demonstrate that the movement from innovation to maximisation is possible.

7.5.1 The Secret Marriage

One example of moving between innovation and maximisation can be explained by analysing the 'secret marriage' of one respondent, Zack. Zack has been discussed earlier in this thesis. His commitment to religion and culture is weak, drifting habitually from religious rules and having negative views of his culture. Zack entered into a 'secret marriage with his girlfriend because he did not think his parents would approve a marriage to her. Zack indicates in the quote below that he was having a sexual relationship with his girlfriend and it was her desire to marry because of the sexual nature of the relationship that he entered into the marriage:

> *Zack:* "Okay, I'll start right at the beginning. I've always been a bit of a player. I lost my virginity when I was in high school and since then I've always had loads of girls on the go, not been one to settle down. I've had serious relationships as well, but nothing that's lasted. My most serious relationship was when I got married in secret to a girl I used to work with, I did love her, but she did kind of push me into it, we were being physical, and she didn't like that we weren't married, and my parents were never going to accept her. So we got married in secret. I did tell my parents I had a girlfriend, but they didn't find out until well after that I married her."

He did this because he knew his parents wanted him to marry his cousin in Pakistan and would not agree to his marriage with his girlfriend. He also states that it was his girlfriend who encouraged him to have the secret marriage because she felt guilty for having a physical relationship outside of marriage. His girlfriend was also a Pakistani Muslim. This is an example of innovation. Zack stayed within Islam, he had an Islamic ceremony (Nikah) where he became married to his girlfriend. He did not however tell his parents and presented a number of 'fronts' (Goffman 1959) in order to be able to live two separate lives. On one hand, he was a married man, he would meet up with his wife in a hotel room so that they could be together. He would then come home and his parents would be unaware of where he had been:

> **Zack**: "We just used to get hotel rooms, we would just stay in there until late then she'd go home and I'd go home and no one would know."

> **Zack:** "It's really messed up, she was a Pakistani, a Muslim, but my parents always wanted me to marry my cousin back home from Pakistan. So this marriage didn't last very long. I broke up with her, she got me angry and I divorced her. I wouldn't have divorced her if it wasn't for my parents. I couldn't really afford to be married at that time and my parents were still pressuring me."

Eventually, he told his family about his marriage moved out of the family home. At this point, he came under intense pressure from his parents and he eventually ended his secret marriage and moved back into the family home. The pressure from his parents, as well as being financially independent for the first time in his life lead to this break up and subsequent return to the family home. Zack talks about his divorce and how it was easy for him to divorce his wife:

Zack: "Divorce for Muslims is easy, you just say the word three times, talaq. Once you say it you can't take it back. Sometimes I regret it. I can't do anything about it now though. Its weird though, like one minute I was married, the next I wasn't. I feel bad about how it happened. This is gonna sound bad but I sent it to her in a text, the talaq."

Zack: "No, we didn't register our marriage, we were only married Islamicaly so we just divorced Islamicaly."

As discussed in chapter two, divorce by a Muslim husband by repeating the word *talaq* three times. Zack explains the ease of this, the fact that he could just send her the three words in a text message and he was divorced, there were no papers to sign or anything else to do. The wife has no option but to accept it. Because the marriage was not registered in the UK and the Nikah took place in the UK, the couple were not married according to UK law. Feminist have argued that there is inherent gender bias in marriage and divorce in Islam (Ahmed, 1992; Dahl, 1997; El-Solh and Mabro, 1994; Moghissi, 1999; Majid, 2002; Wadud, 2006; Shirazi, 2009). This example supports that claim as the power of divorce was with the husband and there was no discussion around divorce with the wife, it was given in a very cold and shocking way. Because the marriage was not recognised by UK law, there were also no rights afforded to the wife in financial or legal terms.

Within months of his divorce, Zack was married to his cousin from Pakistan and remained in the family home. This is an example of Maximisation. He married according to his parents' wishes and was now financially stable. His commitment to religion and culture remained weak throughout this time. Within months of his second wife arriving in the UK, his marriage to his cousin failed. He remained married to his second wife in order to ensure she was given a permanent British Visa:

Zack: "Then after we got divorced, my parents took me to Pakistan and I married my cousin. I wasn't happy about it but the pressure they put you under is too much and you give in, so I pretended to everyone I was happy and that, but I didn't really want to do it. As soon as I came back here, I cheated on her, and it took a few months for her to get her visa sorted, and I was still sleeping around in that time. Now that she is here, we have no relationship, we don't have anything in common. I haven't even slept with her, I have told my parents I don't want her. We sleep in different beds, but my parents just want her to get a proper visa and

then we can divorce properly. The rest of the family don't know any of this, apart from a few of my cousins who I trust. I mean, I've tried to make it work, but we just have nothing to talk about, nothing to say to each other. I don't really want to ever settle down, that's just not me, but I love kids, so maybe one day I will settle down, just not yet, that's not me right now. So at home, it's all pressure on me, I had loads of fights with my family. I can't even move out yet cos of the visa and all that, so the gym is like my escape time, and eating right and all that makes me feel good."

A few months after this initial interview, I met Zack again to talk about his situation. He moved out of the family home once again and was in another relationship. His girlfriend at this time was not Pakistani but she was Muslim. He told me his parents did not agree with the relationship but he was in a better position financially and could afford to live on his own. This adds strength to the argument in the previous section that maximisers are using transnational consanguineous marriages in order to inherit wealth from the family and when they are in a position where they are financially stable, they are able to reject this type of marriage:

> **Zack**: I'm living on my now, she's Muslim but she's not Pakistani. After I got divorced my parents wanted me to marry another cousin but I said no. I'm in a better job now so I moved out. I don't really see my family anymore. Sometimes I speak to my sister.

It appears as though Zack's situation was guided largely by three factors: Firstly, his commitment to religion and culture was weak, therefore he did not want to have an arranged marriage and did not want to marry his cousin. Secondly, being in a weak financial position meant that he finally relented to marrying his cousin. Thirdly, his parents pressuring him to do what they wanted. It remains to be seen what happens with Zack in the future. For now, he is living on his own and is able to support himself. He has a girlfriend and plans on marrying her at some point in the future. This has been an example of Zack moving from innovation, to maximisation and then back to innovation. Throughout this Zack's commitment to religion and culture was weak, but his situation changed in terms of his willingness to marry, this means his mode of adaptation also changed. Zack did not know what would happen to his migrant bride after he divorced

her, he suggested that she may marry again and that this marriage may have been to another cousin abroad, thus enabling another member of the family to enter the country:

> **Interviewer:** "What will happen to your ex-wife? Will she get married again?"
>
> **Zack:** "I'm not sure but yeah, she will probably marry her cousin from Pakistan because she had a visa now. She can get him one too. But I don't know, she might marry someone from here. We haven't slept together so at least she has that. That's important."

Zack also suggested that because he had not slept with his migrant bride, she was in a better position to remarry, consistent with literature from Charsley (2006) who argued that British brides who married abroad delayed moving in with their husbands to protect them in the situation that their visa was rejected. This meant that they were able to protect their honour as the marriage had not been consummated.

7.5.2 Married Too Young

Another example of moving between innovation and maximisation is the case of Wajid. Wajid married his girlfriend when he was in the second year of his undergraduate degree. He moved out of the family home and he claims that this marriage broke down soon after it began. He then moved back into the family home and he is now married to his cousin:

> **Wajid**: "I got married during my second year of university, this didn't work. I'm now married again with three kids. This time it was an arranged marriage to my cousin. In Pakistani culture, you know that you are going to get married, I wasn't forced, it might have been a rebound, I'm not sure. There was no pressure on it from parents this time, it was my decision."

One can assume, being in university, Wajid was not making a lot of money and must have found it difficult to support himself and his wife. Whilst I am making this assumption, it would be consistent with other findings in this thesis that the marriage broke down for these reasons. Wajid however, claims that there was no pressure from his parents but one can assume that there must have been a reason for him taking a drastic turn in his attitude. His situation of moving out and then back into the family home also suggests that finances might have played a role in his decision to marry according to his parents' wishes:

Wajid: "My marriage wasn't forced, it wasn't really pressure, it was me deciding to keep them happy. My parents are quite open minded, I had to look ahead. My first marriage shouldn't have happened, I was too young and I was appeasing my girlfriend."

These two examples, the secret marriage and the marriage which took place between Wajid and his first wife, demonstrate that marriages are being entered into without proper thought as to the consequences. It is also clear that whilst official divorce rates amongst Muslims are low, this is difficult to measure given the nature of the Islamic marriage which is only recognised in the UK if it took place outside of the country or if the marriage is registered in the United Kingdom (Pearl and Menski 1998). Further research should be conducted on those couples who marry without registering their marriages in the United Kingdom and the reasons behind them doing so. We may then be able to understand better the system of marriages that exist within the British South Asian Muslim community.

What this section demonstrates is that is possible to move between adaptations based on experiences. However, I must also acknowledge that once a marriage has been entered into, the adaptation is static until that marriage ends. The adaptations I have developed only exist when the decision regarding marriage occurs. Once a marriage has been entered into, that decision has been made and that adaptation stands. Theoretically, a divorce which happens in any kind of marriage could lead to the individual moving to another adaptation depending on their choice of marriage and their commitment to the religion.

7.6 Temporary Marriage

Hanif, who has been presented in this thesis as a conformist presented a different side to relationships before marriage. He was adamant that he had not had a relationship in the past but then proceeded to explain how he was using temporary marriages in order to have sexual relations with women. Hanif was adamant that his behaviour did not break any Islamic rules, whilst this is open to interpretation. His behaviour of keeping the temporary marriages secret indicates that he is either ashamed of this, or that he feels that it would be met with resistance. Hanif revealed that he had had multiple temporary

marriages in the past. Hanif explains what a temporary marriage is and what the purpose of one is:

> **Hanif**: "Explain it if I want, temporary marriage is a, does what it says on the tin, temporary marriage. So err, it, it's the purpose of getting to know a girl, so for example now, me and my wife, we are temporarily married and our proper, our proper marriage will be in, 1st July, we're getting married."

> **Interviewer**: "Is that the Nikkah?"

> **Hanif**: "Yeah, but from now until then, we can do whatever a normal couple can do."

By 'normal couple' Hanif is referring to being able to spend time with one another and even enter into a sexual relationship. Hanif also explains the process and criteria for a temporary marriage:

> **Hanif**: "How do you get married temporarily. There are certain criteria, for example the girl has to be of the book, which is basically, has to believe in one god like I believe in, either Muslim, Christian or Jewish. Um, if she is a virgin I have to ask her dad's permission."

> **Hanif**: "She cannot have had intercourse with anyone in the six months previous, to her, yeah?"

> **Hanif**: "And then there's our contract, contract is, just like a normal contract, you, you define your time, how long you wanna be married for, and your dowry, whatever you give her, and that's sort of her choice."

When the interview had ended, I asked Hanif what he would give to these women as dowry. He replied by telling me that sometimes, he would give them a condom. Within the next exchange on this topic, Hanif outlines that the temporary marriage is to protect the woman, but in actual fact he was using this in order to sleep with her without breaking religious rules:

> **Hanif**: "Okay, so in terms of this temporary marriage, there are loads of like, rules and things, it's there all to protect the lady."

> **Interviewer**: "How does it protect the lady?"

Hanif: "In terms of if she gets pregnant for example."

Interviewer: "You're married to her."

Hanif: "Exactly."

Interviewer: "So why not just marry her."

Hanif: "Because permanent wife."

Interviewer: "So then, it's just to sleep with her."

Hanif: "Not necessarily, um, like I said it has other purposes, but for me, yeah I guess so, yeah."

Hanif saw the fact that temporary marriages were frowned upon as a cultural problem, that it was fine within the religion, which is why he kept it a secret:

Hanif: "No, this is another cultural problem, where religiously there is nothing wrong with it, but my parents would not agree with it."

This exchange is interesting for a number of reasons. Hanif was adamant that he was not going against the rules of Islam by doing this, but one has to wonder a few things; Firstly, it is very unlikely that he would meet such girls without socialising with them. In fact, he had told me that he flirts and talks to girls in order to get them into a situation in which they agree to a temporary marriage. This in itself is against the rules set out earlier. The fact that he is keeping this secret is evidence of how this practise is not accepted by Muslims. Hanif is demonstrating a number of 'fronts' here (Goffman 1959). He is leading a secret life, secret from his parents and from his fiancé. Not only that, Hanif told me that there was only one other person who knew he was doing this. One must ponder the question of why he needs to keep something secret if it is acceptable according to the religion and culture he has been brought up with. There must be some aspect of what he is doing that is not in accordance to the values of his religion and culture – he didn't mention these marriages when I asked him about previous relationships – he only mentioned this at the end of the interview. There was no evidence that this was happening with any of the other conformists, or any other respondent in this study who were open about their relationships before marriage. It is difficult however, to refer to Hanif as anything but a conformist as he vehemently claims that he is acting within the teachings of his religion. However he is acting against the normal and moral values of his family as demonstrated by the fact he is keeping this part of his identity a secret. It is difficult to categorise Hanif, if he had not been honest with me about his temporary marriage, he

would have been considered solely a conformist, but he appears to be somewhere in between a conformist and an innovator at this moment in time. He enters into an arranged marriage based on the teachings of his faith that he believes in, but he acts outside of the teachings of family in order to have pre-marital sexual relations.

7.7 Marriage as a Point of Transition

In this section I explore the notion that marriage acts as a point of religious transition from non-conformity to conformity. The previous chapter explored the characteristics of a potential spouse and it was discovered that the religion of a potential partner was the main concern when finding a partner for all of the respondents. Any potential partner had to be a Muslim female whose faith was strong. Religion was more important than ethnicity in this respect. I discuss this further in this chapter and I argue that conformists, whose commitment to religion and culture is strong seek to further strengthen their faith and innovators and maximisers, whose commitment to religion is weak, look to marriage as a turning point for their religious observance. I discuss both those respondents who were married at the time of this research to explore how their religious conformity has changed, and also those who plan on marrying in the future, in order to explore this transition to being a husband. I also look to see to what extent leisure activities of those who are already married have changed since they have been married to determine whether this drift to conformity does take place. I argue that this drift into religious conformity is occurring in some individuals but amongst the majority of innovators and maximisers it is not.

7.7.1 The Conformist and Transition

Chapters five and six revealed that religion of a partner was one of the most important factors when choosing a partner. Throughout this research, respondents who were not following the rules of religion, would express their desire to one day be 'more religious'. There was evidence to suggest that finding a religious partner would aid them to improve their own conformity to religion. Conformists were already conforming to religion and very rarely drifted into religious non-conformity, but hoped that marriage would further improve their faith. Conformists would enter into arranged marriages with

autonomy over who they would marry and described a religious partner as being very important as it would help them to be more religious themselves:

> **Jamaal:** "That's one of the reasons why I'm looking for a girl that's hopefully, I tried to find a girl that's more religious than me. So hopefully, she can encourage me and I can encourage her. You know there's a mutual benefit in that sense that we'll both progress. Um, I think it will make me more responsible, um, get my head out of the clouds to be honest. Um, what will it do to my leisure time? It will probably keep me more busy."

This was a view shared by all of the conformists who also felt that there would be too much conflict if they married a non-Muslim:

> **Kali:** "The most important thing for my wife is that she is Muslim, I think I follow the religion the best I can, but if I have someone that does more than me, then it will just make me better at it too. I don't think it can work with a non-Muslim there would be too many problems and I'm looking to improve my faith so I need someone to help me to do that, to keep pushing me to be better, do more."

As conformists are religious before marriage and seek to improve their faith after marriage by becoming more religious, they are not displaying drift but are confirming that their commitment to religion will continue after they are married. This indicates that Muslims feel there are ways in which they can improve their faith even though they are practising the faith. The drift into religious non-conformity is rare among conformists. Again, conformists do not need to employ the use of 'fronts' (Goffman 1959) or any other tactics and strategies in order to conceal deviation as they are not deviating from religious rules and maintain the same performance in terms of religious conformity at all times and in front of all audiences.

7.7.2 The Innovator, Maximiser and Transition

This section will consider Innovators and maximisers, whose commitment to religion was weak but also expressed a desire to be more religious after marriage. There was little evidence to suggest that drift was taking place after marriage with those who were married already suggesting that their commitment to religion had improved.

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Respondents who were not married yet pinpointed marriage as the time when they would become more conforming to religion. This is in keeping with findings in chapter five which suggest that the religion of a potential partner is the most important factor for all respondents. There was also evidence to suggest that those respondents who were already married had not made a transition to becoming more religious. Below are a selection of quotes from unmarried innovators and maximiser who all expressed their desires to be more religious after they got married. They all pinpointed getting married as the point at which they would begin to conform to the religion more:

> **Wajid**: "Yeah after I get married I'll probably stop doing all this. Got to settle down sometime. Probably go on Hajj and all that. At the moment though I'm just not there."

Wajid does use the words 'probably' which does not guarantee this transition and since this research has ended, I will not know whether this move to conforming to religion will take place. However, other maximisers and innovators gave similar responses. Afridi was quite clear that he would follow the religion more closely after marriage and that in the meantime he was just 'having some fun':

> **Afridi**: "In the future I'll follow the religion more, after getting married, will raise kids as Muslims, right now just having some fun. God is forgiving hopefully. That will be a long time in the future, I can't see myself praying 5 times a day for a long time."

Rehan also stated that he would become more conforming to the religion after he gets married:

> **Rehan:** "At the moment, I don't think I'm going to start praying five times a day. I reckon when I get married and I'm settled down and if I'm happy, then will be the time to pray five times and do all the other duties, maybe grow a beard! I would like to do hajj at some point too."

This indicates that even though the innovators and maximisers drifted from religion habitually and displayed a weak commitment to religion and culture, they still held faith in the religion and they felt that they should be more religious. This indicates that they believe that following the religion is the way they think they should behave and that it was the right thing to do. This also indicates that commitment to a deviant set of rules can

be temporary as suggested by Matza (1964). This also indicates that because this was a common theme amongst the innovators, that it was something that was 'agreed' upon through the process of differential association (Sutherland and Cressey 1960). This was so common through the research that it appears as though there is some sort of understanding between innovators and maximisers that they will transgress from religious duties before marriage, but will begin to follow religious rules after them. The majority of respondents who were unmarried at the time of the field work felt this way, with only one respondent stating that he did not think he would become more religious after marriage:

> **Umar:** "I don't know if I will stop going out, or start praying five times a day. I don't know. I might. But with marriage it will be difficult to do these things. How can you avoid your wife if you're drunk? Maybe we will have to stay out the whole night. I don't think I'm going to ever stop doing these things. It's just who I am. I don't know if that makes me a bad person. I'd like to think I pray more in the future but it's not something I'm worried about now."

Applying Goffman's (1959) presentation of self to the above quote demonstrates that Umar is planning on displaying a 'front' to his future spouse in order to conceal deviation. His wife then becomes part of his performance as a new 'audience' and he has to negotiate a new performance in which he is a respectable husband whilst in her presence. Umar was also planning how he would have to change his strategies to deviate from religious rules after he was married. Instead of coming home late after drinking alcohol in order to avoid detection, he would have to stay out the whole night in order to keep his drinking secret from his wife. This demonstrates that Umar actively organises his life in order to facilitate drift and this would continue after he was married. However there was also evidence to suggest that this negotiation after marriage was made more difficult and thus the behaviour of the respondents would change in terms of drinking and going out:

> **Sameer:** "I wouldn't say I'm more religious but things are different, like I don't go out as much. I don't really drink now, I don't drink anymore, but I think that's just because of the wife. Like its harder to find the time and to make excuses now."

The ability to lie to parents as discussed in Chapter Six, as a strategy to manage a deviant behaviour appears to be more difficult in a marriage therefore this strategy needs to be

rethought. I asked Umar why, if he felt that he would not conform to religious duties and obligations, he still identified as Muslim:

> **Umar:** "Because I am still Muslim. I was born a Muslim. Technically, everyone is born a Muslim in my religion, that's why we say 'revert' instead of 'convert'. I'm just not practising. I don't know really. That's a good question. I definitely still believe in the religion, it's in my heart. I just find it difficult to do all the things that I have to do like praying five times a day, that's like a big thing, you have to really be dedicated and like plan your day so you can do everything on time. You have to have the time to do things as well."

From this quote it could be argued that Umar is only identifying as Muslim because of the intense process of socialisation that he has gone through where he has internalised his religion without being committed to it. He does not seem to display any sort of fear of the consequences of not following his religion. This indicates the strength of the socialisation process in internalising behaviour but not belief. In this case the socialisation process is ensuring that Umar behaves in the correct way in terms of marriage, but has meant that his commitment to his religion has weakened, this could be down to the process of differential association discussed in section 6.4 where religious rules have become unfavourable to Umar. This is in keeping with literature which suggests that religion is a key part of identity (Anwar 1998; Akhtar 2014; Abbas 2003) but what is interesting is that even when the commitment to religion is weak, and there is no desire for it to be stronger, British Asian Muslims still identify strongly with religion. It should also be considered that Umar has left the religion inwardly and is not communicating this to me, or others around him. One respondent communicated a reason behind why there was so much drift present, especially before marriage:

> **Shabir:** "Yeah, I am Muslim, but like, the sin isn't on me until I get married.. Some people say it's on your parents, but I don't know, it's like, that's when you take it on, when you get married. I don't know, I'm not saying that excuses it, but yeah."

He argued that his sins counted against his parents before he was married and did not count against him. This is an interesting view point and was only communicated by one respondent. It seems as though Shabir is deflecting responsibility for his actions onto his parents. It could be argued that Shabir is doing this because he feels as though his sins are

the fault of his parents for the way in which he has been raised. He may feel that he does not have a strong commitment to religion *because* of his parents and therefore the sins that he is committing are actually his parent's sins. A theological discussion based on this is outside the scope of this research, but it is interesting to note that Shabir feels as though he can act in a way that will have no negative consequences for himself, but will do for others, and continues to do so.

Having established that becoming religious after marriage was predicted by the majority of respondents, I will now consider those respondents who were already married at the time of the research to examine whether or not they did drift into religious conformity after marriage and how marriage may have changed their lives. There was a strong indication that whilst there were some behaviour changes such as having stopped drinking and going out as much in favour of a family life, there was minimal drift into religious conformity. Sameer states that before he got married, he anticipated that he would become more religious after his marriage, but this was not the case:

> **Sameer:** "I always thought that after I got married I would be praying and doing fasts and stuff better, but I dunno. I know I should, but I don't, I just don't know why, I hope that one day it will be like, I wake up and I just have that urge, you know? I just don't have that thing to tell me, go, do it, be the best Muslim you can be. Maybe when I have kids, who knows?"

It appears as though Sameer has again changed the point at which he will become more conforming to religion, now stating that it may happen when he becomes a father. This was also suggested by Rafiq:

> **Rafiq**: "Well everyone wants progression in life with your work, so, ideally, everyone likes to progress, so I'd like to progress my life further. Um, in 5-10 years I'd probably have to be more of a family guy because being married and having ten years, you could have three kids potentially in ten years, so it would change from being from a bachelor, from a young man into a more responsible father. And err, although being a father, your responsibilities change as well, because your kids grow up. Within ten years your kids would grow up. You have to revolve, your life has to revolve around your family more often than being able to go out, with friends and stuff. Although you should still socialise with your

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friends and whatnot. But yeah in ten years I'd like to be a better Muslim, I'd like to be able to practise my religion completely. As I said I sort of do 3 of the pillars of Islam, and I'd like to fulfil my pilgrimage, and I'd like to be steadfast in my prayers."

There is evidence to suggest then that this drift into religious conformity which is predicted by the respondents, does not happen. This indicates that the weak commitment to religion displayed by innovators and maximisers continues past marriage. However, there was one respondent who did become more religious after his marriage:

> **Majid:** "I really started to follow religion after I got married. I think I always knew that once I got married I would have to settle down and start behaving, start praying, and all the rest. I want to be a better Muslim in the future. You can always improve yourself as a Muslims so I always strive to do that, and will continue to improve as a Muslim no matter what. I'll raise my children as Muslims, I have a daughter. I'll teach them to be good Muslims, it's something you can always improve in, always learn."

This indicates that whilst most respondents who predict that they will become more religious after marriage, rarely do so, there is evidence to suggest that this may be a turning point in religious conformity for some second generation British Asian Muslim males. It must be stated that in the context of this research, they are not now considered conformists once they do develop a strong bond to religion, as they have already maximised their opportunities in having a transnational consanguineous marriage. If they were to divorce or the marriage were to end in another way and they were to remarry through an arranged marriage, then they would be considered as conformists.

7.8 The Future of the Business of Marriage: The Third Generation

In this section, I discuss the way in which the respondents planned on raising their own children with regard to religion, culture and marriage. I begin by discussing the conformist, who had an upbringing which allowed him to choose which aspects of culture he wanted to adopt. This was done through the proper education and distinction made between religion and culture. I will demonstrate that the conformist will teach his children about religion and also some aspects of culture. The conformist will teach his children

the difference between religious obligations and cultural practises, much like his own upbringing. I will also argue that the conformist will allow his children to make the decision regarding religious conformity on their own after they have been taught these differences. This means that the children of the conformists will enter into an arranged marriage if they adopt the faith as their own, they will not be required to do so by their parents. I then discuss the innovator and I will argue that in some cases, the innovator will teach his children about the culture of his home parents' home country, but will do this differently to the way in which he himself has been raised. I demonstrate that the innovator will explain the difference between religion and culture to his children. I then move on to discuss the maximiser. I will demonstrate that the maximiser, is less likely to teach his children about his parents' home culture, but will teach his children about his religion. I also demonstrate that there will be a potential conflict in how to raise children between the maximiser and his spouse who is from his parents' home country.

Finally, I discuss whether or not the Business of Marriage will continue with future generations. I argue that the system will be reproduced but there are a number of conditions which we must consider. Firstly, if the maximisers are still financially dependent on their parents, then their parents may insist that the third generation marry according to their wishes. However, because the maximisers have married according to their parents' wishes, they may be in a better position to negotiate for their children. Also, the children of the maximisers may become financially independent in their own accord which would mean they are in a position to reject a transnational consanguineous marriage. Also, a conflict may arise between maximisers who have had transnational marriages and do not expect their children to enter into an arranged marriage and their wives who do. This was indicated through the research and will be discussed in this chapter.

7.8.1 The Future of the Conformist

With regard to raising children, the conformist, whose commitment to religion and culture is strong and was raised with a clear understanding of the differences between religion and culture, it was revealed that he would raise his children in the same way that they themselves were raised by their parents. Hass clearly feels that religious obligations

should take precedence over cultural practises when raising children, but also talks about choice and indicates that he would be happy to let his children decide whether or not they would follow the religion:

> **Hass:** "So you want what's best for them as well, maybe even better than what they want for themselves. What they think they want for themselves, so on that basis, you would give them the best things you have and if religion is one of them, definitely, you would pass that on, and obviously giving them that choice as well. Some people may, may think that's frowned upon, that you give them the choice I've heard some people who definitely don't want to teach other aspects, other avenues, but its, um, I think most people would say it's good to teach your own religion but other opinions as well, other input."

Hass also felt that teaching children about culture from his parent country was also important. This is consistent with literature that suggests second generation British South Asians are keen to hold onto some parts of their parent culture (Modood et al. 1997; Jacobson 1997). Here, Hass talks about language and how he feels it is important to pass this on to his children:

> **Hass:** "Yes definitely, because I don't know much Urdu But I think that it's a lovely language, one, it's very emotive, it's a lovely language, and I think to pass that onto the generations is very important. Because to know where you came from is so important, because if you just mingle in and, and, forced by peer pressure to follow other people without having an understanding of who you are, because that is essentially who you are. You are the person who's grown up in this environment, and you have certain backgrounds certain traits, that's essentially what makes you, the fact that I am a British, Muslim and Pakistani. That's the three things that make up me, if one of them wasn't here then I wouldn't be me, I would be someone else. I think it's essential to be you, so I think that should be taught to the generations."

Jamaal was also of the opinion that religion was more important than culture, but agreed with Hass that he would teach his children some aspects of the culture of his parents' home country. He did however also state that there are some aspects of the culture that he would leave behind because he did not feel they were compatible with modern British life:

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Jamaal: "If there are for example these where, um, aspects where the parents will slap you if you done something naughty, and I'm sure people have been hit with walking sticks and all sorts. Like in Indo-Pak culture, like the old teachers in my dad's school, they used to hit them with a cane. Even in the UK, but if that's not allowed, then it's something that we need to leave behind, and I think progress wise, generally the communities are doing that now and I wanna keep it up like that. I will be strict with my children, but I won't be ruthless, you know you've gotta give them a bit of leeway. It's not, again there's another saying, don't try and enforce the way you were raised on your children."

Jamaal clearly feels as though the aspects of culture that are not compatible with life in the United Kingdom would be left behind by his generation and he would choose aspects of his culture which were compatible to continue into the future. He also indicates that his own upbringing included this part of the culture and he was keen not to continue it with his own children. Kali also indicated that religion would be communicated to his children separately from culture. This was consistent among all the conformists who themselves had been raised in this way. Kali also indicates that he is worried about 'bad influences' which we can assume, he means from western culture:

Kali*:* "When I do have kids, I'll teach them about the religion like my dad taught me, and I just hope that they will do as I do. I would never force them because that's against the religion, but I just pray that they will follow the religion like I do. I worry though, I mean there's so much out there, so many bad influences. Someone can easily be lead down the wrong path and end up all messed up and stuff. But yeah, they'll be raised same way as I was. If they don't want to follow the religion then that's up to them, all I can do is teach them the right way… I will teach them about culture as well, but definitely not as much as religion, like they should know where I'm from. I'll probably take them there as well once they are old enough just to see where we are from and where our roots are.. by bad influences I mean like TV, friends, you don't know what they're up to do you?"

This is consistent with literature which suggests that's first generation British Muslims are concerned with some aspects of British culture such as loose family bonds and morals which do not fit with Islam (Kibria 1997; Griffiths et al. 2008; Wardak 2000). It appears as though this concern is one that the conformists hold with regard to their own children.

This section has demonstrated that although there are aspects of their parent culture they would leave behind due to them not being compatible with modern British life, the conformist would teach his children both religious duties and cultural practises but would not confuse the two. The conformist will allow his children to choose which aspects of culture to adopt and will give his children autonomy when it comes to adopting religion. There is also some indication that much like the first generation have concerns about the influence of British culture, the conformist also harbours these concerns. This demonstrates a similarity in the way that the conformist has been raised and in the way that he plans to raise his own children. This may be due to the favourable view of religion he has developed as a result of his upbringing.

7.8.2 The Future of the innovator

The innovator, who had a weak commitment to religion and culture and rejected an arranged marriage, had similar views to the conformist when it came to raising children in terms of religion and culture. Innovators generally felt as though religious teachings should take precedence over cultural practises when it came to raising children. This was in contrast to their own upbringing where cultural practises were disguised as religious duties as part of the process of intense socialisation as discussed earlier in this thesis:

> **Rafiq:** "I'd like to, I'd like to raise my children within the boundaries of Islam, more than having to teach and practise them about culture and being Pakistani. Because if you teach them Islam and the foundations and the boundaries within Islam, that sort of covers all your cultural stuff. it should sort of cover all your cultural stuff, um. I wouldn't like to be really strict or restrict my children from doing things, although I'd like them to do the right things. You teach children to do the right things, but when they become adults or young teenagers they sort of choose what they do because you aren't gonna be around them on a 24/7 basis. They go to school, your child could go school, his friends could smoke i.e. cos you could smoke, I'm not around to be in there, to be there and guide them you've got, that's what we have to do as people, you have to give them that opportunity to go out and to make the right decisions for themselves as well. We've been given that opportunity, so we should give our youngers that opportunity although you should not enforce Islam. You should teach your children Islam err so that

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they enjoy it and so that they understand the severities of anything or that they understand that, or that they understand the whole concept of God and the prophet and what he taught us and what we should do and ideally I'd like my children to be good Muslims. As well as you know, we're in this society, so they've gotta work, they've gotta follow the rules of this society, they gotta make sure that every rule and every work that they do should be in the boundaries of Islam."

It is clear from the above that Rafiq felt that children should retain a sense of autonomy in their decision making regarding religion and culture and they should not be forced to adopt religious or cultural practises. This was something that was common amongst the respondents. There was also a suggestion that the innovators saw this as a challenge in British society, raising children who followed the religion. Rafiq also expressed a concern about the influences his child might face when he was older and in school. This concern for the western way of life appears to be common amongst the innovators and conformists, much like the first generation. This might be born out of the innovators own experiences of having a weak commitment to religion and culture:

Awais: "I reckon in my opinion the major challenge is, the way we bring up our kids, and that's the challenge, and that's one of the main, because to be honest with you, nothing else matters in life does it? You've got a roof over your head, you've got food to eat you've got a vehicle from A to B, yeah? It's about the next generation now to be honest. It's about how we teach them to adapt. We teach them, like I was touching on, a little bit of the culture, little bit of the tradition, religious, religion, you know, how to, err, how to live in this country sort of thing. How to go about their business, you know, they gotta be streetwise as well, you know when they're out and about, you don't wanna be picked on and trod on your whole life. You wanna be able to carry yourself in a way where it's not gonna happen, because it's happened with us, we had to fight our way out of it. But you know hopefully, that's gonna be our main challenge, you know you're probably in the same boat. Got a little one, and hopefully that's gonna be something that is quite demanding."

Awais also expresses the concern about living in the western world in the quote above. The concerns of the first generation about the exposure to the western world (Kibria 1997; Griffiths et al. 2008; Wardak 2000) appear to be the same concerns that the respondents

have about their own children. This concern appears to be moving through the generations.

There was also a suggestion that the process of intense socialisation might continue into the future with Inzamaam stating below that the teaching of cultural values might be inevitable given the structure of the British Muslim family and household:

> **Inzamaam:** "I'll teach my kids about Islam but I won't force it on them, at the end of the day, its up to them to decide what to do, I'm just there to guide them. I don't know about culture, I think religion is more important. But they will probably pick that up anyway because of family and stuff. It's unavoidable."

Inzamaam suggests from the quote above that given the family structure of a British South Asian Muslim household, which facilitates the process of intense socialisation as discussed in chapter two, the communication of culture to his children would be inevitable. This may indicate that the family, specifically the first generation attempt put the third generation through the same process and same social control that they did their own children, especially if the family wealth has not yet been passed onto the second generation. This is more likely to happen in the case of maximisers though, as they will still be living in the parental home. Innovators may have more control over what their children are taught given that they would likely move out of the parental home. Saqlain feels as though his children's generation will not be as involved with culture but would still like his children to learn parts of it:

> **Saqlain:** "Very similar, I would want them to have some sort of religious background cos I believe that's a necessity. Cultural I think things are changing now. I don't think our children or the next generation are gonna be as cultural as we are, simply because times are changing, things are moving on. Um, but hopefully a little bit of culture, a little bit of religion, err, children to know who they are, where they came from, their background, their family tree. You know I think that kind of stuff is important."

It is clear from this section that innovators would raise their children in much the same way as conformists, teaching them religious duties above cultural practises, but including culture in their lives. They would be given autonomy over which aspects of the religion and culture they would follow, but they would hope that their children choose to conform to the religion. Innovators, much like the conformists also expressed concern for how

their children might adopt practises that are outside of Islam, this might be born from their own experiences of drifting away from religion and culture and thus are worried that their children might do the same. There was also some indication that the family structure in British South Asian Muslim households would mean that the third generation would inevitably learn the culture of their parent country. This will be discussed further in the next section as I consider the maximiser and the way in which he will raise his children.

7.8.3 The Future of the Maximiser

As demonstrated in this thesis, the maximiser's commitment to religion was weak, as demonstrated by the habitual drift that was occurring in his daily life. The maximiser differed from the innovator in marriage. The innovator would reject an arranged marriage and thus not reproduce the business of marriage, the maximiser would accept a transnational consanguineous marriage thus reproducing the business of marriage within the British South Asian Muslim community. Both the innovators and maximisers were subject to an intense process of socialisation which resulted in them having a weak commitment to religion but were aware of the rules of the family and community. This included the confusion between religious duties and cultural practises which were often taught as the same thing by their elders.

Maximisers were less likely than innovators to teach their children about their parent culture. Their process of socialisation as well as the fact that they have been made to marry their cousins has left them with feelings of resentment to their parent culture:

> **Afridi:** "Yeah definitely, kids will be taught the religion, not the culture. I don't really care if they ever go to Pakistan. All I really have to do is teach them the religion. I don't want them to be involved with all the other rules and stuff, they should get to make up their own minds about stuff."

Afridi was adamant that his children would not learn about the culture of his home country. Whilst Afridi demonstrated earlier in this thesis that his level of drift from religion was high, it was also demonstrated that he planned on conforming to the religion more after marriage. In line with this, he plans on teaching his children about religion, but not about culture. Shabir felt similarly to Afridi about the way in which he would raise his children:

> **Shabir**: "To be honest, it's my parents that are Pakistani, and I don't really see myself as Pakistani. Like, I will support them at cricket, but I guess, it's part of who I am, cos like, I will marry a Pakistani girl, and I eat the food and stuff. So, I dunno to be honest. My kids will be raised as Muslims but I don't think they will even think of themselves as Pakistani. I was born here, they will be born here. I don't really think the Pakistani culture is something that they're gonna want."

It must be noted that Maximisers, who had a transnational arranged marriage would have children whose father was born and raised in Britain and a mother who was born and raised in a South Asian country. Technically their children would be both second and third generation British Asian Muslims. There was some indication that this would lead to a conflict between parents when deciding on how to raise their children. So the decision on whether to teach cultural practises and the way in which the children are socialised does not lie with just the maximiser. It should also be noted that the parents of the maximiser might have some influence on how the third generation is raised. It has already been established that British South Asian Muslims reside in dwellings with a large number of people from their family, so it would be difficult to stop culture being taught by other people:

> **Shabir:** "I guess though, if their Mum is from Pakistan then we will probably have to teach them a little culture. They will probably learn it anyway from my parents too, if they're still around."

Respondents who had had a transnational arranged marriage communicated a potential conflict when discussing their children and marriage. There was a difference in the way they wanted their children to be able to choose a spouse and the way in which their partners viewed this process.

> **Saki:** "My kids probably won't have an arranged marriage. My Mrs will probably want it, but I think I want them to choose their own. Its their choice really. My wife will probably say they have to stay with us and stuff but I don't think that's right. They should choose on their own. Its their life really. I dunno, maybe my Mrs will listen to me."

What this demonstrates is that second generation British Muslim males who fall into the category of 'The Maximiser' not only want their children to be able to choose their own spouses, but it also implies that they feel that choice is important when it comes to

marriage. This suggests that they had no choice in their own marriages, further adding to the argument that they were forced into marriage. However it could also be argued that they chose to accept this marriage in exchange for the family inheritance, but are now feeling resentment because of the choice. This conflict between these parents may well be the deciding factor as to whether or not the business of marriage continues to be reproduced with third generation British Muslim males. However, we must remember that the people involved in this process also include the grandparents of the third generation who have facilitated the marriage of their children. If the family wealth has not been passed on to the second generation, then it is possible that the first generation may have some social control over the third generation.

What this section demonstrates is that the business of marriage is creating a generation of British Asian Muslim males who hold a negative view of their parent culture and do not associate with it at all. It has been shown that this negative view is due to the process of socialisation where cultural practises such as consanguineous marriage are portrayed as religious obligations. They do not plan on teaching their children about the culture of their parent country, but it must also be noted that the structure of the British Asian Muslim household is likely to influence the communication of culture. The next section will go on to theorise about the reproduction of the business of marriage with future generations.

7.8.4 The End of the Business of Marriage

In order to understand whether the business of marriage will continue into the future, it is important to understand the processes behind the facilitation of the system. Firstly, as highlighted in chapter two, there is an intense process of socialisation and social control which happens from an early age amongst British South Asian Muslim families. In order for the business of marriage to be successful, cultural practises are disguised as religious obligations in order to make them internalised among young British Asian Muslims. Amongst these cultural practises are notions of shame and honour and the obligation to marry according to parents' wishes. This is the first stage in the business of marriage. The second stage in the business of marriage is to ensure that pressure is applied to the second generation British Muslim male in order to get him to agree to marry according to his parents' wishes. The more successful the process of socialisation, the less pressure is

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required and consent will be obtained without the need for pressure to be applied. Financial incentives and emotional support from the family are used in order to apply this pressure through the threat of being removed from the family inheritance. Eventually, the marriage is agreed upon and takes place. The transnational bride is given a British visa and arrives in the country. The British husband is allowed to remain in the family home and believes it is his obligation to do so. He is provided with financial support. If the marriage fails, the British husband will not divorce the transnational bride until she has been given a permanent British visa. The government's probationary period is met before a divorce takes place. There is some indication that the British husband might be asked to leave the family home at this stage, however this is not clear. This is the process of the lifelong Business of Marriage.

It has been argued in this chapter that most second generation British Muslims males would teach their children about culture, but would not use religion as a cover for doing so. They would teach their children the difference between religion and culture so they could understand what their religious obligations were and were able to make a decision about the cultural practises they adopt. If this is true and this does happen, then it is possible that transnational consanguineous marriages will decline in popularity amongst this community. There is no evidence of this in current literature as cultural practises remain strong in the United Kingdom (Shaw 2001). However what must also be considered is the fact that the grandparents of the third generation may also be living within the family home. As discussed earlier in this thesis, it is common for grandparents to live in the family home. To what extent the grandparents will have control over what is taught to the third generation also needs to be considered. However, maximisers show a loss of connection to their parents' culture and will not teach cultural practises at all. This may result in the end of the business of marriage but again, we must consider the other influences that will be present to teach cultural practises. The wife of the maximiser will be from the parent country and the grandparents may well be living with them in the same house. This might mean that the maximiser has very little control over what is taught to his children in terms of culture and the process of social control may continue with the third generation.

This thesis has demonstrated that the business of marriage is operating currently with the negotiation taking place between the parents, who are first generation immigrants and their children, the second generation. What we do not know is how long this practise and

method of passing on wealth and keeping it within the family will continue. In my opinion, based on the findings of this thesis, the practise will continue with the third generation. This is because the grandparents of the third generation are the first generation who are still a part of their lives. Secondly, the second generation who married transnationally will also take part in the business of marriage if their partners take control of how their children are raised. There are a number of ways in which the cycle could theoretically be broken:

The first scenario would be if the parents of the third or fourth generation stop asking their children to have transnational marriages. I believe this may happen with the fourth generation as then the first generation will no longer be present to enact the process of socialisation that occurs in some British Muslim households. A second scenario would be if children who are asked to have a transnational marriage, refuse. In my view this would be contingent on their financial situation as it appears from this research that in some cases, those who have refused this type of marriage and married according to their own will, eventually return to the family home because they are unable to manage their finances. It appears through my research that those who have successfully rejected this type of marriage have done so by being financially independent. Finally, if the scenario emerges where the first generation are no longer present and the family wealth has been passed on to the next generation then the Business of Marriage may end assuming the second generation do not continue this practise. In my opinion, based on this research, this third scenario is the most likely to end the Business of Marriage.

I have argued in this chapter that the business of marriage is a system by which forced marriages are entered into. I am not arguing that the end of this system will result in the end of forced marriages in the United Kingdom amongst British Muslim males, nor that this system is the only one by which forced marriages take place. I am also not arguing that British Muslim males are not subject to physical violence or other forms of duress or coercion to enter into a forced marriage. This was outside the scope of this research and will be investigated as part of future research projects. I have presented the information that I collected during my fieldwork which indicated that this system was in existence.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explored a number of factors behind marriage and British Asian Muslim males. Firstly, I explored the innovator and concluded that the innovator able to reject an arranged marriage because he is in a stable financial position. He does not need to inherit the family wealth in order to support himself and his family. The innovator resists pressure applied to him by his family to enter into an arranged marriage. The innovator differs from the maximiser who enters into an arranged marriage even though he does not want to. I have argued that this is because he is under the social and economic control of his family and is unable to or unwilling to support himself and be left out of the family inheritance. I have also found that the family of the person entering into this type of marriage aim to keep wealth within the family. The incoming spouse is given a British Visa and ensured of a permanent British Visa even if the marriage fails before the probationary period set by the government.

I have argued that the maximiser can be thought of in two ways. Firstly, he can be thought of as a victim of forced marriage. He is given a choice of marrying according to his parents' wishes or being socially and economically excluded. This is consent by coercion and therefore the maximiser would be thought of as a victim. Secondly, the maximiser could be thought of as an opportunist. As the process of intense socialisation is lifelong process, he is aware of the choice from an early age. It could be argued that the maximiser has made this choice to inherit the family wealth freely, as he has not sought to achieve wealth independent of the family. If he had, he would have been considered an innovator. This is different to the way in which British Muslim husbands have been portrayed in media and political discourse, where they are often portrayed as offenders who pressure brides into marriage. This chapter has provided a definition for the business of marriage as: A system in which transnational consanguineous marriages are taking place under the following conditions: (1) There is a process of intense socialisation where respect for parents and cultural practises are internalised (2) where there is an exchange of wealth (3) where British nationality is given to the incoming spouse (4) where financial support is given to the British husband. It has been argued that the maximiser, by marrying in this way is reproducing the business of marriage in Britain. The process of socialisation and social control highlighted throughout this thesis culminates in the pressure applied to the maximisers and innovators to marry according to their parents' wishes. This is

different to the conformist who has a free choice as to who he wants to marry and chooses to have an arranged marriage in line with his Islamic faith.

This chapter has also explored the way in which the movement from innovation to maximisation can occur and that these are not fixed adaptations. This has been achieved by exploring the secret marriage as well as a respondent who 'married too young'. These respondents, it has been argued, moved from innovation to maximisation because of their financial situation.

Temporary marriage has also been discussed briefly in this section as one respondent reported that he would marry 'temporarily' in order to have sexual relationships outside of marriage. The process behind this type of marriage has been described. I discussed whether this respondent was acting outside of Islam, as he stated he was acting within the religion, but this discussion is outside the scope of this study. As he states that he is not acting outside of the religion, this study must conclude that he is not drifting in this particular instance. This practise was not common amongst this group of respondents with only one participant in the study admitting to using temporary marriages as a way to have sexual relationships before marriage. Technically this means that this respondents has been married and divorced a number of times. Further research should be conducted in this area, however this would be extremely difficult to do given the hidden nature of this practise.

This chapter also explored how marriage acts as a point of transition into religious conformity. Conformists who were already following their religion closely were planning to do so into the future, expressing the desire to be even more religious. Innovators and maximisers generally thought that marriage would bring a time when they were more religious but there was little evidence of this actually happening. Some respondents who were already married still displayed high levels of drift and used 'fronts' to conceal them. The strategies to conceal drift were similar to those discussed in chapter six.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter concludes this research and explores what this thesis contributes to our understanding of second generation British South Asian Muslim males, marriage, religion and leisure. In this chapter I will discuss the research questions set out in Chapter One of this thesis with regard to the key findings. The research questions set out in Chapter One are:

1. How do second generation British South Asian Muslim Males come to understand the institution of arranged marriage?
2. What does the institution of arranged marriage 'mean' for British South Asian Muslim Males?
3. How do British South Asian Muslim Males negotiate the obligations and expectations that surround the institution of arranged marriage?
4. How is the Business of Arranged Marriage reproduced in British South Asian Muslim families? Will the Business of Arranged Marriage continue to exist with the third generation of British Asian Muslim males?

I will begin this chapter by summarising the modes of adaptation to the pressure to conform as set out in Chapter Three and explored throughout this thesis. I summarise the process by which this pressure is created and the adaptation of innovation and maximisation I then summarise the lifelong 'Business of Marriage'. In summarising these two aspects of my thesis, I answer the research questions above. I end this thesis by highlighting the limitations of my research and setting a future research agenda.

8.2 The Pressure to Conform and Adaptations to Strain

This thesis, highlighted that second generation British South Asian males were put under a process of intense socialisation and social control from an early age which meant that they were under pressure to conform to their parent's home culture, religion and the western culture in which they were raised (Wardak 2000; Jacobson 1997). It was demonstrated that a close network of family and kinship (*biraderi*) existed within British South Asian Muslim communities where this socialisation takes place (Wardak 2000). It was also demonstrated that British Asian Muslims tend to live in large households with

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family members of three generations often living together. Social control was exercised partly through the use of concepts of *Sharam* (shame) and *izzat* (honour), where those who were considered to have acted outside of rules were out casted from the *biraderi* and used as an example of the consequences of violating the social and moral order. Rules around relationships and leisure were communicated in this environment. These rules were often different to western culture in which the males grew up in which created a pressure to conform to both sets of rules (Wardak 2000). This pressure produced a response which was located under anomie and strain theory (Merton 1938; Murphy and Robison 2008). It was demonstrated that the goal of the respondents was to achieve wealth and to maintain family bonds. This was demonstrated through the fact that a marriage was often entered into under the threat of being removed from the family inheritance. The goal could be achieved by conforming to religious and cultural practises, but the difference between the two cultures they were existing in created strain. This thesis explored respondents who conformed to religion and an arranged marriage as well as two deviant adaptation that resulted as a reaction to this strain, the innovator (Merton 1938) and the maximiser (Murphy and Robinson 2008).

The conformist accepts the culturally prescribed goal of wealth and the maintenance of family bonds. The conformist accepts religious and cultural rules and places religion at the heart of his everyday life. He considers religion before making any decisions regarding work, leisure and marriage. He enters into an arranged marriage because of this religious belief. Marriage is important to him because of his religion. He does not drift habitually and he organises his life in order to avoid drift. A strategy to organising his life in this way is to surround himself with other conformists who hold the same social, religious and moral values as him. When drift does occur it is momentary and not habitual. This includes the fact that he does not enter into relationships before marriage. The conformist has been raised in a way in which the difference between religion and culture is made clear and he is able to choose which aspects of culture to adopt. Whilst the inheritance of wealth is not the primary aim of marriage for the conformist, it can be argued that he is aware of the fact that he is likely to inherit the family wealth and parental home should he marry and remain in the family home. However, the motives behind this have been shown to be religious and cultural, rather than to solely to achieve wealth.

The innovator differs from the conformist. The innovator accepts the culturally prescribed goal but achieves it in a different way. He rejects arranged marriage as a means to achieve this goal and rejects the opportunity to have one. I have argued that the innovator is in a position to do this because he is in a stable financial position. He displays a weak commitment to religion and cultural practises and drifts from religious conformity habitually. He organises his life in order to facilitate drift and uses a number of techniques and strategies in order to do so. Amongst these strategies is the variation of the presentation of self (Goffman 1959) where the innovator will present various 'fronts' to different audiences to conceal his deviance and to keep it secret. This allows him to drift without getting caught and to maintain the image of a conformist in the *biraderi*. He uses these techniques in order to drink alcohol and have pre-marital intimate relationships secretly. The innovator would also maintain a connection to the community through religious events such as *Juma* prayer. The Maximiser was similar to the innovator in his commitment to religion and culture but differed in his choice of marriage. In order to achieve the culturally prescribed goal, the maximiser would enter into an arranged, often consanguineous transnational marriage. The reasons behind this will be summarised in section 8.4 where I summarise the Business of Marriage where the maximiser is key.

I also theorised about other deviant adaptation to this strain. These were not discovered during the course of this research, but may exist and further research should be conducted on British Asian Muslims males to determine this. Merton (1938) described the Ritualist as someone who rejects the goal, but accepts the institutional means to achieve it. Within the context of this research, I theorised that the Ritualist rejects the culturally prescribed goal, has an arranged transnational consanguineous marriage and does not drift from religion. There would be no drift present in their leisure activities, like the conformist. The Ritualist would be someone who has lost faith in the religion inwardly, but has not left the religion outwardly. They may also be referred to as 'cultural Muslims'as in Wardak's (2000:158) study.They would still refer to themselves as Muslim. During the course of this research, I did not come across anyone who I would consider a Ritualist, as the Ritualist does not communicate his off faith and therefore will identify as being Muslim. A Ritualist then can only be identified as one if he admits to having left the religion but not having told people. It is possible that the conformists in this study are in fact Ritualist but it is impossible to decipher this. Researching this further may lead to this adaptation being discovered. The Retreatist, according to Merton (1938)

rejects the culturally prescribed goal, as well as the institutional means to achieve it. Murphy and Robinson (2008) argue that the Retreatist would reject criminality as an alternative means. I theorised that within the context of this research, the Retreatist would reject the goal, not have a marriage at all, and also drift in terms of leisure and religion. Theoretically, this may be someone who never gets married in order to avoid having an arranged marriage. The Retreatist abandons the religion inwardly, but does not communicate this to others. As this research recruited individuals who self-identified as second generation British Asian Muslim males, I did not discover any Retreatist in my study. Further research may reveal individuals who respond to the strain through this adaptation. The rebel rejects the goal and replaces it with another goal he also rejects the means to achieve the goal. (Merton 1938) Within the context of this research, the rebel would reject arranged marriage and replace it, he would also rejects religion and culture. The rebel may convert to another religion or atheism. Due to the nature of this project, rebels were not found as I was interviewing respondents who self-identified as second generation British Asian Muslim males. Conducting a research study on former Muslims to determine whether they left the religion because of the strain created would reveal provide a further understanding of this strain and how it is negotiated.

8.3 The Business of Marriage

This thesis has highlighted a lifelong *Business of Marriage* amongst the British South Asian Muslim community. The process begins when the Second generation British Asian Muslim males are very young, before they begin school. It is then that a process of intense socialisation occurs which aims to control the younger generation to abide by cultural and religious rules. Family sizes are large and children are included in all family events. Cultural practises are disguised as religious duties as part of this process. Concepts of *sharam, izzat* and *bisharm* (shame, honour and without shame) are used in order to create rules and boundaries for the younger generation (Wardak; Sharpe, 1976; Ballard, 1979; Shaw, 1988; 1994; Ballard, 1994) . Those who openly transgress are referred to as bisharm and out casted from the *biraderi* (close network of kin and friendship). The *bisharm* are then used as an example of the consequences of transgression (Wardak 2000). The threat of no in heritance is also used as a technique to instil social control into the younger generation. Respondents are expected to marry according to their parents'

wishes, with no choice in this matter. Those that do, even though their commitment to religion and culture is weak, do so because they inherit the family wealth and are able to maintain family bonds as a result. Often, they will marry their cousins from their parents' home country. In return, parents are able to obtain a visa for their nieces to enter the country. There is also evidence to suggest that when this type of marriage fails early on, the husband and wife will remain married in order to meet the minimum period required in order to apply for a permanent British visa which allows the incoming spouse to remain in Britain. There was also evidence to show that the incoming spouse would then have another transnational consanguineous marriage in order to bring another member of the family to Britain. This process of intense socialisation, the exchange of wealth and the attainment of a British Visa is referred to as the lifelong Business of Marriage.

The maximiser is key to this process as his acceptance of the marriage is allowing its reproduction. The maximiser will forgo the opportunity to find his own partner and marry according to his own wishes. I have explained that it can be argued that this type of marriage is forced because of the perceived pressure that the maximiser will be put under if he was to reject an arranged marriage. However, I have also argued that the maximiser could be viewed as an opportunist who uses this type of marriage in order to inherit wealth from the family. The maximiser understands marriage as a religious duty, but also understands a consanguineous arranged marriage as a cultural burden.

I have argued that the Business of Marriage is likely to continue until the fourth generation of British Asian Muslim males. I have argued this because by this time, the first generation will no longer be present and the family wealth would have been passed on. It is also unlikely that many aspects of culture will continue to be taught by the maximisers to their children who have developed a negative view of their parent culture.

8.4 Limitations of Research and Future Research Agenda

Whilst this research has uncovered a number of interesting discussions and arguments about the lives of British Asian Muslim males. There are still interesting arguments that arose that fell outside the scope of this study. This research raises a number of key questions regarding British Asian Muslim males and their lived experience from childhood to marriage. During the course of this research and the course of this thesis, a

number of further areas for research have arisen. My future research will include the investigation into how the internet facilitates drift away from religion and allows individuals to manage a secret identity. I will also investigate the thought process behind the first generation and why they pressurise their children into transnational consanguineous marriages, this research relied on data from the second generation, but future research will include research directly on first generation British Asian Muslims whose children have entered into transnational consanguineous marriages. I am also interested in whether the deviant adaptations theorised in this thesis that were not discovered, exist within the context of this research. I plan on repeating this study with a larger sample size with respondents from a variety of geographical areas in order to determine this. I am also hoping to find respondents who display a strong commitment to religion and culture who enter into transnational consanguineous marriages. No such individuals that meet this criteria were interviewed during the course of this study, but through personal experience and my own network of kin and friends, I can confidently conclude that they exist. Future research will also be conducted on the migrant brides from South Asia. I have indicated in Chapter Seven that in some cases transgressions of maximisers are tolerated by the family even after marriage. Further research on how this affects the migrant bride should be conducted. A number of other considerations also arise from the data, which fell outside of the scope of this study. Further critical re-analysis of the data through the lens of identity formation as well as theoretical considerations of gender equity in intimate relationships in a liquid modern setting could be conducted in future research (see Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2000, 2003). This would of course also be an intriguing test of some of the core arguments of the liquid modern thesis.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

This research has added to the understanding of British Asian Muslim males and the way in which family and community can shape their experiences. In particular this thesis has contributed to the understanding of British Asian Muslim males who enter into consanguineous transnational marriages and their reasons for doing so. It has also highlighted that for some British Asian Muslim males, rejecting a marriage of this nature is a complicated process and involves many individuals. This thesis has also contributed

to understandings of leisure and how a deviant lifestyle is managed in tightly knit, closed community.

APPENDICES

Appendix A Interview consent form

This consent form outlines my rights as a participant in the study of Second generation British Asian Muslims by RASHID AZIZ, City University, London.

I will be asked questions regarding my leisure time and how I organise this. I will also be asked to talk about my home life and my attitudes towards religion and culture. I understand I may be asked about details regarding my personal life.

The interview will last approximately 45 minutes. I also give permission for the interviewer to conduct participant observation with the permission of all persons present. I give permission for follow up interviews to be conducted at a time which is suitable and convenient for me.

I understand that:

Taking part in this study is entirely voluntary.

It is my right to decline to answer any question that I am asked.

I am free to end the interview at any time.

I may request that the interview not be taped.

My name and identity will remain confidential in any publications or discussions.

My name will not appear on any tapes or transcripts resulting from the interview.

I HAVE READ THIS CONSENT FORM. I HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO ASK QUESTIONS CONCERNING ANY AREAS THAT I DID NOT UNDERSTAND.

_____

(Signature of Interviewee)

_____

(Printed name of Interviewee)

_____

(Date)

You may decline to participate in this study. You may end your participation in this study at any time. Maintaining your anonymity is a priority and every practical precaution will be taken to disguise your identity. There will not be any identifying information on audiotapes or transcripts of this interview. I will not allow anyone other than the research supervisor to hear any audiotape of your voice or review a transcript of this interview. All materials generated from your interview (e.g., audiotapes and transcripts) will remain in my direct physical possession.

_____

(Signature of Interviewer and Date)

Appendix B Aide Memoire

1. Tell me about yourself, tell me about your family, are you close with your family? How many brothers and sisters do you have? Are they married? Tell me about them.

2. Do you work? Did you go to university? If not, why not? Are you planning on going to university?

3. What do you do in your spare time? Who do you socialise with? Tell me about your leisure activities?

4. Do your parents know about your activities in your spare time? Why? How do you keep them secret? Why do you conceal them? What kinds of things can you tell your parents? What would happen if they found out?

5. What does religion mean to you? Do you consider yourself to be religious? Why do you consider yourself to be religious? Why don't you think you are religious? How does religion affect your decisions around leisure/work/friends? Why does it affect it in this way? Why do you do certain things if they are against your religion?

6. How important is culture to you? What is the difference between religion and culture? How does culture affect your life?

7. What does it mean to be British Asian Muslim? What does it mean to be British? What does it meant to be (ethnicity)? What does it mean to be Muslim in Britain?

8. Are you in a relationship? Tell me about your relationship. How long have you been together? How would you define your relationship? Have you been in a relationship in the past? Do you plan on being in a relationship in the future? Do your parents know about your relationships? How do you keep it secret? Are you going to marry your girlfriend?

9. Are you going to have an arranged marriage? Do you know who you are going to marry? Are your parents happy with your choice of marriage? How much choice do you have? Have you been forced? Why do you want to get married?

10. Where do you see yourself in five or ten years' time? Where do you see yourself in terms of religion? How will you raise children in terms of religion and culture? Will your children adopt religion and culture? What challenges do you think you will encounter?

Appendix C Table of Respondents by Adaptation

Name	Adaptation
Sameer	Maximiser
Abdullah	Maximiser
Zack	Innovator -→maximiser→innovator
Afridi	Maximiser
Saqlain	Innovator
Umar	Maximiser
Hass	Conformist
Wajid	Innovator → Maximiser
Awais	Innovator
Rafiq	Innovator
Shahid	Maximiser
Majid	Maximiser
Sajid	Innovator
Kali	Conformist
Hanif	Conformist
Fareed	Innovator
Max	Maximiser
Jamaal	Conformist
Rameez	Maximiser
Rehan	Maximiser
Kashif	Maximiser
Saki	Maximiser
Teymur	Maximiser
Asim	Conformist
Saqib	Innovator
Amaar	Innovator
Inzamaam	Innovator
Abdul	Innovator
Saif	Innovator

GLOSSARY

Barat This is the day when the bride and groom marry and the marriage contract or *Nikah* is signed. The groom's family arrive at the hall or the home of the bride where the marriage will take place. This event is normally paid for by the bride's family.

Biraderi A social institution in which members have a close and complex reciprocal relationship in a kinship and friendship framework.

Bisharm Someone who has acted outside of religious or cultural norms and is out casted, or threatened to be out casted, by the *biraderi.* The literal translation of this is 'without shame'.

Dowry Gifts given to the bride from her parent at the time of a wedding. This is a cultural practise originating from the time the Prophet Mohammed gave his daughter gifts at the time of her wedding and is not a religious requirement.

Hadith Recorded and verified oral sayings of the Prophet Mohammed.

Haq-mehr the groom's family gives money to the bride as insurance against a failed marriage. It is agreed upon and entered into the *Nikah* contract.

Izzat Translates as honour but can be understood by the way a group or individual perceive their standing in relation to the wider community

Juma Prayer Friday prayer, where Muslims pray in congregation in the mosque

Mehndi Literally translates as 'henna'. The mehndi night is a function before the wedding where the bride is decorated with henna.

Nikah The Islamic marriage rituals and contract between the bride and groom.

Rishta Establishing relationships through marriage

Shisha Flavoured tobacco served in a traditional hookah pipe

Quran The Islamic holy book

Sharam Literally translates as 'shame'. Is used to describe acts the commission of which results in disrepute to individuals and groups in British South Asian Communities

Walima The wedding reception which takes place the day after the *barat*

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