

**FROM THE GEOPOLITICAL TO THE EVERYDAY: 'HOME' FOR MUSLIM WOMEN IN LONDON
AND BRISTOL**

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Abstract

My thesis examines ideas of home, identity and belonging for Muslim women within the context of the domestic 'War on Terror'. My project has two main strands. My research is framed by a discursive examination of both the mobilization of ideas of home and the positioning of Muslim women within imaginative geographies of the domestic War on Terror. I focus upon media coverage of terror plot home raids (beginning with the 7/7 bombings) and subsequent socio-political debates concerning the 'veil'. The second strand of my research concentrates upon exploring the lived experience and emotional geographies of home, identity and belonging for Muslim women in London and Bristol.

My research addresses several important research agendas. I contribute to and develop contemporary debates concerning geographies of race and racism. I examine both the construction of racialised discourses of national identity, belonging and securitization and how racism is experienced negotiated and resisted. I examine some of the effects that religio-racial profiling has had upon my participants' everyday lives, geographies of mobility and articulations of belonging/citizenship, particularly in relation to national identity. I argue that covering practices as a marker of religious identity have socio-spatial effects, which inform my participants' negotiation and inhabitation of the different localities encountered within their everyday geographies. I explore how identity and belonging are experienced through the material and emotional creation of home, particularly in relation to religious practices, arguing that home becomes an important site of identity affirmation in relation to experiences of racism. More broadly my research contributes to debates concerning the increasing prevalence of religion within contemporary community and individual identity politics. Finally, I draw out how my participants' experiences impact upon their ideas of citizenship and belonging, augmenting theorisations of citizenship which posit citizenship as multiple and rooted in place not nationality.

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Glossary

Abaya: Garment similar to a gown which covers the entire body, except for hands, face, and head.

Allah: Islamic conception of God.

Burqa: Garment similar to a gown which covers the entire body, the term usually refers to this covering as used with the hijab and niqab.

Deen: The Islamic religion or way of life.

Eid: A day of celebration in Islam, notably at the end of Ramadan.

Hadith: Reports of the Prophet(s)'s sayings, actions and approvals.

Hajj: The pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hijab: The covering of a Muslim woman, also refers to the headscarf.

Jilbāb: The term jilbāb refers to any long and loose-fit cloak or garment which covers the entire body, except for hands, face, and head (including the burqa and abaya).

Masha'Allah: Arabic phrase that expresses appreciation, joy, praise or thankfulness for an event or person that has just been mentioned.

Masjid: Mosque.

Mecca: Mecca is regarded as the holiest city in Islam.

Niqab: Face veil.

Qur'an: Central Islamic text; the written revelations from Allah to the Prophet Mohammed through the Angel Gabriel.

Ramadan: The Islamic month of fasting in which participating Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset. Ramadan is calculated according to the lunar calendar. Ramadan is intended to teach Muslims about patience, humility, and spirituality.

Salat: Refers to the obligatory five daily prayers.

Shalwar Kameez: Dress worn by both men and women in Asia, notably Pakistan and Bangladesh. The *kameez* is a long-sleeved shirt of tunic length and the *shalwar* refers to a loosely-fit pyjama-like pant.

Umma: Refers to the conceptualisation of a united global Islamic community which unites Muslims across the world as equals.

Chapter One

Introduction

Home, identity, racism and the War on Terror: a starting point

I begin with a number of incidents which sparked my academic curiosity and from which this research began to take shape. Firstly, from 2004 to 2006 I was employed as a case worker, supporting victims of anti-social behaviour as part of a Government funded urban regeneration scheme in East Brighton, England¹. I became interested in how my clients' experiences of anti-social behaviour (for example, verbal abuse in the street, eggs being thrown at clients' homes, clients' children being bullied at school) were all related to a visibility of difference. This included the visibility of markers of Muslim identity (no other cases of racism within my case work were related to religious identity) and ethnicity as well as the visibility of sexual identity, learning disabilities, mental health problems, obesity and the visual signs of neglect (for example, unclean clothes, body odour and unwashed hair) upon which verbal abuse was based. This led me to think critically about the role of the body and subjectivity within such incidences. Firstly, I became interested in how the body is socially constructed, yet is also a material and physical presence which is subject to discrimination and violence. Secondly, through my clients' narratives which often focused on hiding or minimising difference in order to 'fit in' I became interested in the spatiality of their experiences, the intersections between the body and different public and private spaces, including the home as well as the impact upon my participants' sense of identity and belonging.

¹ I was employed as a caseworker within the East Brighton Community Safety Team. The project was funded through East Brighton new deal for communities partnership, <http://ebndc.scip.org.uk/> a Government New Deal for Communities (NDC) Scheme. The NDC programme allotted funding to 39 deprived neighbourhood areas within England. Funding was allocated to areas based on deprivation statistics. Each area consisted of around 9,900 residents and were each awarded approximately fifty million pounds over a ten year period. Each programme was designed to tackle three place-related outcomes: crime, community, and housing and the physical environment and three people-related outcomes: education, health, and worklessness. (<http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/1488479.pdf>)

Increasingly my client groups were presenting as Muslim and experiencing incidences of racism which they felt were related to their visibility as Muslim. One case in particular, concerning a Muslim woman of Bengali heritage raised a number of issues for me in relation to ideas of home. My client had been attacked by a number of youths whilst crossing the road near her home, where she lived with her husband and eight year old son in a council flat. The youths had attempted to pull off her headscarf and in doing so had pushed her to the ground. My client had also been subjected to verbal abuse: she discussed being called a terrorist and a Paki and was told to 'go home'. That my client related her experiences (aside from the incident described above, she had been subject to verbal abuse in the streets surrounding her home on numerous occasions) primarily to her visibility as Muslim was also very pertinent to me. In terms of minimising difference, my client argued that to remove the veil would be to diminish her identity as Muslim. Consequently, her experiences impacted upon her everyday geographies of mobility, whereby in order to ensure her safety, my client retreated to the space of the home, rarely going out of the house alone. My client and her husband subsequently requested a transfer and were categorised as an emergency.

Upon being offered a house in a preferred area within the centre of Brighton, my client refused the transfer due to the condition of the housing and the fact that the layout of the house meant she would be unable to care for her disabled son adequately. My client argued that whilst she felt unsafe outside her current home, she felt safe within it as she was able to cope with her son's needs, whereas if she moved this security would be lost. Upon hearing of my client's refusal, a housing officer remarked to me that the 'racist abuse couldn't be that bad then' and insinuated the family were 'trying it on' despite the police evidence concerning the racist incidents. This incident left me questioning the complexity of home in relation to racism. This interest was heightened by my client's narratives of home and her assertions that her flat was a safe, homely and secure site, despite her experiences of racist violence just metres from her front door. This sense of the security invested in the private space of her home, in relation to the unhomely external neighbourhood environment, raised issues around the scalarity of home.

More broadly within my experiences of casework, I became increasingly aware of how my clients' experiences of discrimination and anti-social behaviour impacted upon and intersected with home in different ways. For example, some clients wanted to move because they no longer felt 'at home' within their community. As with the example above, clients' geographies of mobility were affected with clients retreating into different home spaces, including relatives' homes as well as varying the routes and temporalities of their local geographies in relation to their feelings of inclusion, exclusion and risk of incidents. The material home itself was also implicated, particularly where the home was subject to attack, usually in the form of egg throwing and graffiti. A common fear in such cases was that the attacks would escalate and the home would be penetrated in the form of bricks through the window and/or perpetrators breaking in. Different reactions included stopping using particular rooms, such as, the living room which were identified as vulnerable to attack, minimising the visibility of usage; leaving lights off, keeping curtains closed, moving material objects to reduce the risk of damage to possessions and in one case a client slept in the front room to stop potential intruders reaching family members in their bedrooms. The ways in which home (as both a spatial imaginary and material space) were implicated within my clients' experiences of harassment as related to embodied difference, shaped my decision to explore ideas of home, rather than public space, in relation to racism, belonging and identity.

My decision to focus upon Muslim women was informed by my experiences of working with Muslim clients and the way in which they related their experiences of racism to the events of 9/11, the London bombings and the War on Terror more broadly. I was interested in what effect the increasing socio-political focus upon Muslim communities had upon such communities themselves. In reading and watching media coverage of the London bombings, I became very aware of the visibility of home within their aftermath and the search for suspects. This took the form of images of suspects' homes being raided, cordoned off and searched for forensic evidence. As well as discursive utilisations of home as it began to be suspected that the bombers were British, notably in the term *home-grown terrorism*. I was

interested in exploring how ideas of home and nation operated within such discourses concerning the ‘domestic’ War on Terror and how they may work to include and exclude particular groups. In bringing these different strands of thought together, I decided to examine the everyday lives and geographies of Muslim women in relation to the War on Terror, with a focus on ideas of home, identity and belonging. It needs to be made clear from the outset that my use of the term ‘War on Terror’ is complex and slippery. I initially used it as a term to refer to the wars with Afghanistan and Iraq that followed the events of 9/11. Upon conducting my fieldwork however I was struck by how my participants used it as a wide-ranging term encompassing the Afghanistan and Iraq wars as well as the threat of American and British interventions with Iran and Pakistan. Furthermore it was used in relation to the events of 9/11 and 7/7 as well as subsequent terrorist attacks/plots, which they felt affected socio-political and media representations of Muslim communities within Britain. A central aim of this research is to explore the ways in which the ‘War on Terror’ – as understood in a wide-ranging way by my participants – has had a direct impact on the lives of Muslim women in Britain in the form of racism and their ability to claim meaningful belonging.

Grounding my ideas: research context and rationale

Drawing my ideas together I began to contextualise my research within the following main areas of study: critical geographies of home/homemaking, identity and belonging, geographies of race and racism, geographies of religion and feminist geopolitics. A central and overarching focus of my research is on the socio-political and cultural currency of ‘home’. In linking the geopolitical and the everyday, I wanted to examine and deconstruct the prevalence of this ideal, both in terms of its geopolitical utilisation within discourses of national security in relation to terrorism and the veil within Britain, as well as exploring how the geopolitical intersects with and impacts upon the lived experience and emotional geographies of home and identity for Muslim women. My research is framed through a discursive examination of mediated coverage of three terror plot home raids (beginning with

the 7/7 bombings) and the immediate media response to the 'niqab affair'². The main strand of my research uses group and individual interviews, supplemented by auto-photography to explore home, identity and belonging for Muslim women in London and Bristol. In the remainder of this section I outline the main areas within which my research is situated and the themes it seeks to explore.

Geographies of race and racism

Given my professional experiences, I wanted to explore how racism may be experienced, negotiated and resisted by my participants, which is largely absent from contemporary literatures concerning race and racism. However, I chose not to specify experiencing racism as criteria for recruitment in order to avoid limiting my exploration of the impact of the War on Terror to experiences of racism. Rather, I was interested in how my participants' narratives may include experiences of racism and discrimination. Within this, I wanted to draw out whether or not the visibility of religious identity was identified by my participants as a marker of difference (particularly in relation to veiling practices) and the impact this may have upon their religious practices as well as upon ideas of citizenship and belonging. Furthermore, work on the impact of racism and racial exclusion has tended to focus on the scale of the community or neighbourhood (Hopkins: 2006), which in part reinforced my decision to focus on the familial and domestic spaces of home in relation to everyday experiences of the geopolitical.

Critical geographies of home/homemaking, identity and belonging

In terms of studying mobile geographies of home and identity, there is a burgeoning body of work which demonstrates the importance of examining homemaking, domesticity and evocations of home within the construction of both colonial and post colonial identities (for example see Blunt: 1999 and 2005, Dwyer 1999 and 2002, Tolia-Kelly: 2004 and 2004a). Such work emphasises the prioritisation of different identities at different times and in different

² In October 2006 Jack Straw (the then Home Secretary) made a series of comments on the Muslim face-veil (niqab) in an article in *The Lancashire Evening Telegraph* (one of the local papers of his constituency). His comments provoked intense political and media reactions.

spaces, as part of their negotiation of a contested politics of belonging and resistance. The material spaces and lived experiences of home have been argued to invoke a sense of place, belonging or alienation that is intimately bound up with a sense of self. There is a second body of literature that investigates the significance of material possessions and their role in processes of place making, identity and belonging (Tolia-Kelly 2004, 2004a and 2006, Walsh 2006). My focus upon the role and meanings of emotional and material geographies of home for Muslim women in the context of the War on Terror, should help develop this literature in two distinct ways. Firstly, I intend to examine the intertwining of material culture and emotional/emodied practices of home and identity making. I am interested in exploring the material home as a geopolitical site. This will form part of a broader exploration of the lived/social relations of home, religion and identity for Muslim women in London and Bristol. My focus throughout will be upon how such processes may be affected by the women's identification in that their religious identity makes them vulnerable to socio-political stigmatisation, harassment and racism. A further integral conceptual strand to this analysis is my interest in how such processes are shaped or affected by socio-cultural ideals of home as a form of safe-haven. My focus upon working with Muslim women and home should also help further develop literature that examines home and religion, through its examination of the home as a potential site for the manifestation of material and embodied religious identity.

Geographies of religion

Whilst there is an important body of work on Muslim women concerning identity and gender, including veiling practices, much of this predates the War on Terror (Dwyer: 1999, 2000 and 2001, Mohammed: 2001) or does not address the geopolitical directly (Brown: 2006). More broadly, whilst there has been a proliferation of research concerning Muslim communities (Hopkins and Gale 2009, Abbas: 2007, Dwyer and Shah 2008, Morin and Guelke 2007) little attention has been paid to the 'wide variety of adaptive strategies developed and pursued by Muslims in response to changing social and political conditions in Britain' (Hopkins and Gale: 2009a:2). In focusing upon the impact of the geopolitical through the focal point of home, I develop these sets of literature. Furthermore, my research develops

the literature concerning the home as a site of religious faith and practice, whereby the domestic remains an under researched site within contemporary geographies of religion (Kong: 2010). I am interested in how religious identity may be enacted through embodied, temporal and particularly aural practices within domestic space. Through examining the meaning and importance of such practices within the context of the geopolitical I wanted to explore how the making of 'Muslim space' may reflect gendered spatial practices and roles, as well as the extent to which these roles may become embedded within notions of familial security in relation to the preservation of religion.

Feminist geopolitics

My research is situated within feminist geopolitics and seeks to contribute a much-needed, grounded understanding of some of the impact of the War on Terror. Firstly, it develops literature which examines the geopolitical utilisation of ideologically laden conceptions of home within contemporary discourses of the War on Terror. Much of this work has focused upon the discursive construction of homeland politics within the United States (Kaplan: 2003, Cowen: 2004). Such research has raised important concerns over the intertwining of national identity within the promotion of the United States as a homeland, arguing that attention needs to be paid to what or who is constructed as foreign or opposite to the homeland and the effects this has upon the security of those positioned as alien or threatening. However, much of this body of literature focuses upon documenting and deconstructing discursive processes of religious and racial profiling of Muslim bodies (Ahmad: 2002) rather than an examination of the effect this has upon the lived experience of those who are 'othered'. My research will draw upon this literature and develop it in two distinct ways. Firstly, I focus on the visibility and utilisation of 'home' within contemporary media/socio-political debates concerning national security and national identity and the veil in the context of the War on Terror within Britain. I pay particular attention to the way this fear is spatialised and gendered through the visibility and representation of Muslim women and the domestic.

The main body of my research then focuses upon the lived experience of the War on Terror, examining the way in which this may affect notions of home, identity and belonging. It is this dual focus upon the utilisation of the domestic within geopolitical discourses of terrorism, national identity and integration, coupled with an examination of the lived experience of home which further places my research within contemporary feminist geopolitics. There is a growing call within feminist geopolitics for the need to re-emphasise the local as a site of everyday lived experience with regard to examining 'whether and how changes in the geopolitical climate impact upon patterns of risk and emotional topographies of everyday life' (Pain: 2006: 01).

Research Questions

My research is based upon the following broad questions:

- How has the home been prominent within media and socio-political discourses of security, terrorism and national identity since 7/7?
- Where do Muslim women become visible within these debates?
- How has the War on Terror affected Muslim women's emotional and material geographies of home, identity and belonging?

The first two questions pay particular attention to ideas of nationhood, citizenship and the racialisation of religion. Central to this examination will be a focus upon the positioning and representation of Muslim women, particularly regarding the threat of terrorism and debates concerning the veil and integration.

The third question is deliberately broad in order to facilitate an examination of subjectivity and identity, the home as a real, an imagined, a material, an emotional and a visual and sensory space. In answering this question I shall be examining the intertwining of emotional, material and embodied geographies of home, security, identity and belonging. In regard to experiences of racism, I want to explore the importance of notions of visibility of identity and difference within my participants' narratives.

Methodology: an outline

With regard to the main strand of my research, I chose to carry out my fieldwork within two sites: the London borough of Lewisham and Bristol, with the majority of fieldwork occurring in Bristol. Whilst I develop this in Chapter Three, it is important to note that initially I had intended to employ a single-area case study approach, focusing on East London. In response to problems with recruitment and research 'fatigue' I then selected Bristol as a second research site. Overall I worked with 36 women, using a mixed methods approach which consisted of group interviews, a small number of individual interviews and an auto-photography exercise. Of the 36 participants, 7 were aged between 16-19 with the remainder aged between 20 and mid-sixties. My only criteria for participation were that the participants were women aged 16 or over who identified as Muslim. I wanted to recruit participants from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds for two main reasons: first, to study the extent to which their experiences were informed by their ethnicity as well as their religion; and, second, to counter the specific focus of much research within the sub-field of Muslim geographies, which primarily studies Muslims of South Asian descent, a point I return to more fully in Chapter Three. My research participants in Bristol identified predominantly with a Pakistani, Bengali or Somali heritage. My participants in London identified with Turkish Cypriot, American and Jamaican heritages. As with the diversity within the category Muslim (Modood: 2005), my participants' responses varied widely and were informed by their different ages, heritages, immigration histories, religiosity and life experiences.

I wanted to carry out some of my fieldwork in London, given its positioning as a long-standing high-risk target for terrorist attacks, including the London bombings in 2005. I chose Lewisham due to its diverse ethno-religious population, which includes Somali, Turkish,

Afghan and Iranian refugee communities. Despite having a relatively small Asian population (4%), the category Muslim comprises the second largest religious group (4.6%). (<http://www.lewishampct.nhs.uk/publichealth/dataandinformation/lewishamhealthprofile2004/populationcharacteristics>: accessed 19/04/2011).

In choosing Bristol as a second research site, I was aware that whilst the South-West (as defined by Government Office Region) has the lowest percentage (1.8%) of the distribution of national Muslim population (2001 census), Bristol has an estimated Muslim population of 30,000 (7% of Bristol's population), although it has been acknowledged that this figure is out of date (<http://www.bristol.gov.uk/ccm/content/Community-Living/Equality-Diversity/faith-equality.en>; accessed 19/04/2011). Secondly, in April 2008, a white British Muslim convert, Andrew Ibrahim was arrested, charged (and later convicted) of making explosives with intent, and preparing terrorist acts. This incident had been subject to national and international media coverage, fostering perceptions of Bristol as a potential hotspot for terrorism. In 2007/8 Bristol City Council was awarded Preventing Violent Extremism pathfinder funding from the Government and launched its three year Prevent programme in 2008, again reinforcing its position as a potential terrorism 'hotspot'. Whilst I did not want to carry out a formal comparative study between the two sites, I was interested in how my participants' experiences may be affected by place.

Methodological implications and questions

Home is the focal point of my study in terms of bringing together an examination of its geopolitical utilisation alongside an exploration of its importance for Muslim women in relation to the War on Terror. My conceptual framework of home is deliberately broad, encompassing images/possessions, the home as a potential site of religion, a sense of domestic, gendered, embodied and sensory homemaking practices, familial relationships and work. Whilst the home has been subject to a wide range of geographical research in

recent years (see Blunt and Varley: 2004, Blunt: 2005, Blunt and Dowling: 2006), there has been comparatively little reflection on the implications of the methodological and ethical dynamics of researching emotional and material geographies of home.

As I discuss in Chapter Three, in developing a research design which facilitated the possible exploration of the home as a material, embodied and sensory space I had hoped to incorporate an individual interview within the home. In practice I was unable to access individual homes but had chosen to supplement group interviews with the use of an individual 'auto-photography' exercise, as a way of researching the home without being in-situ. Reflecting upon these experiences, I shall contribute towards a more critical understanding of both the methodological particularities that a material approach to home demands and the ethical implications of the home as a research site. More broadly, I was interested in the socio-spatial dynamics of research and the importance of the research site within the interview process. A further methodological implication of my research relates to contemporary discussions regarding the lack of critical engagement concerning the methodologies and research practices used by researchers working with Muslim communities (Hopkins and Gale: 2009b). Issues such as negotiating access, the interpretation, management and negotiation of positionality and concerns towards how researchers manage an ethics of care towards participants have all been highlighted as areas for development (229-30).

Whilst welcoming this debate, I would argue that this need for a more critical engagement with the realities of the research process should not be limited to research with Muslim communities. Within my methodology chapter, I will reflect upon the negotiation of access and the importance of the research site itself in sustaining participation and legitimising the research process for participants. Issues of empowerment and collaboration were at the forefront of my research design and within my methodology chapter, I will be discussing the difficulties I encountered in trying to ensure that my ethics of care was meaningful and not just theoretical. A second theme within my analysis focuses upon my use of the visual method auto-photography as a way of researching the home without being in-situ. In doing

so, I explore how auto-photography interviews highlighted the shifting and fragmentary nature of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. In drawing these reflections together I aim to contribute to a better understanding of some of the methodological issues faced within the practicalities of implementing research, as well as the particularities of researching home.

Thesis Structure

In the next chapter I situate my research in context through reviewing literature which discusses geographies of home, particularly in relation to belonging, geographies of religion and notably research on Muslim identity within Britain, geographies of race and racism, and political geography with a focus on feminist approaches to geopolitics. Chapter Three focuses upon my methodological approach and implementation of my research methodology. In doing so, I balance the necessary discussion of methods with exploring broader questions around the socio-spatial dynamics of the research encounter, issues of positionality and difference as well as discussing the particularities of researching the materiality of home.

Chapter Four examines both the construction of mediatised racialised discourses of national identity, belonging and securitisation within print news media coverage of a number of home raids in 2005 and 2006, as well as the niqab affair. I then move on to discuss how racism is experienced negotiated and resisted by my participants. Within this chapter and Chapter Five, I examine some of the effects that religio-racial profiling at a range of scales, including the state, has had upon my participants' everyday lives, geographies of mobility and articulations of belonging/citizenship in relation to the state. I draw links between the construction of mediatised geopolitical racialised discourses and their effects. I argue that covering practices as a marker of religious identity have socio-spatial effects, which inform my participants' negotiation and inhabitation of the different localities encountered within

their everyday geographies. I examine how such negotiations are dependent upon sophisticated, situated local knowledge, which informs maps of racial-religious inclusion and exclusion. I draw out how the home as a lived experience and spatial imaginary is embedded within my participants' negotiations of their everyday geographies and their articulations of belonging at different scales.

Chapter Six expands geographical perspectives on the materiality of home as a site of identity within the context of the geopolitical. I explore how identity and belonging are experienced through the material and emotional creation of home, particularly in relation to religious practices and media. I am interested in how home may become an important site of identity affirmation in relation to experiences of racism. In Chapter Seven, I explore my participants' discussions of gendered religious identity, focusing upon the role of community organisations with which they are affiliated and that I recruited through. I draw out how my participants' experiences and fear of racism impact upon their ideas of citizenship and belonging. In doing so, I explore ideas of citizenship which posit citizenship as multiple and rooted in place rather than nationality. I highlight my participants' conceptualisation of citizenship as both emotional and political, arguing for a politics of engagement through which to claim belonging in opposition to integration. I demonstrate the risks inherent in constructing national identity and citizenship through a framework of ill-defined shared 'national characteristics' arguing that, such discourses potentially operate to legitimise negative and exclusionary attitudes towards migrants and their cultures. In the final concluding chapter, I draw together these themes, highlighting the conceptual and empirical contributions of the thesis in relation to geographies of home, religion, race and racism and feminist geopolitics. I draw out the importance of ideas of materiality, identity, (in)visibility, (in)security and belonging which cut across my participants' narratives. Finally, I suggest areas which need further research, notably in relation to political identity and the heterogeneity of Muslim identity.

Chapter Two

From the geopolitical to the everyday, home, identity and belonging for Muslim women: contextualising my research.

Introduction

This chapter aims to review the key areas of literature which my research is positioned within and seeks to develop. The chapter is divided into three main sections; *mapping geographies of home and identity, exploring geographies of religion and geographies of home, race and feminist geopolitics; mapping the connections*. The first section begins by examining feminist research which has worked to destabilise fixed notions of concepts such as place and home, demonstrating and emphasising their fluidity and flexibility. I pay particular attention to the multi-scalarity of home and belonging as both concepts and lived experiences, emphasising the need to recognise the importance of constructions of home and nationhood within individual and collective politics of belonging. I draw out the spatiality of home in terms of both the socio-political influence that real and imagined home spaces have across scale and the way in which geographies of home and belonging are multi-scalar. In drawing upon work which explores how the material spaces and lived experiences of home can invoke a sense of place, belonging or alienation which is intimately tied up with a sense of self, I highlight the importance of the domestic within the negotiation of identity and resistance. I position my research within calls to re-materialise social and cultural geography, discussing a body of research which examines the materiality of home as a site of identity. The final strand to this section examines work on home as a site of media consumption, particularly in relation to transnational identity, citizenship, politics and identity. I highlight the need for further nuanced examinations of how domestic space and cyberspace intersect, particularly in relation to the formation of individual and familial ethno-religious and political identities and activism.

The strands of identity, home and materiality also inform my discussion of geographies of religion. I begin by mapping an overview of contemporary debates situating 'Muslim Geographies' within them. I move on to discuss on a range of empirical work examining Muslim identity in relation to gender and home, including research with Somali communities which focuses upon identity in relation to integration. I position my research within this literature, arguing for the need to examine gendered Muslim identity in relation to the geopolitical as impacting upon the everyday. I then examine the need to further explore ethno-religious identity politics in relation to the materiality of home, reviewing a small body of literature which explores the making of 'Muslim space'. I draw out connections between this literature and broader work on geographies of home and identity, highlighting the importance of temporality, spatiality and the intersections between the domestic and different spaces. I then move beyond the home to examine research concerning the politics of the veil. I begin with outlining socio-historical analyses of its signification to its role within contemporary identity and state politics for Muslim women focusing on Britain. I focus upon the importance of recognising the veil as a highly contested marker of religious identity which has 'socio-spatial effects' including racism (Secor: 2002, 2005).

The final section of the chapter brings together a range of work which examines the geopolitical in relation to geographies of race and racism, in doing so I aim to map some of the overlaps and connections between such research. I begin by examining debates within feminist political geography, which posit the need to focus empirically on the everyday, micro-geographies of geopolitical impact. In relation to my focus upon home, themes of security, identity and belonging inform an exploration of the geopolitics of home (and homeland) in relation to empire and Western neo-imperialism within both the United States and the United Kingdom. Within this section, I briefly examine the way in which the ideological construction of the nation as a homeland has played a long and important role in the imaginative geographies of both nationalist and imperial politics. I discuss the reliance of such constructions upon historically rooted and emotive ideas of home as a place of security and comfort, before turning to a more comprehensive analysis of contemporary

articulations of homeland within the United States, focusing on articulations of the home and the familial. I examine how the intimate and exclusionary connections between the 'domestic' and the 'foreign' (Kaplan: 2003: 85) are utilised across different scales within this homeland construction, in order to produce a bounded and exclusionary sense of national identity. I then outline how this articulation of America as homeland creates an environment of 'homeland insecurity' (Blunt and Dowling: 2006: 172) for those who are seen as threatening and outside of this renewed national identity.

In relation to the context of my research, I sketch out the positioning of Muslims within critiques of discourses concerning the failure of multiculturalism within Britain and the shift to policies of community cohesion. I draw out the 'imaginative geographies' (Gregory: 1995) which underpin such discourses, focusing upon the racialisation of markers of religious identity. Utilising Walters' (2004) concept of 'domopolitics' I outline the incorporation of domestic policies into strategies of securitisation, arguing that academic attention needs to be paid to the effects for those communities most targeted by them. I contextualise contemporary developments within research on race and racism in relation to geopolitics, highlighting calls for a re-materialisation of 'race'. I discuss contemporary theorisations of phenotypical racism particularly in relation to the racialisation of Muslim identity. I place theorisations of Islamophobia within such developments, issuing caution over its reification of markers of religious identity over other signifiers of identity. I place my research in relation to a small body of work which focuses empirically upon the impact and negotiation of the geopolitical upon (mainly) ethno-religious minority communities, including incidences of racism as well as understandings and negotiations of social policy developments. I conclude by drawing together the themes which underpin and overlap between each section, focusing upon home, materiality and processes of racialisation in relation to the geopolitical, and drawing out the distinctive contribution my research will make to these debates.

Mapping Geographies of Home and Identity

Towards a spatiality of home: home as public and private

Contemporary feminist approaches to home posit gender as crucial in understanding lived experiences and imaginaries of home. Blunt and Dowling (2006) argue that 'household and domestic relations are critically gendered, whether through relations of caring and domestic labour, affective relations of belonging, or establishing connections between the individual, household and society' (15). Furthermore, an unsettling of the definition of home as a private, familial and intimate space has been central to feminist critiques concerning the dualism between public and private spheres. Whilst public and private spaces are defined in opposition to one another, Staeheli (1996) has argued that there are multiple ways in which this relationship can be (de)constructed, challenged and understood. The home and the domestic are typically defined as private space, whereas public space is 'external' to the home, encompassing civic spaces (such as schools, council offices), work, as well as everyday non-domestic spaces such as streets, parks, community centres and commercial venues (e.g. cafes, restaurants, shopping centres and so on). Feminist research has empirically and theoretically challenged such notions of the home as exclusively private, heterosexist, feminine and familial (Valentine: 1993, Domosh and Seager: 2001, Gorman-Murray: 2006) and that the public and private spheres are distinct and oppositional (Oberhauser: 1997, Hanson and Pratt: 1995, Elwood: 2000). The ways in which homes interpenetrate with public spaces has been highlighted, recognising the fluidity with which domestic and external world flow into each other, whereby public spaces and home spaces are mutually constitutive of, affected and influenced by each other (Domosh: 1998, Blunt and Varley: 2004). For example, feminist work concerning the home as a site of production and social reproduction has highlighted the home as a space of unpaid domestic labour (McDowell: 1999), paid domestic work (Gregson and Lowe: 1994, Pratt: 2003) and care-giving (Dyck et al: 2005).

Doreen Massey's (1992 and 1994) conceptualisation of place and particularly home has been highly influential in terms of understanding the home as a site of identity and power. Massey (1992) conceptualises home in terms of complex flows and interconnections between places, arguing that home is both located within but stretches beyond particular contexts. Homes (and other places) have a power geometry through which people are positioned differently, impacting upon their experiences. As Massey argues in relation to home, 'a large component of the identity of that place called home derived precisely from the fact that it had always been open; constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretched beyond it' (13). Drawing on Massey's conceptualisations of a geometry of power, Blunt and Dowling (2006) argue that a 'dominant ideology of home valorises some social relations and not others, defines some places as home and others as not, some identities homely and others not, and some experiences at home alienating, others fulfilling' (26). They highlight the importance of exploring the contestation and reworking of home by different social groups which combat, challenge and undermine normative imaginaries of home.

bell hooks (1991) challenges feminist conceptualisations of the home as oppressive through her argument that the function and significance of home varies with its socio-political context. hooks' critique is demonstrative of a body of work which argues that such a conceptualisation reflects white, western, middle class, feminist agendas which have failed to acknowledge or examine the contextual specificity of their positioning (Blunt and Dowling: 2006: 19-20). hooks (1991) argues that for black people living in a racist American society, the construction of some form of autonomous domestic 'homeplace' has been of paramount importance in terms of developing a wider 'community of resistance' (47). This highlights the way in which home interfaces beyond the physical confines of the house, whereby the homespace is a space in which experiences of racism can be worked through and resisted. hooks' argument is dependent upon a long and critical awareness of the 'subversive value of 'homeplace', of having access to private space where we do not directly encounter white racist aggression' (47). The domestic space of the home has played a

historical role in terms of organising and 'forming political solidarity' (47). hooks identifies the creation of this domestic space of resistance as integral to black identity; the nurturing homespace became a place where:

All black people could strive to be subjects, not objects, where we could be affirmed in our minds and hearts despite poverty, hardship, and deprivation, where we could restore to ourselves the dignity denied us in the outside world.
(42)

This notion of home as a space of identity, from which to challenge oppression and make space within the 'culture of domination' (148) is both fluid and mobile: 'at times home is nowhere. At times one knows only extreme estrangement and alienation. Then home is no longer just one place. It is locations' (148). I would argue that hooks' work highlights the intertwining of creating and preserving home and the development of individual and group identity, her argument emphasises the importance and centrality of a positive and nurturing home space to the development of black identity and resistance. hooks touches upon the emotional and physical work which creating such a 'homespace' demands and she acknowledges the importance of 'remembrance' in terms of building and developing identity. These acts of remembrance are crucial for hooks regarding using the past to reconceptualise and reconstruct the liberating aspects of homespaces in order to continue to fight for liberation.

hooks' emphasis upon the fluidity and mobility of home resonates with other feminist work on the way in which home stretches across space, beyond the confines of the physical house. For example, Moss (1997) argues that the relationships that make home 'are not spatially confined to the physical material dwelling' (25). Blunt (2005) has conceptualised home as 'a contested site shaped by different axes of power and over a range of scales' (4). The home as a site of refuge which stretches across space is central to Gorman-Murray's

(2006) research on gay and lesbian homes. Gorman-Murray argues that gay men and lesbians 'displace the inherent heteronormativity of domestic spaces – and instead engender non normative socialization and identity-affirmation- by selectively opening up the private space of the home, inviting in external non-normative counter-discourses, bodies and activities' (56). The home for some of Gorman-Murray's participants becomes a central communal space of support through group activities and less formal house parties. Such activities are identified as challenging the heteronormalisation of the home, whereupon 'bringing the public- the non domestic and non-nuclear familial – into the ostensibly private' space of the home is central to the creation of the home as a 'queer, identity-affirming space' (57). Furthermore, Gorman-Murray develops this conceptualisation of *stretching home*, by arguing that whilst the home is a key site of privacy, 'so too are ostensibly public spaces which enable one's private face. Public sites facilitating private selves effectively become homelike private places - extensions of home where identity can be affirmed' (57). Both hooks' and Gorman-Murray's work is useful in emphasising the importance of home as a private space of identity affirmation, whilst still highlighting the blurring of boundaries between public and private spaces and activities, whereupon home flows between domestic and non-domestic environments, incorporating and sustaining non-familial (as well as familial) relationships and communities. This brief exploration of the spatiality of home serves to draw out and underline the complexities of home. Of central importance is the way in which conceptual definitions of the home as either a 'haven' or a space of oppression become challenged. Through holding such concepts in tension with one another, 'home' is opened up to simultaneously provide a number of different responses, through its positioning as a site for complex social and emotional relations. Work which problematises the home as a private space works to assert the fluid nature of home as a metaphor, a concept and a lived experience, incorporating a wide range of different focal points and scales. An understanding of this complexity and spatiality of home is important within my research, given my focus upon examining the intersections between the geopolitical and the everyday through the locus of home.

Scales of home and 'belonging'

Scale is an important geographic concept, the usage, conceptualisation and value of which has been subject to particular scrutiny in recent years (Amin: 2002, Smith: 1993, Marston et al: 2005). Originally perceived as an 'unproblematic, pre-given and fixed hierarchy of bounded spaces' (Delaney and Leitner: 1997: 93), various scales, including the local, global, national and neighbourhood are recognised as socially and politically constructed (Smith: 1993, Delaney and Leitner: 1997, Marston: 2000). As Smith (1993) argues: 'the construction of scale is a social process, i.e. scale is produced in and through societal activity which, in turn, produces and is produced by geographical structures of societal interaction [and] the production of geographical scale is the site of a potentially intense political struggle' (97). For Marston (2000) geographical scale is not a 'preordained hierarchical framework for ordering the world' but rather it is 'a contingent outcome of the tensions that exist between structural forces and the practices of human agents' (220). Scale is thus seen by Marston as constructed through and by social processes. Following Marston, I recognise scale as a contradictory and disputed concept, open to transformation and contestation. Moreover, scale can be understood 'as a framing device as well as a process' (Hopkins: 2007: 1121), which allows scale to be used as 'an access point to wider debates about social and political relations' (1121). As Hopkins makes clear, scale 'is part of the way that markers of social difference are combined and recombined, and made and remade to matter in different ways' (1122). Furthermore, different scales present different kinds of social interactions, contestations, struggles over and resistance to power and identities (Marston: 2000 and 2004, Swyngedouw: 1997, Hopkins: 2007). To return to the spatiality of home, home is not separated from the public, political spheres but is both constituted through and constitutive of them. As such, it follows that home and household should be recognised as scales which are constructed through inter-relations with other scales.

Whilst home and household have been acknowledged as geographic scales within theories of scale (Smith: 1992 and 1993), Marston (2000) argues that there is a need within this to

examine their importance as sites of social reproduction. This forms part of a broader call to examine the interaction between social reproduction and consumption with relations of production. Marston outlines that this shift in focus (theoretical approaches to scale in the 1990s focused primarily on the processes of economic production) is crucial to understanding the complexities of geographical scale, with scales conceptualised not as bounded entities but rather as interrelating. Drawing upon research that examines the domestic sphere in the United States between 1870 and 1920, Marston demonstrates the use and/or construction of scale (the home) by middle class women in the negotiation and development of their social identity (235). The home was increasingly constructed as a scale of social production, the effective management of which influenced scales outside of the home, particularly the city and the nation:

At one level late nineteenth-century domestic management texts offered sensible advice in clear and practical language. Women were instructed about the whole range of household chores, from the proper storage of food and cleaning of surfaces to the most efficient – that is time and motion saving – way to arrange the new kitchen. This pragmatic prose however was subscripted with a political grammar that constructed women as active players within the context of a developing democracy. (237)

Home-making was thus characterised as a public function that led to a particular reconceptualisation of the home as a unique form of public space. Women's roles as home managers also served to place women as productive citizens who had both rights and responsibilities. This scalar recognition of 'home' is also important in terms of facilitating the recognition that 'home' is both an open and multi-scalar concept. As Blunt and Dowling (2006) outline, the utilisation and influence of the home at the scale of the nation and national politics is not the only way that home is scalar. Firstly, home places are not necessarily a house or dwelling and 'imaginaries of home and homemaking processes may also construct home as occurring in, and through, other scales' (29). Home can thus be a

community, a neighbourhood, a country, a nation or the world. Secondly, geographies of home and belonging occur across scales. In viewing scale as a process which means that 'scales' are not fixed, static or nested, but rather are constructed and reconstructed, contested, resisted and rejected, allows me to use it as a framing device in my examination of my participants narratives of home, identity and security. Rather than seeking to contribute to ontological debates concerning the conceptualisation of scale, I am interested in how scale(s) are narrated and experienced in a variety of different ways by my participants, particularly within their negotiations of belonging and non-belonging.

Conceptualising belonging

The notion of belonging has long been a key theme within social and cultural research across a range of social science and humanities disciplines. As Mee and Wright (2009) argue, belonging has often been used in a 'way that implies a common understanding of what belonging is and why it is important' when 'no such common understanding exists' (772). The ways in which belonging is mobilised has thus become subject to analysis within a range of disciplines, but particularly geography and sociology. I focus here on research which has utilised notions of belonging, whereby it is constructed as inherently geographical concept, as shown by the spatial language of for example 'sites of belonging' (Dyck: 2005, Tolia Kelly: 2006), 'landscapes of belonging' (Tolia-Kelly: 2006, Hopkins: 2006, Erkhamp and Leitner: 2006, Gorman-Murray et al: 2008) and 'spaces of belonging' (Valentine et al: 2009, Valentine and Skelton: 2007). Belonging has been constructed as negotiated through practice and performance (Bhatt: 1999, Fortier: 2000, Mee: 2009, Dyck: 2005). Work in the field of emotional geography has also explored affective aspects of belonging, including responses to music, (Wood: 2002, Wood and Smith: 2004), fear (Alexander: 2008) and food (Longhurst et al: 2009, Mathee: 2004, Molz: 2005).

Belonging is similarly drawn upon as a central concept within research on contemporary homes and home-making practices (Blunt and Dowling: 2006 for an overview, Walsh: 2006 and Tolia-Kelly: 2006, Gorman-Murray: 2006). Affective aspects of belonging and feelings of being 'in place' resonate within the phrases 'a sense of belonging' and 'feeling at home'. It is particularly important to draw out how the concept of belonging has been referenced within research concerning transnationalism, mobility and diaspora. There is an increasing body of work which has explored how migrant communities, notably women, 'make home' and 'belonging'. With particular reference to practices and imaginaries through which home as multi-scalar and multi-sited, is made and re-made, invoking new senses of belonging. As Dwyer (2000) argues, immigrants increasingly construct identities which 'cut across fixed notions of belonging' (475). This sense of the multiplicity and mobility of the transnational has been constructed as challenging nation states as integral geographic sites of identification and loyalty, arguing that migrants' identities and belongings are increasingly subject to processes of de-territorialisation (Appaduri: 1996, Glick Schiller et al: 1992). Feminist researchers have been central to establishing critiques of such notions of de-territorialisation through focusing upon transnational and local practices of identification, belonging and citizenship.

Indeed, geographical research concerning transnationalism, citizenship and identity constructs belonging as having both formal and informal aspects associated with exclusionary processes and complex power relations. I want to briefly sketch out how this third sphere of belonging has become particularly mobilised within geographic research. Research exploring belonging in relation to citizenship and transnational migration and identities has unsettled and challenged notions of citizenship as requiring loyalty to a singular nation state. Such work has highlighted ways in which transnational migrants balance multiple place-based attachments, loyalties and practices of citizenship (Erkhamp: 2005, Erkhamp and Leitner: 2006, Nagel and Staeheli: 2005 and 2009, Mavroudi: 2008). Particular attention has been paid to the claims to citizenship and belonging of marginalised communities, often with reference to how policies related to citizenship (such as integration or assimilation) are experienced, negotiated and contested (Staeheli and Nagel: 2006 and

2007, Valentine et al: 2008, Alexander et al: 2007). Related to research upon citizenship has been a focus on the construction of belonging, particularly at the scale of normative national identity and the complexities of this in relation to transnationalism. Belonging is thus inherently political. As Mee and Wright (2008) argue, part of the salience of belonging within academia is in response to how 'alternative terms such as inclusion' are currently being mobilised in political debates' (773). Much of this work focuses upon exploring the contested spaces of 'national belonging', with particular reference to how constructions are negated, challenged and refuted by those who are positioned as not-belonging, as outside the constructs of national identity (Gorman-Murray et al: 2008, Anderson and Taylor; 2005, Nordberg: 2006, Dunn et al: 2007). These interrelated literatures of belonging examine questions of who is included and excluded within socio-political constructions of national belonging, as well as how belonging is achieved and imagined by different communities.

Yuval-Davis' work (2006 and 2007) has been particularly prominent in examining and deconstructing the complexity of belonging. In her discussion of 'belonging and the politics of belonging', she defines three separate but interrelated analytical levels of belonging, arguing that they cannot be reduced to one another nor should they be collapsed into one another. Each of these levels draws attention to the inherent spatiality of belonging. The first level concerns 'social locations', within grids of power relations, through which different members of society are positioned differently:

When it is said that people belong to a particular gender, or race, or class or nation, that they belong to a particular age-group, kinship group or a certain profession, what is being talked about are social and economic locations, which, at each historical moment have particular implications *vis-a-vis* the grids of power relations in society. A man or a woman, black or white, working class or middle-class, a member of a European or an African nation: these are not just different categories of social location, but categories that also have a certain positionality along an axis of power' (2006: 199)

Yuval-Davis adopts an inter-sectional approach to social locations, arguing that, they are constructed across multiple differences, and this multi-positionality extends to positioning within grids of power, meaning that certain social locations are normatively higher or lower than others. Yuval-Davis makes clear that these intersecting social divisions need to be seen as constitutive of one another, giving the example that 'to be a woman is different if you are middle class or working class, a member of the hegemonic majority or a racialised minority, living in the city or in the country, young or old, straight or gay' (200). Furthermore, these positionalities are different in different historical contexts and should be read as fluid and contested.

The second analytical level identified by Yuval-Davis concerns identifications and emotional attachments. This refers to the way belonging is also an emotive and personal experience, bound up with individual and group identities and emotional attachments, which are often tied to certain places. As Probyn (1996) highlights the term belonging has an affective dimension, not just being, but longing to belong. Anthias (2001 and 2002) argues that focusing on narratives of translocation, location, dislocation and positionality is a more useful framework than identity, which she critiques as 'having overrun its limits' (2002: 495). Anthias argues that whilst identity cannot be discarded, examining participants' narratives of locations and positions enables a deeper understanding of the social categories people use to locate themselves in particular places and times and what is meant by articulations of belonging/non-belonging, whereby: 'such narratives are not given or static, but are emergent, produced interactionally and contain elements of contradiction and struggle' (2001: 633).

Fortier (2000) has highlighted a performative dimension to the construction of belonging. Through her work with an Italian émigré community in London, Fortier suggests that specific repetitive practices which relate to certain cultural and social spaces are integral to the production of individual and group identity and narratives of attachment, in her case the

maintenance of religious affect and community. Yuval-Davis (2006) has argued that whilst there is no necessary connection between social location and a particular social identity, 'constructions of self and identity can, however, in certain historical contexts be forced on people' (203). When this happens, the relationships between identities/belonging/s and social locations become more entwined, whereby identities and belongings can become important dimensions of people's social locations. Drawing on work by Fanon, she maintains that despite this, it is important not to conflate or collapse the two as without a differentiation 'there would be no possibility of struggle and resistance and biology - or belonging - would become destiny' (203). Any politics of resistance needs to be directed at 'oppressed people's social and economic locations but also against their internalizations of forced constructions of self and identity' (203). Belonging for Yuval Davis is not only about social locations and constructions of individual and collective identities and attachments, but also the ways in which these are judged and valued, as related to this are 'specific attitudes and ideologies concerning where and how identity and categorical boundaries are being/should be drawn' (203). It is within the contestations concerning these 'ethical and ideological issues', particularly the ways in which they draw upon and mobilise social locations and narratives of identities, that Yuval-Davis identifies that 'we move from the realm of belonging to the politics of belonging' (204).

The politics of belonging is concerned with how social locations and constructions of group and individual attachments are judged and valued: 'the specific attitudes and ideologies concerning where and how identity and categorical boundaries are being/should be drawn, in more or less exclusionary ways, in more or less permeable ways' (203). Crowley (1999) has termed this the 'dirty work of boundary maintenance', which essentially relates to which social locations, identities and people are and should be included in any given place. Gorman-Murray et al (2008) draw on Yuval-Davis to examine how the politics of belonging is conducted at the scale of the nation-state 'through overt political mechanisms (e.g. immigration controls and laws invoking citizen's rights/obligations) and evolving discourses of 'national values' disseminated through a range of means including public policy, media forms, social norms and standardised narratives of national history and cultural icons' (174).

Yuval-Davis's three interrelated analytical levels of belonging inform my research. I am interested in examining how these different, but interrelated senses of belonging are experienced, contested and challenged by my participants. I shall explore how my participants construct and negotiate belonging with particular attention to how belonging is experienced through, and complicated by, scale. I want to draw out the fragile and contested nature of claiming belonging and the impact that experiences of discrimination and racism can have upon the politics of belonging and ideas of citizenship. In doing so I intend to highlight how narratives of identity and home become framed within notions of belonging. In the following section, I examine research which focuses on how material and imaginative geographies of home and belonging are brought together within the practices of 'making home'.

Material Geographies of home and belonging

The space and symbolism of the domestic home are integrally associated with the production of transnational and diasporic geographies. Home as a lived experience is both material and imaginative. The meaning and material manifestation of home is created and recreated through everyday practices that are bound up with the formation or constitution of identity (Blunt and Dowling: 2006: 23). Young (1997) focuses upon the ambivalence of house and home for women. Drawing upon a critique of Heidegger's (1954) essay 'Building, dwelling, thinking', she discusses how the liberating potential of home lies in the undervalued realm of preservation. Whilst acknowledging and supporting the negative valuations given to the home as a site of oppression and servitude, Young argues that it is important not to overlook the ways in which the creative practices of homemaking are an important part in the formation of reflexive personal, political and collective identities. Unlike the 'monotony associated with housework' (Young: 1997: 153), the work of preservation can play an important role in both the expression of cultural and individual identity. Young outlines that 'recurrence is the temporality of preservation' (153) and that

through the acts of preservation, the homemaker works to protect and renew the particular meaning that those objects have in the lives of particular people.

Neither meanings nor identities are fixed however, and the role that the preservation of material objects, handed down recipes and so on perform is one of 'integration and remembrance' (153), the knitting together of narratives of the past and the present into the narrative of the self. Such narratives are open to reinterpretation and Young argues that 'part of the creative and moral task of remembrance is to reconstruct the connection of the past to the present in light of new events, relationships and political understandings' (154). I want to highlight the implicit materiality of Young's critique in terms of the work and material objects/spaces involved in home making. Secondly, I argue that the process of preservation is both intimate and emotional, especially in terms of Young's focus on the connections between preservation and identity. It is useful to bring together Young's work with that of bell hooks, whereby hooks' conceptualisation of remembrance work draws striking parallels to that of Young's 'preservation', in terms of temporality, identity formation and as a process of potential liberation. Their emphasis on the liberating potential of 'home making practices', renders problematic notions of domestic labour as simply an oppressive form of unpaid labour. Rather, it recognises the materiality of the home as underpinning identity work. As Young (2005) identifies, the home remains a key site 'for the construction and reconstruction of one's self' (153).

Transnational processes such as migration have thrown into sharp relief the notion of a stable or fixed relationship between people and place (Al-Ali and Koser: 2002, Ahmed et al: 2003). As Al-Ali and Koser (2002) argue 'the changing relationship between migrants and their "homes" is held to be the most quintessential characteristic of transnational migration' (1). The materiality of home and homemaking practices is argued to be central to the reproduction and remaking of mobile geographies of home. Blunt and Dowling (2006) outline how the mobilisation of transnational or diasporic domestic practices and imaginaries undermines the idea of the home as a singular or fixed entity, which acts as a

single reference point for the lived experience of home (198). Rather, transnational connections, imaginaries and experiences of home are materialised within the home through a wide range of material objects and domestic practices. These practices are shaped by 'ideas and experiences of location and dislocation, place and displacement' (198), which are central to lived experiences of migration and resettlement. Recently, increasing academic attention has been paid to the identity work embedded in the material home, particularly within feminist approaches to diaspora, post-colonialism, transnationalism and migration. Marcoux (2001) argues that objects lie at the heart of the home, whereby it is the objects that people take when they move that symbolise the self more than the dwelling itself. Similarly, Hecht (2001) suggests that cherished possessions arranged around the house constitute a material autobiography which 'binds our past with our present and possible futures, thereby framing and reflecting our sense of self' (123). The importance of memory underpins the emotional attachments/connections invoked by material objects.

Familial relationships form part of the memory work embedded within, and through, the material home, as Hockey et al (2005) have demonstrated. In examining how older adults' relationships with domestic and public space changed after the loss of a long-term heterosexual partner, they found that the material environments of their participants' domestic spaces 'mediated ongoing social relationships' (136) with the deceased partner. The material home space thus came to 'embody the past in the present' (137). Hockey et al's research, highlights the way in which the material environment can provide an important and powerful form of 'emotional mediation' (144), which combine relationships between the past, the present and even the future. As Blunt (2005) has argued regarding the conceptualisation of the home in relation to nostalgia, home tends to be relegated solely to the realm of the past: 'an antipathy towards nostalgia reflects a more pervasive and long-established "suppression of home", whereby spaces of home are located in the past rather than the present, in imaginative rather than material terms, and as points of imagined authenticity rather than lived experience' (14). Blunt uses the term 'productive nostalgia' to reconfigure nostalgia as a desire for home, which is neither apolitical nor confining, but rather has a liberating potential. This is achieved through studying a longing

for home as embodied and enacted in practice rather than just in imagination or narrative. Through this reworking, Blunt argues that a nostalgic desire for home incorporates the present and the future rather than just the past. This body of work highlights the importance of examining home as an emotional and material environment, in which objects, spaces, emotions and people become inextricably intertwined (c.f. also Walter: 2001, Fortier: 2000).

Tolia-Kelly (2004 and 2004a) examines the importance of visual and material cultures in the re-making of diasporic homes for South Asian women living in London. Through studying photographs, images and mementoes, Tolia-Kelly (2004a) shows how 'visual and material cultures are prismatic devices which import 'other' landscapes into the British one, and thereby shift notions of Britishness, and British domestic landscapes' (678). Memory is again integral here, in terms of the resonance of objects in fusing past, present and future homes and landscapes, whereby the visual and cultural cultures which shape the 'new textures of home' in London are 'shot through with the memory of "other" spaces of being' (676). Whilst not focusing on racism and discrimination per se, Tolia-Kelly (2004 and 2004a) makes the point that having already experienced the loss of one home and subject to racism and exclusionary politics within the UK, the women she interviewed viewed the home as a site of enfranchisement and belonging, in which their identities can be reaffirmed. Tolia-Kelly argues that the emotional and physical investment the women place in the making of the material home in London should not be divorced from this context. Conceptualising of the material home as a site of identity affirmation similarly underpins Gorman-Murray's (2008) research with gay/lesbian Australians, in which he argues that different objects embody different intersecting and inter-subjective facets of self, such as sexuality, spiritual beliefs, cultural heritage, familial connections, class and so on. The juxtaposition of such objects within the home 'brings together these diverse identity fragments, materially embedding a holistic sense of self within domestic space' (288). For Gorman-Murray, this '(re)uniting' of the various dimensions of fractured selves' is particularly important for those whose 'self-identifications include certain subjectivities which are marginalised in wider society, and thus not affirmed or readily enacted in the public sphere' (289)

In examining the material home as a site of identity, my research is in part situated in response to contemporary calls to 're-materialise' research in social and cultural geography. For example, Philo (2000) has raised concerns over the 'cultural turn' diverting attention away from the 'bump-into-able, stubbornly there in the world kinds of matter' (33) (also Jackson: 2000, Lees: 2002). Anderson and Tolia-Kelly (2004), whilst supporting the broad call for an emphasis upon materiality, nonetheless challenge the 'assumption that the 'new' social and cultural geographies had *forgotten* the materialities of culture' (670) through a review of strands of work which specifically analyses 'figures of matter' within the 'multi-faceted cultural turn' (670). They argue instead, for a renewed questioning of matter, which focuses upon 'what matter does, rather than what its *essence* is' (672). In doing so, they refute a singular figure of and approach to matter, in order to 'encourage an experimentation with new figurations that work with the potential that follows the turn to place matter in question' (673). In examining the micro-scale of the home, I shall pay particular attention to how notions of home and belonging are experienced through the material and visceral enactment of home. I am interested in how the home may act as a site of identity and how this stretches across space, further complicating notions of the public and private. My focus within this, is upon how the geopolitical intersects with and impacts upon the everyday. In bringing these two strands together, I aim to demonstrate how a material approach can help 'ground' geopolitical research through drawing out the connections between socio-political processes, and everyday geographies, identities, emotions and agency. The following section develops this material focus through an examination of research which explores domestic media and identity.

Home, politics and the media

Within this section, I want to situate my research in relation to the home as a space of media consumption and the implications this may have for the home as a political site. I focus upon work which examines such issues in relation to migrant, transnational or diasporic identity. Firstly, I discuss research examining media communication with particular

reference to minority media practices, in relation to geo-political events, namely the War on Terror. Secondly, I discuss work which explores either the intersections between cyber space and virtual space (Madge and O'Connor: 2005) and/or cyber space as a political site. It is important to note at this point, that the home as a mediated space is not a central tenet of my research and as such my review of the literature is necessarily brief. The relationships between media, identity and citizenship have been of increasing importance within debates concerning transnationalism, particularly with reference to how migrants seek out and use media, in relation to both providing sources of identification which stretch beyond the national and local contexts of their homes and participating in multiple public spheres. Indeed, media has been argued to provide an important arena of identity negotiation for various kinds of migrants (Gillespie: 2006 and 2007, Karim: 2003, Hopkins, L: 2008).

In a discussion of multiculturalism, media and minorities within Europe, Silverstone and Georgiou (2005) define media as inherently political, providing frameworks for inclusion and exclusion, which are multi-scalar and can be ethnically specific. They identify that there is a tension within and surrounding minority media, particularly in relation to the symbolic and material presence of minority media cultures, which is reflective of broader concerns over 'dilemmas of difference and visibility' which are 'endemic in European societies' (438). Moreover, concerns over the consumption of 'minority media' are by no means homogenous, with the problematisation of minority Muslim media increasingly contextualised within broader discourses of securitisation (Rigoni: 2006). One important aspect of transnationalism research concerning media cultures, has been to challenge preoccupations with host-guest relations, particularly with reference to concerns over an increasing deterritorialisation of belonging and identification away from the nation state and/or a refusal to integrate. Georgiou (2006) argues, rather than view migrants as 'caught between two worlds' in which minority/mainstream media practices become constructed as an either/or, the question should be one of how migrants are engaged in constructing identities which enable them to participate simultaneously in more than one place. This sense of engagement both 'here' and 'there' as part of the emergence of new identities which are rooted in multiple locations is important in terms of challenging and opening up a

consideration of multiple senses of belonging, identity and citizenship which reflect the realities of contemporary transnational lives (Aksoy and Robins: 2003, Staeheli and Nagel: 2008a).

Gillespie (2006) outlines the need to examine the social and spatial dynamics of media engagement. In relation to the consumption of news within multilingual households, Gillespie argues for the need to recognise such practices as embedded within transnational networks of communication and information exchange. She identifies that whilst news stories may be consumed alone or collectively, their interpretation, discussion and contestation are carried out in exchanges in 'everyday spaces' such as the home, cafe and workplace, with friends and family, both locally and translocally. Such practices become heightened in times of crisis, for example, ongoing conflicts or emergencies. Gillespie draws upon the example of a Serbian family in Wales who watch and discuss news at the same time as family members in Serbia, using webcams to create a 'synchronicity across distance' (906). In a discussion of reactions amongst the Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets to the Wars in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), Begum and Eade (2007) discuss the retreat of elderly Bengali males into the home as a safe political space. They note that the constant monitoring of a number of satellite channels, particularly Bangla TV, Al Jazeera and Ekushi TV, provided a less visible way of monitoring and engaging in political discussion, whereby whilst 'dissent could mushroom in the private domain of the home'(187). Interestingly, the home was seen as the space in which such dissent could 'reach fever pitch', in comparison to the public/private spaces of community organisations and places of worship, in which reactions and discussions 'remained mediated and managed' (188). In an exploration of British-Asian and Indian audiences after the events of 9/11, Banaji and Al-Ghabban (2006) identified how within multi-lingual households, the pace of news programmes in English and/or the complexity of the political and social background to issues led to particular family members becoming both opinion givers and interpreters during news programmes. This role was often perpetuated by male parental figures accessing a diverse range of news sources, which were then used to contribute to the families understanding of political events post-9/11. In contrast to this, younger family members were often attracted towards magazines and the internet, particularly in the form of products which utilised irreverent and satirical

humour to frame their message. Contrasting news analyses thus took place between family members across generations, which drew upon different media forms and genres.

Whilst increasing attention has been paid to how cyberspace and geographical space coexist in contemporary research (Madge and O'Conner 2005), particularly with regard to the issues concerning online identities and embodiment (Miller: 2010, Longhurst: 2009) and health (Parr and Donaldson: 2008), there is still a need for in-depth studies of the social, cultural and political dimensions of ICT practices, which further deconstruct the interrelationships between geographical space and cyber space. The home remains under-researched as a space which intersects with, shapes, and is re-shaped by ICT. In a study carried out with 11-16 year olds, concerning their use of ICTs, Holloway and Valentine (2001) highlighted the need to examine the micro-geographies of ICT use within the home, with regard to both how 'social relations within homes shape their place in the wider world but also how these relations are worked out in and through the micro-geographies of individual family homes' (2). Through their research, they argued for the need to recognise how homes are (re)shaped through children's domestic ICT use. They examined the impact, consequences of and meanings associated with computer location within the home, demonstrating how its positioning could be shaped by material resources, as well as discourses of risk associated with 'unsafe' usage and socialisation concerns, whereby it is these 'processes of domestication' rather than the technology itself which reshapes the home (18). Secondly, they refute notions that homes are becoming dislocated from the locale, or that children's networks are becoming more home centred through their use of ICT. Rather they demonstrate how children 'mediate their use of ICT through locally embedded social networks', with most children integrating ICT use into their everyday lives (18).

Within research upon political activism and ICT technologies, there has been an emphasis upon the creation of alternative spaces of politics, the subversion of technologies, the dissemination of information and development of transnational networks of solidarity (Pickerill: 2006). In relation to ICT as opening up new political spaces, attention needs to be

paid to new forms of media and the ways in which through their 'banal, everyday use' (Holloway and Valentine; 2001: 129) off and online worlds are mutually constituted, precisely because the banal and the everyday are political. This extends to the home. The work I have reviewed highlights the importance of examining the socio-spatial dynamics of media practices, particularly in relation to the complexity of migrant communities' local and transnational networks of communication and information exchange. I have focused upon domestic media consumption in relation to geopolitical events, whereby the home space is largely seen as a 'safe' space for political discussion in comparison to more 'public' everyday spaces such as cafes, community organisations and workplaces. Within my research, I am interested in the materiality of domestic media consumption and the impact of media practices upon the material home. I focus upon how different media technologies and sources may be appropriated politically and how different practices may shape the home as a political space, becoming embedded within my participants' everyday lives and familial relationships.

Exploring Geographies of religion

Situating 'Muslim Geographies'

Over the past decade 'geography of religion', typically categorised as a sub-discipline of social and cultural geography, has grown rapidly, as evidenced by the publication of several special issues of journals focusing on questions of religion as well as a number of new books, individual journal articles, and conference sessions (Social and Cultural Geography (2002 and 2009), Annals of the Association of American Geographers (2006), Geopolitics (2006), and Mobilities (2007)). As Kong (2010) outlines in the third of a series of decadal reviews, the events of 9/11, the subsequent 'War on'/of Terror' and the conceptualisation of religious extremism (particularly Islamic fundamentalism) as a global threat dramatically altered the context of geographical research on religion (1) (see also Hopkins and Gale:

2009, Phillips: 2009a). More broadly, the role of religion within politics has received renewed attention, particularly concerning the prominence of religion in the American cultural and political landscape during the presidency of George W Bush (Proctor: 2006, Morin: 2007) and primarily in relation to his re-election in 2004, which as Morin argues 'raised new questions about religion's connection to rurality, social conservatism, public space, public discourse and war'(xiii). It is within the context of the War on Terror that work upon Muslim geographies (within geographies of religion) has rapidly expanded. Indeed as Kong (2009) has argued 'a noticeable proportion of work in the post 1990s is focused on Muslim geographies, that is the geographical analysis of Muslim populations – their places, identities, communities and societies – at various, local, national and transnational scales' (171). Kong identifies that much of this work has focused upon European Muslim and particularly British Muslim geographies, whereby there has been a focus upon relationships of 'tension and conflict' especially concerning the politics of place.

One main strand of geographical research has been in regard to the establishment of places of worship which belong to minority status religious groups, whereby such spaces are places of meaning for religious groups and individuals and can also provide a frame of analysis regarding how the state manages religions and how different communities and individuals can intersect with one another, sometimes in conflict over competing discourses over the right to space (Eade: 1993, 1996, Kong: 1993, Naylor and Ryan: 2002, Gale and Naylor: 2002, Dunn: 2005). As Gale (2007) argues, a central tenet of this work focuses upon the socio-spatial politics created over sites of worship and the 'semiotic role' such religious sites play within the contestation of opposing social identities and competing spatial claims. Mosques and Islamic schools have been key sites through which the place of Islam within society has been examined (Kong: 1993, 2001 and 2009). More broadly, attachments to place in the form of religious landscapes and routes have also been subject to examination with a particular emphasis upon emotion, temporality and the creation of sacred space through ritual (Maddrell: 2009). Less attention has been paid however to private spaces as sites of religion, even within contemporary research which examines ritual as part of the creation of sensual and embodied religious geographies (Holloway: 2003), a point I return to further on.

A second central research theme has focused upon questions of community and identity, particularly in regard to migrant communities and the mobilisation of religious discourse within identity construction. Such work has examined questions of gender, young people's religious identity (Dwyer: 1999a, 1999b, 2000, Hopkins: 2006, Archer; 2003, Mohammed: 2001), sexuality (Browne et al: 2010), and educational and employment aspirations/barriers (Archer; 2003, Bowlby and Lloyd-Evans: 2009, Dwyer and Shah: 2009). Research concerning both transnationalism and development has also increasingly begun to focus upon questions of religion, notably the utilisation of religious discourses and practices within domestic worker recruitment processes (Silvey: 2005), the ways in which transnational linkages between different countries shape migrants religious identities and institutions (Hopkins: 2007, Dwyer: 2001, Levitt: 2009), the impact of migration upon religious landscapes (Peach and Gale: 2003), religious institutions as spaces of economic, and social aid (Ley: 2008), and the intersections between religious discourses and development epistemologies (Olson; 2006).

More recently, discourses of post-secularism have begun to emerge in the UK, USA and Europe, particularly in the wake of the decline of multiculturalism. Within geography, engagement with such discourses has focused primarily on the urban as the site in which the shift from secular to post-secular is most visible within 'public space, building use, governance and civil society' (Beaumont: 2008: 6, also Cloke et al: 2005). Beaumont (2008) defines the post-secular in reference to the limits of the secularisation thesis: 'we use the term to indicate that within secularised social structures of modern late capitalism, religions, referring both to religious actors and organisations, are very much present and will not disappear irrespective of widespread aversion to the idea among certain liberal and secularist commentators' (6). The contemporary emergence of faith and politics in public policy (for example discourses of community cohesion), governance and service delivery has received increasing attention. There has been a particular focus on the relationships between religion and questions of urban social justice (Beaumont: 2008, Ley: 2008, Jamoul and Wills: 2008). For example, the work of faith-based organisations has been examined in regard to social welfare provision, particularly for immigrant populations (Ley: 2008),

homeless services (Cloke et al: 2007) and political activism (Jamoul and Wills: 2008, Conradson: 2008). Work on 'Muslim geographies' has spanned all of these different yet overlapping tenets. In the remainder of this review section I begin by situating my research within work on Muslim identity, particularly the negotiations of gender roles, including research which examines the Somali community. I then move onto to examine material approaches to the home as a site of religion, focusing upon the importance of religious practices within the creation of 'Muslim space'. Finally I examine contemporary work upon the politics of the veil as a central contested signifier of female Muslim identity, drawing out the themes of visibility, mobility in relation to veiling as an embodied religious practice within public space.

Muslim identity, gender and home

Dwyer's (1999, 2000 and 2002) research with British Muslim schoolgirls whose parents had been born in Pakistan, highlights the dynamic multiplicity of identity and its relation to home. Dwyer (2002) examines the way in which young Muslim women draw upon different local-global evocations of home in the negotiation of their identity. Drawing upon and developing work by Hall (1992), in which he argues that identity needs to be seen as an ongoing process of positioning, Dwyer works to unsettle models of postcolonial identities as caught between two conflicting sets of cultural binaries, in order to promote a more complex model of postcolonial identity. Integral to Dwyer's work is her recognition that the 'making of identity is also a process of making home' (2002: 196) and that in 'the process of making Britain home, other places are made home, as identities are made, remade and negotiated' (197). As Dwyer highlights, this process is neither contradictory or essentialising, rather it allows for the unsettling of either/or binaries; - 'the evocation of Pakistan as 'home', suggests not a return to a mythical or lost 'homeland' or roots but instead a symbolic process of making home' (197). Crucially for Dwyer, the negotiation and prioritisation of different identifications (or facets of identity) at different times and in different spaces forms part of the negotiation of a contested politics of belonging and

resistance. This articulation of hybrid identities allows her interviewees to 'negotiate belongings to several different 'homes' at one or the same time' (198). The influence of such multiple and transnational belonging can also become a site of conflict and contestation.

Mohammed (2005) has similarly studied the home as a key site within the construction and negotiation of transnational moral geographies for women of Pakistani-origin in Britain. Mohammed argues that the continual interchange between Pakistani communities in Great Britain and Pakistan has in part enabled the reinforcement of a conservative interpretation of Islam, in which women are positioned as guardians of collective identity. This interchange encompasses economic, kinship and social networks in which marriage plays a key role. The real and imagined home and homeland underscore and influence such connections. The formation of a collective identity takes the form of a twin approach; firstly, emphasis is placed upon the role of motherhood as integral to the transmission of cultural values to future generations, which can promote self-regulation. Secondly, a regulatory framework of parental regulation and a sense of local community surveillance can work to restrict and control women's access to certain spaces at particular times which may be 'perceived as a threat to the Islamic family' (180).

Following Taraki's (1995) work on Islamic identity, Mohammed argues that the family offers 'working-class British Pakistanis both a refuge from marginalisation and a means of resistance, through the marking and maintenance of a Pakistani Muslim identity that centres on women' (182). Women's bodies are integral to the performance and maintenance of such an identity, which is reliant upon tightly controlled gender divisions that 'mark the domestic place of the home and family as distinct from the public sphere' (183). As Mohammed outlines, 'women's roles as mothers of the collective naturalise their place within the home and family and make marriage discursively and in practice a key marker that shapes the trajectory of their lives' (183). Mohammed found that the emphasis on female domesticity and purity has a profound influence on young women's educational outcomes and labour market participation, with women from less educated backgrounds

generally facing stricter controls and restrictions. Women's opportunities to study and pursue particular career paths required their careful negotiation of parental and community regulation. Like Dwyer, Mohammed argues that this often incorporates their drawing upon, renegotiating and recreating their domestic and familial relationships.

Attention to how Muslim women express and negotiate their religious identity has focused for the most part on questions of gender roles, rights and responsibilities. As Rozario and Hilsdon (2006) outline in a critique of Islam, gender and human rights, Muslim women find themselves in 'increasingly complex and changeable position within their families and communities and in relation to national and international politics' (331). They argue that in different parts of the Muslim world, as well as the West, there has been an increase in young people adopting 'values and behaviour which they see as more Islamic than their parents and grandparents, and as indicative of an increased religiosity and piety' (331). This increasing adoption of Islamic practices has been largely conceptualised as part of a move towards a 'pure' or 'authentic' and original Islam (Ahmed: 2005). Rozario and Hilsdon (2006) emphasise that this needs to be recognised not as a return to some idealised past, but as the development of a new 'international Islam' which is replacing 'the more varied local Islamic beliefs and practices found in different regional and cultural contexts' (332). In terms of the negotiation of rights for women, Rozario and Hilsdon discuss different approaches from within Islamic and secular frameworks. They identify Muslim feminist movements, which have developed within Muslim societies as utilising critical and constructive engagements with the Koran and Hadiths, in order to argue for equal rights for women. They note such approaches to such reinterpretations 'see emancipatory possibilities in an indigenous feminist discourse that does not draw inspiration from the West' (333). Whilst such approaches to women's rights from within a religious framework are subject to critique (Moghadam: 2002 for an overview), for the purposes of this review, I want to focus on research which examines how women use such approaches within a British context.

Brown (2006) discusses the role of Islamic identity amongst British Muslim women, arguing that the strategic adoption of particular facets of Islamic identity work to subvert or confirm the 'patriarchal bargaining' which shapes gender ideology and relations. Brown outlines the revivalist development of a collective articulation of Islamic identity using the principles of *Umma*. The contemporary use of the term *Umma* 'is not a return to medieval political Islamic concepts, but a reinterpretation to address contemporary concerns within Muslim communities. The *Umma* reintroduces unity among an otherwise divided community, divided by class, ethnicity, age and history among other categories' (419). The *Umma* works across scales to generate a global community 'which unites believers by a common fate and experience' (419). Whilst this enables collective protest across borders it also becomes meaningful within the scale of the home community and neighbourhood via the development of 'local networks of interaction' (419). Brown details how the formation of an Islamic identity by the Muslim women in her study enabled them to 'negotiate and acquire rights in new and transformative ways' (428). Through the re-writing of Islamic discourses and concepts, Muslim women have utilised a discourse of rights which has impacted upon their gendered roles, particularly their domesticity. This includes the right 'to be free from domestic violence and the right to marital choice', (428) both of which are 'inherently concerned with women's relations as wives, mothers and daughters and can therefore be addressed from within an Islamic framework which prioritises those markers' (428).

The promotion of their familial roles has also enabled women to insist that their work as both mothers and/or housewives is valued. This has formed part of a discourse which acknowledges domestic labour and child rearing as work. Furthermore, a discourse of gendered religious identity promotes (through drawing upon Islamic history and texts) the rights of women to have roles within both the public and private sphere, again dissolving their construction as a conflicting dualism. Whilst this work is extremely useful in terms of its discussion of gendered Muslim identity and the utilisation of religious identities through which to reinterpret and renegotiate familial and domestic identities and roles, its remit does not extend to looking at how this impacts on the lived experience and spaces of home.

Recent work by Phillips (2009) focuses more explicitly on the importance of the material home in relation to familial relationships, gender roles and agency. Phillips examines the construction and experiences of home-making for young British Muslim women in Oldham and Rochdale. Through extending home to include neighbourhood and community, as well as the micro-spaces of home, Phillips demonstrates the complexity of subject positions, gender roles and meanings of home discussed by her participants. Phillips shows how some women displayed 'considerable agency in creating home spaces outside of the family home and beyond the established community neighbourhoods', whilst others 'often demonstrated their agency and resistance to family expectations in less overt but nevertheless significant ways' (33), by creating micro-spaces within the home (for example, decorating particular spaces or organising material objects) as assertions of their identity and right to space. Furthermore, Phillips highlights how her participants' expectations and experiences of home were narrated in relation to identity politics, whereby their accounts of where to live reflected both 'practical considerations but also exposed feelings about 'their place' as Muslim women' (34). Phillips identifies that her participants' discussions were underpinned by a number of different frameworks of belonging and non-belonging, which ranged from the scale of the familial, community/neighbourhood to 'wider spaces of national and transnational citizenship' (34). My research aims to develop this more material approach, through an examination on the ways in home and the geopolitical intersect, focusing on the role of objects and practices in the negotiation and constitution of the domestic as a space of ethno-religious identity and politics, which extends beyond the home.

Work on the negotiation of identity has not been limited to Muslim women. There is an important body of work concerning the negotiation of young male Muslim identities (Eade: 1997, Hopkins: 2004 and 2006, Alexander: 2000, Archer: 2003 and 2009). The role of the home has received very little attention within such discussions, although a notable recent exception is Hopkins and Smith's (2008) work upon the politics and practices of fear and segregation between young Muslim men and other young people in Scotland. In their discussion of the effects of the post 9/11 demonisation of Islam, Hopkins and Smith argue

that their participants' mobility within public (and particularly neighbourhood space) is partly shaped by an underlying threat and anxiety concerning the risk of racially motivated attack, which pushes those bodies 'that bear the markers of Muslim identity' (111) into the private spaces of the home and mosque. They argue that the home provides sanctuary from 'aggressive recognition' for their participants, although they acknowledge that it 'is by no means full of niceties' (112). The mosque is positioned as having a 'special and particular place in the lives of young Muslim men' (113). It is within the mosque that the second form of retreat can occur. The mosque provides a link to both local affairs and a global community through the affinity with Umma. Hopkins and Smith found that whilst there was an emphasis on the positive identification of Islam as a peaceful religion, this was coupled with a 'marked ambivalence towards a global Umma' (114), due to its potential associations with experiences of marginalisation hatred and blame through the connections that may be made 'between their religious beliefs and those of the people involved in certain global events' (Hopkins: 2007a: 1126 in Hopkins and Smith: 2008: 114). This impulse for young male Muslims to retreat from the global Umma, combined with an impulse to retreat into the private spaces of the home and mosque, is argued to confirm the centrality of segregation within the dynamic of contemporary racism.

This retreat is particularly interesting when compared to Brown's work on the reliance by Muslim women upon a global Umma. As discussed, the Umma is central to their negotiation and prioritisation of a religious identity, which facilitates their participation within both the public and private sphere at the scale of both the individual and the community. This highlights the complexity and dynamism of identity as a socio-political and cultural entity. It also raises complex questions concerning the breadth of the public and the private and it is important that these are not reduced to simplistic binaries but explored fully. This is particularly important in terms of the lived experience and space of the home and its utilisation within 'homeland politics' as shall be explored further on in this review.

Whilst research upon the experiences of South Asian heritage Muslims predominates, Berns McGowan's (1991) research examines Somali identity in London and Toronto and is framed through issues of integration. Berns McGowan identifies that the Somali community represent a significant non-Asian and non-Middle Eastern voice which, coupled with their identification as black, means they are positioned in complex ways as a diasporic Muslim community. With regard to religious identity, Berns McGowan identifies a prioritisation of Muslim identity, which she relates to her participants' experiences as refugees, whereby their religion 'was one thing that came with them and that the civil war could not take away' (208). Berns McGowan demonstrates how for those female respondents with children, their maternal role was embedded within their increased religiosity. This was attributed in part to a need to protect their children whilst living in a non-Islamic country, but also to the embodied sense of security that religious practices had afforded them in their experiences of forced migration and notably in refugee camps. In response to this participants in both research sites discussed religious practice as a key social activity for women, whereby women increasingly held prayer circles and readings, not just 'to learn the Qur'an by heart, but to understand it and apply it to their lives' (208). Berns McGowan argues that this needs to be balanced in relation to her findings concerning the complexity of interpretation and flexibility shown by her participants in terms of negotiating a positioning which does not contravene their Islamic values, yet allows them to adapt to and place themselves in new societies which are predominantly non-Muslim. With regard to integration, Berns McGowan identified language skills, the lack of recognition of professional qualifications and racism as the main barriers faced by her participants. Furthermore, the demonising of Islam in popular media both in Britain and Canada was cited as increasingly prevalent, whereby Berns McGowan argues for the need to recognise such representations as informing the cultural and religious prejudices experienced by her participants.

A more recent comparative study by Valentine et al (2009) examines Somali identity within Britain (Sheffield) and Denmark (Aarhus) with a focus on citizenship policies and practices. Their findings concerning belonging highlight the importance of not equating belonging solely to citizenship, but rather conceptualising it in relation to the security that feeling 'in

place' can provide. They argue that whilst the Somali communities they worked with in both sites were subject to experiences of racism, overall whilst the Somalis in Aarhus enacted a Danish identity (notably through language) in line with Danish policies of assimilation, they did not feel they belonged in Denmark due to both a discursive positioning as 'strangers' and experiences of widespread discrimination. Such experiences, coupled with prescriptive and narrow definitions of Danish nationhood, left Somali communities in Aarhus less able to develop networks and communities of practice through which to claim belonging. Whilst participants in Sheffield dis-identified as British, they discussed a sense of belonging in Britain 'because at a local level they have defined their own community in terms of shared values, networks and practices, and in doing so have made the place their own' (247). Consequently Valentine et al argue that their findings have implications for UK policy, warning against the adoption of policies which promote ill-defined notions of Britishness which implicitly invoke 'whiteness' and may operate to legitimise exclusionary and racist attitudes towards migrant communities.

With regard to Somali young people's identities and the importance of understanding narratives of identity within the context of complex histories of mobility, Valentine and Sporton (2009) outline how their participants took up complex and at times contradictory subject positions produced 'through intersecting disidentifications' (740). They examine how their participants argued that whilst they had a right to occupy the subject position British, the reality of claiming such a position was more complex, with participants recalling incidents whereupon their claims to Britishness had been denied or rejected due to their identities being variously read as Somali and/or black. Despite being implicitly positioned within narratives of black identity, the majority of participants disidentified as black, arguing that the identity 'black' was implicitly associated with Afro-Caribbean identity, which when ascribed to them denied the specificity of their identities as Somali and Muslim. Some female participants highlighted how some of the characteristics associated with black femininity were seen as incongruous with their identities as Muslim. Whilst identifying as Muslim, participants similarly rejected attempts by their 'black and white peers to position

them in relation to Pakistani Muslim cultural identities' instead asserting the specificity of being Somali (740).

This disassociation from Pakistani Muslim identity should not be read as a disavowal of an identity as Muslim rather, as Valentine and Sporton highlight, their participants predominantly identified themselves in relation to their faith rather than race, ethnicity or nationality. They argue that for many of their participants, the subject position 'Muslim' overcame some of the troubling aspects associated with other subject positions available to them. Moreover, in the context of their complex histories of forced and active migration, it offered them continuity across space and time, as well as their possible futures of mobility. As such, Valentine and Sporton claim that 'it alone offered them a stable, *omni-variable* attachment that powerfully shaped their everyday use of space *wherever* they happened to be living' (748, italics in original). This strength of emotional investment in the subject position Muslim was argued to limit the possibilities of disidentification, even when participants objected to 'the way their identities were regulated by the local spatial norms of specific Muslim communities'. Valentine and Sporton clearly demonstrate the need to recognise that whilst their participants actively produce their own narratives of identity, these narratives are subject to particular experiences (namely racism) which demonstrate how power operates in systematic ways to 'generate hegemonic cultures and spatial orderings that define who can claim a particular identity, where and who cannot, who is in place and who is out of place' (748). These findings concerning the complexity of self-identification, in relation to the ways in which particular bodies are read and identity markers attributed are important within the context of citizenship practices. The prioritisation of a Muslim identity is significant here, whereby despite experiences of racism it is valued as a safe identity due to its continuity.

The specificity of issues documented by Valentine and Sporton highlight the need to open up studies of Muslim identity to include new migrant groups, such as refugee and asylum seeking communities from Eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East. Within my research, I

interview women from a range of ethnic backgrounds including Somali, in recognition of the need to ensure research recognises and explores the diversity within the category Muslim (Modood: 2005). More broadly, I am interested in examining the impact of the geopolitical within the complex construction, negotiation and enactment of identity and belonging for my participants, focusing upon gender, religion, ethnicity and home. In doing so, I want to explore some of the materiality of home as a site of identity. In the following section I examine research which has adopted a material approach to studying the home and religion.

The home as a site of religion: materiality and religious practice

Contemporary work upon religion and the home has been slow to focus on the role that the material geographies of home and home-making practices (including architecture and design) have in the reproduction and expression of religious beliefs and practices (Tan: 2001, Kong: 2001 Bryden: 2004, Metcalf: 1996). Tolia- Kelly (2004 and 2004a) examines Hindu shrines as part of her work on diasporic memory, nostalgia and landscape, arguing that their feelings of home, belonging and identity were very much intertwined with the existence of the shrines and the variety of icons and materials held within. The shrines and their contents were part of 'a collective, visual vocabulary for the South Asian community' (2004: 319), which facilitated the forming of social connections through a sense of communal identity made 'through visual registers of colour, texture, sound and scent' (319). With regard to personal connections and belongings, the shrines were identified as dynamic with their content, size and aesthetics changing over time. Tolia-Kelly describes this process of meaningful accumulation as a form of collage, 'continually superimposed with objects reflecting intimate moments and sacred life moments' (319), in which various places and moments are brought into the home as a source of re-memory through which individual and family narratives are made tangible materially. Hurford's (2005) examination of evangelical Christians in London promotes a more 'embodied, incarnate and mobile' (22) understanding of home, in which home as a sense of belonging and security is primarily experienced as a

‘sense of intimacy in Christ’ (22). The performance or construction of such a relationship with Christ was facilitated by mobile and temporal productions of Evangelical space, through embodied practises such as prayer, which were not limited to domestic or church spaces. This prioritisation of religious practices within the creation of religious identity is echoed within work which examines the creation of Muslim space and identity, particularly within the home.

In terms of Muslim spaces, Metcalf (1996) argues that the ‘individual and collective recitation, display and transmission of sacred words’ (4) is a central tenet of Muslim worship and moral behaviour. Arabic scripts in the form of sacred words are recurring visual signs of Muslim space. The pre-eminence of shared symbolic words is linked to shared practice in prayer, education or meditation (be it individual or collective), the endurance of which highlights the temporality and historicity of religious practices and communities. Whilst it is important to note that individual mosques can become deeply significant, within religious rituals it is the practice not the place which is of utmost importance (7). This facilitates the appropriation of a variety of spaces outside of the Mosque for religious practices. Similarly Qureshi (1996) argues that within the South Asian Muslim communities she studied in Canada, ‘Islamic praxis transcends local space primarily by aural not visual communication’ (48) whereby ‘engaging in the articulation of Islamic word and performing the relevant actions form the basis of individual Muslim identity: sharing that engagement links Muslims into a community’ (49). This intertwining of the aural and the visual within religious practices is also common to religious collective assemblies, with the house forming the ‘prime locus’ for holding such events, whereby ‘the processes of community formation emanate essentially from individual families, as do the rituals or religious ‘performance events’ that link people of the same group’ (52). The shift from holding assemblies in communal Muslim space within the homeland to the contemporary diasporic practice of holding them largely within a domestic context is seen as an important ‘internal adaptation’ to life in the diaspora (54).

McCloud (1996) examines the adaptation of row houses within Philadelphia by African-American Muslims similarly emphasising the importance of text and recitation as key markers of the creation of an identifiably Muslim home. In discussing the adoption of a wide variety of Muslim cultural interior designs, McCloud outlines how African-American Muslims are not tied to a homeland in the same way as other groups of immigrant or diasporic American-Muslims. As such, they often created a “melting pot” of Muslim culture’ (72) highlighting its global reach and connections as materialised within the space of the home. The use of signs on the front door, which demarcate the home as a Muslim home and ask visitors to remove their shoes, are argued to represent ‘a boundary that signals both a warning and a welcome’ (68) whereby to ‘non-Muslims, the sign serves as a polite warning that the visitor is about to enter a different space and time’; for other Muslims, it is a sign denoting a refuge’ (68). Whilst this interpretation could be viewed as somewhat essentialist, McCloud argues that its significance lies in its signifying the construction of an area of control, in which the sign dictates that within this house ‘the hostile environment of racism, religious intolerance and discrimination are locked out; prayer space and hospitality are guaranteed’ (68). This construction of the specifically Muslim African American home as a ‘haven’ is interesting in terms of its parallels to bell hook’s work on the African American home as a site of both control and refuge from a hostile racist environment.

This brief review of work documenting the creation of domestic Muslim space highlights both the importance of including the home as a site of ‘sacred space’ and the need to move away from a sense of the materiality of religious culture that prioritises the visual. The role of the aural and of ‘sacred verse’ within Muslim homes and practices, alongside the prioritisation of a prayer space that requires no formal consecration, raises interesting questions about the idea of boundaries between ‘pure’ space and familial/communal space. I want to further examine these themes within my research, particularly in relation to the embodied and temporal nature of making Muslim space. Within geographic research on religion more broadly, there is a pressing need to examine domestic spaces of religious identity and performance. In focusing upon the materiality of home as a site of ethno-religious identity within the context of the War on Terror, I am interested in how the

material extends beyond the home and intersects with different spatialities and scales. I contribute to calls to explore the micro-politics of the geopolitical through this focus upon the everyday spaces and ideas of home and belonging. In the following section, I move beyond the material home as a site of religious practice and identity to discuss contemporary research exploring the politics of the veil within the construction, negotiation and enactment of gendered Muslim identity within Britain. I examine research which approaches veiling as an embodied, material and mobile religious practice, drawing out themes of spatiality, mobility and visibility.

The politics of the veil

Within the context of the War on Terror, dress as a signifier of religious identity has taken on renewed meaning. Veiled Muslim women have been seen to embody longstanding orientalist tropes concerning Islam as 'backwards', patriarchal and oppressive, which increasingly intersect with contemporary discursive re-workings concerning women as threat to national security in the context of Islamic terrorism (Hopkins: 2009, Khiabany and Williamson: 2008). As Dwyer (1999b) writes, the veil is an 'over-determined signifier' in racialised, sexualised and gendered discourses concerning (South Asian) Muslim women. She outlines that understanding the 'historical dynamism' (7) of the veil is integral to understanding its meaning(s) for Muslim women. This is particularly important in relation to how dress as a 'situated practice' (Entwhistle; 2000) takes on new or reworked meanings, offering possibilities for 'forging new political, religious or symbolic identities' (Dwyer: 1999b: 8). Ahmed (1992) demonstrates how contemporary concerns over women, gender and Islam, which are framed through a series of oppositions with Islam positioned as antithetical to 'Western' values, are rooted within specific historical contexts. Ahmed traces the ways in which the veil (and women's bodies) became a key signifier in debates over modernisation, nationalism and culture within Egypt's colonial history:

Veiling – to *western* eyes, the most visible marker of the differentness and inferiority of Islamic societies - became the symbol now of both the oppression of women (or in the language of the day, Islam's degradation of women) and the backwardness of Islam, and it became the open target of colonial attack and the spearhead of the assault on Muslim societies. (152)

In deconstructing dominant political and ideological responses to discourses of the veil, Ahmed unpicks underlying narratives of colonial domination and the struggles against it, arguing that through these discourses, the veil becomes emblematic of the social body of the nation. Ahmed's considerations of the gender politics of the veil highlight the complexity of both the origins of debates and their continued ramifications/re-presentations in contemporary discourses. Ahmed demonstrates how colonial discourses drew upon the language of feminism and redirected it 'against the cultures of Other men' whereby 'the idea that Other men, men in colonized societies or societies beyond the borders of the civilised West, oppressed women' was utilised as part of the moral justification for undermining 'or eradicating the cultures of colonized peoples' (151).

This fusing of issues of women and culture, namely the oppression of women by other cultures, within colonial Western discourses resonate within contemporary discourses. As Ahmed argues 'the legacy of meanings and struggles over issues of culture and class with which not only the veil but also the struggle for women's rights as a whole' has become inscribed either by Western narratives of Islam as oppressor and the West as liberator or by Arabic narratives of resistance, which highlight the importance of 'preserving Muslim customs, particularly with regard to women as a sign of resistance to imperialism, whether colonial or postcolonial' (167). This historical framework is important for understanding how Muslim women negotiate the veil, in relation to their understandings of its complex meanings and significations, within the production of their identities. The remainder of this section examines work which explores the politics of the veil for Muslim women focusing

upon research in Britain. In discussing this work, I focus on drawing out themes of visibility, mobility and the veil as a marker of identity in order to contextualise my research.

Dwyer's research (1998 and 1999b) with young Muslim women in the UK raises a number of issues concerning the meanings of dress and the veil. Firstly, Dwyer highlights the importance and complexities of dress as resistance for her participants, arguing that they were highly aware of the ways in which meanings became attached to them depending on what they were wearing, but also that such meanings changed in different contexts and spaces. The importance of subverting and redefining dress codes is of particular interest. Dwyer (1998) argues that her participants were positioned within a variety of different discourses which 'produce a constellation of different meanings around dress' (55), with the dichotomy between Western and Asian clothes cited as a key site of negotiation and challenge. Discussions focus particularly upon how the young women were caught up in negotiations of cultural meanings for example, if through wearing 'Western dress' or adopting hybrid styles, the young women resisted 'one set of assumptions from their white non-Muslim peers within the social space of the school, within other spaces such as the street they negotiate other assumptions' (57), namely surveillance from parents and other adults in public spaces. In this context, wearing Western clothes was argued to imply 'rebelliousness' and potentially promiscuity.

The adoption of more explicitly Islamic identity is secondary to her participants' discussions of ethnic identity and dress, which is interesting given the socio-historical context of Dwyer's research as pre 9/11 and the War on Terror. Dwyer documents the adoption of the veil by some participants as part of a commitment to Islam, whereby through recourse to religious knowledge, the young women were both producing 'new styles of orthodox Muslim dress' (1998: 57) and challenging parental constrictions upon dress which they argued blurred culture with religion. Dwyer (2000) outlines how the young women argued 'it was possible to wear a range of different clothes that conformed to Islamic strictures about appropriate dress rather than simply adopting the shalwar kameez worn by their

mothers' (481). With regard to the hijab, Dwyer (1998) highlights how those participants who chose to adopt it were simultaneously constructing (and foreclosing) the identity of other Muslim pupils in opposition to its associated meanings of purity and religiosity. Dwyer also outlines how in contrast to this, adoption of traditional dress and particularly the veil were argued to potentially function as a form of 'cover-up', whereby false assumptions regarding behaviour could be drawn, with traditional clothes and the hijab being equated with modesty and conformity. The veil (and dress more broadly) was thus identified as able to be used strategically by the young women in order to safely negotiate access to particular public spaces, such as 'the street' and escape parental/community surveillance (also Mohammed: 1999, 2005 and 2005a).

This tactical adoption of dress has also been documented by Mohammed (2005a) who, for example, discusses a respondent's decision to adopt the hijab 'as a means of communicating her sexual purity, in order to negotiate parental permission to attend a mixed-sex college to continue with her studies' (386). Both Dwyer and Mohammed draw on participants discussions of women who perform appropriate religio-ethnic identities through dress in public space, only to change their clothes once in spaces (e.g. the school) which lay outside what Mohammed has termed 'the community border' (2005a: 391). In Hopkins (2006) research with young Muslim men, both the duality of 'good' or 'bad' girls as signified through dress and their subjection to community surveillance is acknowledged and reinforced by his participants. Hopkins outlines how the young men draw on a range of discourses which positioned Muslim women in opposition to white women. These included narratives concerning the importance of covering as a form of protection for Muslim women in public space and the oppression of 'Western women' through Western constructions of idealised femininity, which focused upon the display of the sexualised body. Hopkins argues that through these discourses, his participants displayed their own policing of the boundaries of appropriate Muslim femininity. Whilst much of the research on female Muslim identities in the UK discusses dress in relation to the negotiation of gendered identities and roles, research with Muslim women in Turkey has focused upon veiling in relation to state policies.

Secor (2002 and 2005) argues that veiling is an 'embodied social practice through which women are inscribed into relationships of power in society' (2005: 204). Drawing on research with Muslim women in Istanbul, Secor conceptualises the range of spatial regulations of veiling practices in Turkey as producing 'regimes of veiling' within which 'particular veiling laws or norms hold sway' (204). This includes areas of the city being cited as appropriate for veiled women and their cultivation of piety. Secor argues that whilst such regimes are always contested and temporal, they highlight how the veil as a marker of identity has 'socio-spatial effects' concerning how women's practices are read, in particular ways which are inscribed with ideas of class, femininity, honour and shame. Using a Foucauldian framework, she argues that the state exerts bio-power through the disciplinary administration of women's bodies. Secor's (2002 and 2005) participants variously describe how their practices of veiling or non-veiling shape their experiences of different urban spaces as they travel across different regimes, whereby the related norms and values attached to veiling inform their feelings of belonging and identification. Informal and formal regimes of veiling are thus argued to be 'instrumental in promoting the citizenship rights and identities of certain subjects as opposed to others' (2005: 204). Both Secor (2002 and 2005) and Gökarıksel (2007) discuss how public discourses concerning veiling omit the nuances of social and cultural battles over the meanings, negotiations and reworking of veiling fashions and practices. Rather the wearing of the headscarf is simplistically posited as 'a sign of religious "revival" among rural, working-class migrants who "fail" to adapt to urban modernity' (Gökarıksel: 2007: 65). Investigating veiling practices with a focus upon questions of veiling fashions has been integral in challenging such constructions.

Fashion has been an increasingly important theme within research on the veil in the context of Britain. As noted previously, in Dwyer's (1998, 1999, 1999b and 2000) research with young Muslim women, her participants resisted and challenged the meanings associated with 'Asian' and 'English' clothing, particularly within the adoption of a more explicitly 'Muslim' identity in which they fused different styles (for example covering through trousers or long skirts rather than shalwar kameez) creating 'hybrid' identities which were

simultaneously western and Islamic. Dress was constructed as an important aspect of youth culture, with the creation of hybrid styles offering participants the opportunity to both challenge parental/community norms and the expectations and attitudes of their peers. Dwyer (1999b) draws upon her observations of participants confidently experimenting with different styles and ways of tying their recently adopted headscarves, arguing that such performances could be read as offering possibilities for imagining alternate femininities. This is tempered through Dwyer's arguments concerning the instability of such possibilities, whereby performances of 'new' gendered subjectivities remain 'interwoven with dominant racialised discourses of difference, as well as patriarchal discourses through which religious and ethnic identities are constructed' (20).

More recent work by Bhimji (2009) which examines how young British born South Asian Muslim women engage with prayer circles in Manchester, similarly highlights the importance of fashion within her participants discussions of identity. Drawing on Tarlo (2006), Bhimji identifies her participants as expressing 'cosmopolitan Muslim identities' through combining a range of Islamic fashion commodities acquired from a range of localities (for example, Pakistan and Jordan as well as Manchester). The intersection between the space of the mosque (the site of the prayer circle) and the women's articulations of alternate Muslim femininities was highlighted by Bhimji, who argued that through their dress, the women 'further help change the traditional meanings attached to the mosque, determining appropriate ways of dressing for the mosque which was modest and comfortable yet stylish' (371). Dress is again seen to play a central role in the creation of new female identities, however here Bhimji highlights how such identities increasingly draw upon local-global evocations of gendered Muslim identity as expressed through her participants' consumption practices.

The growth and impact of 'Islamic fashion retail geographies is drawn upon by Lewis (2010) in her discussion of retail spaces, veils and Muslim women in the UK. Lewis frames her research through a discussion of socio-political discourses concerning the veil within the UK,

arguing that 'in the early years of the twenty-first century, challenges to accepted British veiling regimes by young women revivalists have tested the sartorial limits of multiculturalism' (78). Lewis argues that within contemporary debates concerning the niqab, the socio-political lexicon of the 'veil' has shifted from denoting head covering to face covering, despite it being a minority practice amongst Muslim women. She outlines how debates concerning the veil are reworked within wider discourses of belonging and national identity, which 'play out across the bodies of Muslim women' (81) positioned as either victims of patriarchal culture and/or as potential extremists posing a risk to national security. Lewis works to resituate 'the veil', which she categorises as any item of 'modest Islamic outerwear' (70), by approaching it as an item of clothing, in order to allow for an opening up of its potential meanings for both those women who wear it and those who 'read' its meanings. Lewis argues that the visibility of new and evolving forms of 'Islamic chic', which engage in a bricolage of different styles of Western and Islamic fashions challenge simplistic representations of Islamic dress as antithetical to modern British identity.

Much of the empirical work I have drawn upon here regarding Muslim women's covering practices in the UK was carried out prior to the War on Terror, whereupon the dominant socio-political discourses concerning the veil denoted it as a marker of oppression rather than Islamic extremism. I am interested in how, predicated on its visibility as a marker of religious identity, veiling may have socio-spatial effects for my participants, signifying for example, belonging and non-belonging in different locations. In the research reviewed above, veiling is seen to be strategically adopted in order to negotiate access to public space, education and work and/or avoid community surveillance through the connotations of appropriate behaviour and femininity ascribed to particular covering practices. The importance of women's agency is highlighted particularly in relation to negotiating, challenging and disrupting competing dominant discourses through which religious dress is read both inside and outside of participants' communities. This is particularly related to the production of more explicitly Islamic identities, whereby recourse to Islam is used to challenge dominant patriarchal practices. I want to explore the impact that contemporary

(and contested) geopolitical connotations of the veil as signifying extremism, may have had upon these practices and negotiations. I am interested in how this contextual shift has affected my participants' experiences, understandings and narratives of covering and identity. Within this, I am particularly interested in the possibilities of fashion as a means through which Muslim women can resist, subvert and resituate themselves within the competing, shifting and unstable discourses concerning terrorism, national identity and the veil. One of the themes underpinning the work I have reviewed in this section is the visibility of veiling as a marker of religious identity within public space, whereby the veil is imbued with shifting and highly contested religious, social and political meanings. Veiling practices as enacted in public space become the site of complex socio-political relationships, which operate spatially, affecting mobility, identity and belonging. In the remainder of this review, I draw together a range of work which examines the geopolitical in relation to geographies of race and racism and geographies of home and belonging. The themes of materiality, visibility and the racialisation of religious identity are further developed throughout this section.

Making connections: home, race and feminist geopolitics

Political geography has been identified as the sub-discipline 'least influenced by feminist approaches and least inclusive of female geographers' (Sharpe: 2007: 382, see also Sharpe: 2011). As Staeheli (2001) notes, there is a large body of political feminist geography, it just does not identify as such. In response to the marginalisation of feminist critiques, Staeheli and Koffman (2004) argue that political geography is itself masculinist. They assert that feminist political geography advances understandings and topographies of the political, which differ even from critical approaches. In conceptualising this, they outline that 'the political is not just about differences – either between people or between perspectives; it is also about the webs of power and social relationships that are the basis of connections' (2004: 6). The unsettling of scale has been a key feminist intervention with embodied approaches to geopolitics opening up a more nuanced and non-hierarchical understanding of

scale as 'entangled' (Sharpe: 2007). Hyndman (2003) outlines how geopolitics is constituted at multiple scales:

Feminist geopolitics attempts to develop a politics of security at multiple scales (including that of the civilian body. It decentres state security, the conventional subject of geopolitics, and contests the militarization of states and societies with a 'world system' perspective. It seeks embodied ways of seeing and material notions of protection for people on the ground. Feminist geopolitics is not a new theory of geopolitics nor a new ordering of space. It is an analytic and politics that is contingent upon context, place and time. (3)

As previously noted, feminist approaches to borders and boundaries have been influential in deconstructing spatial binaries linking the political and public to the private, including the body and family/household (Marston: 2005). Understanding and incorporating grounded analyses of emotions provides a further critical intersection within feminist geopolitics (Crawford: 2000, Pain and Smith: 2008, Pain: 2009 and 2010 for an overview). Pain (2009) critiques the inclusion of 'fear' within critical geopolitics arguing that 'terrorist attacks in the west... and the war on/of terror have sparked new interest in the politics and patterns of fear' (466), whereby much of the understanding of fear invokes a 'metanarrative' of 'globalised fear' (467), which tends to 'constitute fear as omnipresent and connected, yet at the same time analyses it remotely, lacking grounding, embodiment and emotion' (468). Drawing on feminist theorisations of scale, global/local processes and geopolitics, Pain outlines how these approaches can be combined with accounts of emotion to produce an 'emotional geopolitics' (467). Pain outlines the importance of examining how 'power and resistance among individuals and communities, as well as power and domination by the state, might apply to the effects of emotions' (480). In a complementary review of empirical research concerning the War on Terror, Pain (2010) argues that there is still a need for work which explores how 'emotions are deployed, played out and felt in geopolitical events and phenomena' (235), by those who groups who are the most marginalised. Crucially, whilst Pain highlights how those most affected by fear in the current geopolitical climate are

marginalised minority groups, she asserts the need to examine their experiences within a historical framework of racism rather than primarily in relation to recent geopolitical events.

Similarly, there is a renewed interest within disciplines notably sociology, geography and cultural studies, in exploring race and racism in relation to the geopolitical. Dwyer and Bressey (2008) outline how discussions of 'difference, inclusion, exclusion and religious discrimination particularly in the UK, especially post 9/11 and 7/7, are located in discourses of race and racism, even if these terms are avoided in public debates' (1). Deconstructing the utilisation of overt and covert ideas of race, ethnicity and religion within national policies and socio-political discourses of immigration, integration, multiculturalism, community cohesion and national identity has been a key area of research (Amin: 2002, Ahmed: 2004, Glynn: 2009, Meer et al: 2010). Running alongside this discursive focus upon how race is framed within different policies is a focus upon the negotiation of identity politics in relation to the geopolitical, for example, policies of integration (Staeheli and Nagel: 2008a, Nagel and Staeheli: 2008), segregation (Phillips: 2006 and 2008 Phillips et al: 2007) engagements with mainstream politics (Glynn: 2008, Hopkins: 2007) and political movements (Phillips and Iqbal: 2009, Birt: 2009). Whilst quantitative studies which pattern ethnic residential settlement have a historical centrality within the geographies of race and racism, such approaches are critiqued for simply identifying and measuring segregation, with the validity of techniques and interpretations subject to intense debate (Simpson: 2004). Empirical research on the dynamics of clustering and segregation which focuses upon participants' experiences of and attitudes towards segregation and spatial mobility (Phillips: 2006 and 2008, Phillips et al: 2007) has been crucial in broadening geographic understandings of such phenomena. A final strand of research concerns the epistemology of race (Saldahana: 2006, Swanton: 2008, Amin: 2010) and particularly ideas of 'post-race' politics (Nayak: 2006 and 2008). Whilst much of this body of work is outside the scope of this review, I want to both acknowledge its complexity and dynamism and reiterate the social and political context of such research, particularly the imaginative geographies of the War on Terror and global migration (Jackson: 2008, Dwyer and Bressey: 2008).

The remainder of this section draws upon a range of research from across disciplines, but particularly from contemporary feminist geopolitics and geographic approaches to race and racism. I begin by exploring work which examines the geopolitical utilisation of home and family, in relation to contemporary concerns regarding global terrorism and particularly the construction of homeland security post 9/11. I then examine how within the UK, concerns over terrorism have dovetailed with broader concerns over the perceived failure of multiculturalism which coalesce around Muslim communities. I examine literature which discusses how questions of race, ethnicity and religion are framed within these discourses, with a particular focus on theorisations of Islamophobia. I then explore contemporary theorisations of race which examine its material ontology. Finally, I engage with a range of empirical research which explores the impact of the geopolitical, including work which studies embodiment, emotions and experiences of racism in order to contextualise my research.

The politics of 'home'

Discourses of homeland are intricately linked to politics of identity, memory and belonging, which often become mapped onto the space of the nation. Within imperial and nationalist politics, the construction of 'imaginative geographies' of belonging and sovereignty play an integral role in legitimising and sustaining the powerful (and violent) structures that underpin the spaces of imperialism and empire (Gregory: 1995). Such geographies tend to be characterised by stark binaries of place attachment, belonging and 'othering'. As Gregory (2004) argues, imaginative geographies are constructions which operate by 'fold[ing] distance into difference through a series of spatialisations'. They work by 'multiplying partitions and enclosures that serve to demarcate "the same" from "the other"' (17). Graham (2006) draws on Gregory's work to argue that such geographies 'do geopolitical work by designating the familiar space inhabited by a putative 'us' and opposing it to the unfamiliar geographies inhabited by a putative 'other' – the 'them' who become the legitimate target for military or colonial power' (255). Blunt and Dowling (2006), outline how in terms of the production of familiar space, the exercise of imperial power was reliant upon

the construction of imaginative geographies of home. It is through binaries of the familial and the alien, that the 'foreign' and colonised territories and the 'home' spaces, which occupy the 'heart of empire', are discursively constructed and controlled. The mobilisation of home as both a lived space and a spatial imaginary was utilised 'within the metropolis, between the metropolis and the wider empire, and across a wide range of colonised spaces' (143). Discourses constructing the nation as a homeland are, as McClintock (1993) discusses, often reliant upon the iconography of familial and domestic space:

The term nation derives from 'natio' to be born. We speak of nations as 'motherlands' and 'fatherlands'. Foreigners adopt countries that are not their native homes, and are 'naturalised' into the national family. We talk of the 'Family of nations', of 'homelands' and 'native lands' (63)

In the context of the Australian experience of policies of multiculturalism, Hage (1996 and 1998) identifies racialised practices of nation-building as premised upon the promotion of an 'idealised nation' shaped by the desire to return to a 'how it used to be nation' (1998: 39), which is often articulated around the theme of home. In terms of the construction of the idealised nation as a homeland, Hage (1996) argues that the 'homely nation' is a heavily gendered construction, whereby 'all the qualities that are valued in the homeland are those that are normally (that is, within patriarchal discourse) associated with mothering: protection, warmth, emotional and nutritional security' (473). Hage (1998) uses the term 'homely belonging' to describe the way in which nationalists structure the idea of the 'nation as home' around a sense of lost 'familiarity, security and community' (40). The imaginary homely nation operates as both 'a background against which the undesirable is classified' and as a space in need of recovery through the exclusion of the unwanted or 'unhomely (40)'. This exclusion is justified through the promotion of their native right to 'feel at home' in their surroundings, whereby this sense of familial security is dependent upon a sense of 'shared symbolic forms' and 'an absence of threatening others'(40). Thus,

when the 'nationalist feels that he or she can no longer operate in, communicate in or recognise the national space in which he or she operates, the nation appears to be losing its homely character' (40). The construction of the nation/homeland as spaces of bounded security and/or as 'havens' in need of protection, have thus historically utilised both the lived spaces of home and the emotional nuances of the 'feeling of home' to create landscapes of racialised exclusivity. I want to turn now to examine the contemporary construction of 'Homeland Security' in the United States in the wake of the 'terror attacks' of 9/11, with a particular emphasis upon the themes of the home (and homeland) as a bounded space of security and comfort.

'America as homeland'

The conceptual mapping of home and homeland has re-emerged within contemporary concerns regarding the global reach of terrorism networks. As Bauman (1998) argues regarding the perceived 'borderlessness' of globalisation, 'in an ever more insecure and uncertain world, the withdrawal into the safe haven of territoriality is an intense temptation; and so the defence of the territory – the 'safe home' becomes the pass-key to all doors which one feels must be locked' (117). This renewed desire for security is integral to the 're-bordering' politics of homeland security in the United States since 9/11. In her work on the spatial metaphors employed by the United States Government in its then burgeoning War on Terror, Kaplan (2003) argues, that whilst homeland has 'a ring of ancient loyalties', the ideological 'transformation' of America into a homeland is a recent and highly charged phenomenon (85). Upon hearing President Bush use the phrase in a speech soon after 9/11, Kaplan notes that:

It struck a jarring note as an unfamiliar way of referring to the American nation, a term that did not seem historically a part of the traditional arsenal of patriotic idioms.... How many Americans, even at moments of fervent nationalism, think of

America as a homeland? How many think of America as their country, nation, home, but think of places elsewhere as their historical, ethnic, or spiritual homeland? (85)

Crucially, Kaplan argues that the very idea of the domestic has a double meaning, whereby the 'domestic' refers to both the space of the 'familial household' and the 'space of the nation'. Both are imagined 'in opposition to everything outside the geographic and conceptual border of the home' in which a sense of the foreign is 'necessary to erect the boundaries that enclose the nation as home' (86). This political turn to the emotive and intimate register of 'home' should also be read as an example of a shift towards a 'therapeutic state' in which an intimate 'emotivist' ethos is becoming integral to technologies of governance (Thrift: 2004: 66).

Walters (2004) has argued that the politics of homeland security in the US constitutes a clear example of 'domopolitics'. For Walters 'domopolitics' refers to the 'government of the state (and crucially other political spaces) as a 'home' (241). It marks a new shift in the 'governance of security' whereby the 'relationships between citizenship, state and security' are being re-figured in order to rationalise new forms of security measures through a 'fateful conjunction of home, land and security' and a 'particular conception of home' (241). Domopolitics thus needs to be read as a political project, which welds assumptions concerning the individual home in need of protection and security to that of the state in need of protection. This is achieved through the intimate and exclusionary connotations associated with home:

In a great many of these uses (homeland) has powerful affinities with family, intimacy, place: the home as a hearth, a refuge or a sanctuary in a heartless world; the home as *our* place, where we belong naturally and where, by definition, others do not (241).

In a similar vein to Kaplan and Walters, Cowen (2004: 757) argues that the articulation of 'homeland' security not only mobilises the concept of home but collapses different scales of home and homeland into one another, through an ideological obsession with belonging, boundaries, order and security. The political 'obsession with membership, security and order inevitably seems to collapse the imagined homeland with the literal home itself defining similar objectives for each site or scale' (757). Ideological articulations of 'national belonging' are simultaneously articulated through the scale of the domestic and the nation whereby to 'be an American citizen is to know that the home and the homeland both require defence; both require clear boundaries and strict surveillance; both require order and hierarchy; both require unity and purification' (757).

Regarding the politics of security, citizenship and belonging, Kaplan (2003) raises pressing concerns with what (or who) is constructed as foreign or opposite to the homeland and the effects that this has upon the security of those who are seen as alien or immigrant. Kaplan argues that the image of America as a homeland with 'its appeals to common bloodlines, ancient ancestry and notions of racial and ethnic homogeneity' conjures up an image that is 'bounded and self enclosed' (86). This works to undermine and displace more traditional constructions of 'American nationhood' (86), which place it as 'boundless and mobile' (86). Such representations include the idea of America as 'a nation of immigrants, a melting pot, the western frontier, manifest destiny, a classless society' (86), all of which stand in contrast to the 'rootedness that homeland implies' (86). Kaplan traces the significance of America's incarnation as a homeland back to the question of the threat of the foreign, whereby the meaning of homeland has an 'exclusionary effect that underwrites a resurgent nativism' (87) which Kaplan identifies as raising important questions:

Where is there room for immigrants in the space of the homeland as a site of native origin, ethnic homogeneity and rootedness in commonplace and past?
How many immigrants and their descendants may identify with America as

their nation but locate their homelands elsewhere, as a spiritual, ethnic or historical point of origin? And crucially 'does the idea of America as the homeland make such dual identifications suspect and threatening, something akin to terrorism?' (88).

The notion of the homeland thus offers a bounded and exclusionary sense of national identity, in which questions of security have legitimised anti-immigrant sentiment at both a state and individual scale.

Homeland (in)security

Blunt and Dowling (2006:172) argue that the rise in racial violence in the United States post 9/11 can be seen as an alternative form of 'homeland insecurity', whereby the homeland itself becomes an increasingly insecure place for those who are seen as foreign or threatening. As Kaplan (2003) argues, 'although homeland security may strive to cordon off the nation as a domestic space from external foreign threats, it is actually about breaking down the boundaries between inside and outside, about seeing the homeland in a state of constant emergency from threats within and without' (90). This has led to the remodelling of social policy strategies under the Patriot Act 2001 in order to legitimate 'vast intrusions of government, military and intelligence forces, not just to secure the homeland from external threats, but to become an integral part of the workings of home, a home in a continual state of emergency' (90). The mobilisation of the United States as a homeland needs to be read as an attempt to both reconstitute the United States as a bounded area that can be fortified against outsiders, and as a means through which to legitimise the strengthening of state power over 'threatening insiders'. Indeed within the United States, the 'notion of the homeland itself contributes to making the life of immigrants terribly insecure' (87).

In a similar vein, Graham (2006) outlines how a powerful relation exists between 'securing the homeland against encroachment of foreign terrorists' externally and internally and 'enforcing national power abroad' (263). This has facilitated the extension of securitisation measures, such as surveillance both into the interior spaces of the street and home as well as across territorial boundaries of nations (Young: 2003, Graham: 2006, Amoore: 2006 and 2007, Cowen and Gilbert: 2008). The targeting of both internal and external communities is reliant upon the devaluation and dehumanisation of those 'othered' groups via the racialised imaginative geographies of the domestic War on Terror, which increasingly draws upon images and narratives of the home and familial. As Cowen and Gilbert (2008) argue in their analysis of narratives of the War on Terror within the US:

The fixing of the familial in national space may make possible the management of pain for globally privileged forms of injury, and yet also fuels the infliction of tremendous suffering and violence at home and abroad. Indeed the boosterism of the 'national family' cultivates new in/securities. It reassures some at the expense of those groups made 'foreign'... In much the same way 'domestic security measures' such as the rise of secret prisons, the colour-coded terror watch system, the militarisation of the US border, the expansion of border wall construction and watch towers are all designed to thwart insecurities but paradoxically each contributes to a more firmly delineated 'us and them' that only perpetuates insecurities given that this simple dichotomisation is impossible in practice (56).

Such 'homeland insecurities' occur as a result of both state and non-state violence. As Pain (2010) argues, more attention needs to be paid to the connections between geopolitical events and their impact upon the everyday for those groups defined as 'other'. Ahmad (2002) documents that since 9/11 there has been an 'unrelenting multivalent assault on the bodies, psyches, and rights of Arab, Muslim, and South Asian immigrants' (101), whereby at least five people were killed and around 1000 bias incidents were reported in the eight

week period which followed the attacks. Ahmed asserts that this number of incidences does not include those for whom 'racial shame, uncertain immigration status, and the inaccessibility of law enforcement resources to communities of colour makes it certain that the actual number of bias incidents is far higher' (104). Hate violence against Arabs, Muslims and South Asians is argued to be reliant upon a process of racial profiling, which is dependent upon 'a fungibility of Middle Eastern-looking' or 'Muslim-looking' people with the individuals who committed the September 11th attacks' (104). Both racial profiling and hate violence should be understood as different facets of the same socio-political and cultural phenomenon. As Ahmad outlines, both processes are constitutive of each other; both are forms of violence (whether psychic or physical) which flow from bias. I want to extend Ahmad's argument that those groups are perceived as 'ostensibly not American' (105), by highlighting the conflation of race with religion via the racialisation of religious markers of identity.

The second strand of Ahmad's argument which is of interest, concerns the muted governmental and public responses to the five hate killings that followed the terror attacks, which, whilst decried as wrong, have been understood as 'crimes of passion'. Ahmad argues that through using the analogy of a crime of passion, the killings have been rooted as arising from the 'love of the nation', whereby the crimes constitute a 'visceral reaction born out of patriotic fervour' (108). This deeply masculine inscription of nationalism and depth of patriotism is important in terms of the feminised construction of the homeland as motherland, which has been violated against its will. The violence is thus 'not wholly sanctioned' but 'escapes the fullness of moral condemnation one would otherwise expect, and offers the perpetrators a kind of solace, even a form of encouragement' (108). This account illustrates the 'collapsing' of scales, in which hate crimes carried out on an individual scale are accounted for using the scale and imagery of the feminised and violated nation.

In terms of the individual home, Ahmad points to the gendered nature of hate violence, whereby Muslim women reported having their headscarves ripped off in public spaces. This led to women feeling forced to stay at home in order to protect themselves from physical violence. Home can thus be constituted as both a 'haven' and 'prison'. As Ahmad argues 'in the same moment we decry the Taliban's cruel restrictions on the mobility of Afghan women, our racial oppression confines women in the United States to their homes as well. We have engaged in our own form of purdah' (110). The veil and the American flag are both identified by Ahmed as 'overdetermined symbols' (110), whereby the strategic embrace of the American flag by many Arab, Muslim and South Asian communities represents a 'forced reveiling of the community'. The 'putting up' of the flag within the domestic space of the yard acts as an 'effort to assimilate with the white population, to spurn one's own marginality rather than oppose the forces that have created it' (110). The familial space of the home becomes tied to the promotion of an imagined unified nation and 'homeland'. As I have argued, the politics of homeland security are reliant upon the perpetuation of an exclusionary and racialised politics of insecurity, which utilises the metaphorical image of the home/nation as in need of protection.

Exploring the 'politics of terror' within the UK – 'Setting the Scene'

The work I have reviewed above has focused upon the emotive, socio-political utilisation of scales of home within contemporary concerns over security in the United States since 9/11. Concerns about terror attacks within the UK have dovetailed with broader concerns regarding the failure of multiculturalism, the roots of which preceded the events of 9/11 (Mitchell: 2004, Back et al: 2002, Modood: 2005, Phillips; 2006, Kymlicka: 2003, Dwyer et al: 2008). It is important to note from the outset that in using the term 'Multiculturalism', I am following Mitchell's (2004) definition of multiculturalism 'as the philosophy and policies related to a particular mode of immigrant incorporation as well as to the rights of minority groups in society to state recognition and acceptance' (642). The civil disturbances which occurred in several cities in Northwest England in the summer of 2001 have been identified

as a key factor in prompting a shift away from the promotion and celebration of British multicultural diversity (Back et al: 2002). These events sparked demands for a new politics of 'multicultural intimacy', with religion becoming seen as the 'privileged marker of radical and absolute difference' within the British multicultural landscape (Fortier: 2007:108). A need for renewed integration was emphasised in response to the perceived self-segregation and non-integration of minority ethnic communities and South Asian communities in particular (Phillips: 2006). Such communities were posited as failing to become 'responsible, active citizens' through their withdrawal from 'social interactions and spatial interactions with wider British society' (25). This perceived desire to self-segregate placed the blame for social polarisation and community tensions primarily with the South Asian - Muslim communities (Kundnani: 2007a).

Representations of Muslim communities as constituting a 'troubled and troublesome minority' (Phillips, R: 2009:1) were radically exacerbated by the London bombings in 2005, which led to widespread questioning of the cultural and national allegiances of British Muslims. Phillips (2006) argues that the 'tone' of the debates concerning the disaffection of British Muslim communities serves to highlight their marginalisation (and at times demonisation) within a range of 'British spaces from the political arena, the media, and other institutional settings to the level of the neighbourhood and the street' (26). For Phillips, these processes which she identifies as increasingly viewed as form of 'Islamophobia' have 'historical antecedents in the demise of communism and the rise of Islam as the newly constructed threat to Western world order' (26).

The incorporation and signification of the veil within such discourses is significant. In contrast to other European countries (notably France) within Britain the wearing of Muslim head coverings including the jilbab, burka and niqab had not been subject to political debate or legal concern prior to 2006 (Meer et al: 2010). As Werbner (2007) documents, drawing on the legal case of a young schoolgirl in Britain regarding the right to wear the jilbab (a long black gown and veil) to school in 2006 and subsequent mediatised socio-political debates,

including comments concerning the niqab made by the then home-secretary Jack Straw³; ‘the secondary symbolic meanings of the veil in its extreme form were implicitly linked to hidden terror, gender violence and extremism’ (163). In a deconstruction of media narratives in the *Sun* concerning the ‘niqab affair’ Khiabany and Williamson (2008) outline ‘sections of the British media have homogenised the variety of Muslim veiling practices and have presented the veil as an obstacle to meaningful ‘communication’; an example of Islamic ‘refusal’ to embrace ‘modernity’. Veiled women are considered to be ‘ungrateful subjects who have failed to assimilate and are deemed to threaten the ‘British way of life’ (69).

These critiques withstanding, there has been little analysis of contemporary re-workings of the signification of the veil within media discourses, particularly in relation to broader socio-political debates concerning securitisation, multiculturalism and national identity (see also Meer et al: 2010 for an important exception). In an examination of the development of community cohesion policy and practice, drawn from interviews with key figures in its evolution and execution, Dwyer and Uberoi (2009) make a number of key arguments concerning the positioning of British Muslims. Firstly, they identify that in the wake of 7/7, ‘community cohesion discourses did become entwined with government responses to wider public anxieties about political Islamism and terrorism’ (214), but that this represented a shift in the way that community cohesion was articulated rather than an actual change in policy. With government speeches appearing to ‘emphasise the more ideological or cultural elements of the discourse, particularly a focus on the meaning of Britishness (214-5). The need for ministers to be seen to responding to public fears and media debates (notably over Muslim extremism, migration and integration) is identified as a further tension within community cohesion discourses, whereby such issues are ‘often susceptible to highly racialised framings (218). The Prevent Violent Extremism (PVE) fund launched in 2007 by the British Government and partially in response to the 7/7 London bombings, accentuated the complex positioning of Muslims.

³ On October 5th 2006, Jack Straw, then Labour leader of the Commons and a former Home Secretary used his weekly column in the *Lancashire Telegraph* to ask Muslim women in Britain to remove their niqabs which he felt hindered community relations. This became widely known as the ‘niqab affair’.

PVE as delivered alongside community cohesion funding was identified as highly contentious, with Muslim communities further demonised through the signification of extremism as a Muslim issue (Glynn: 2009, Kundnani: 2008). In terms of community relations, the consequences were complex: 'while Muslim communities may have felt that they had received undue attention from government policymakers, the backlash is that other groups were once again concerned that Government money was being distributed unfairly and that Muslim concerns were being given too much prominence' (Dwyer and Uberoi: 2009: 217). Furthermore, entanglement of security discourses and practices of nationhood, national identity and belonging facilitated the 'domopolitical' (Walters: 2004) incorporation of 'domestic' policies, such as community cohesion and integration into securitization policies, with real effects for those bodies deemed threatening (Amoore: 2006, Fekete: 2004, Kundnani: 2007). As Hopkins and Smith (2008), outline: "'the West" once again lines up with "the Rest", displacing the niceties of recognition with the indignity of biometric profiling, tagging, tracking and targeting' (110). My research draws on and develops this literature concerning the representation of Muslims within contemporary discourses of terrorism and social policy by examining media coverage of a number of high profile terror raids upon suspects' homes as well as responses to the 'niqab affair'. I will be paying particular attention to how such representations may be spatialised, racialised and gendered, including how particular groups, communities, and neighbourhoods become constructed as a threat. In addition to this, I am interested in how such narratives utilise or become embedded within broader socio-political discourses concerning national identity, multiculturalism and citizenship and how these are framed through race. In the next section I examine contemporary theorisations of race and racism, drawing out the connections between the resurgence of academic interest in the construction and empirics of racism in relation to the geopolitical.

Mapping geographies of race, racism and Islamophobia

The literature reviewed above reflects some of the changing context for research upon race and racism, highlighting the increasing significance of the intersections between ethnicity, religion and race, which have reshaped the lexicon of race (Jackson: 2008). The reworking of racialised discourses within socio-political debates concerning multiculturalism, integration and community cohesion, demonstrate the significance of geographical imaginaries within contemporary British politics of race and ethnicity (Dwyer and Bressey: 2008a). Examination of the micropolitics/scales of everyday constructions of and encounters with difference constituted a key initial response to the policy debates concerning segregation and community cohesion (Amin: 2002, Fortier: 2007, Valentine: 2008). There has been an emphasis on adopting a relational approach to examining the 'construction of racialised difference', whereby 'what happens 'here and now' is profoundly affected by what happens at other times and in other places' (Jackson: 2008: 299) including examinations of historical events, trends and continuities (Bressey: 2008, McDowell: 2008). The importance of place has also increasingly been incorporated into sociological approaches to race and racism (Knowles: 2003 and 2010, Alexander and Knowles: 2005). Within geography there has been an extension of the sites and spaces within which race and racism can be examined, particularly in relation to notions of 'whiteness' (Bonnett: 2000, Shaw: 2007), the rural (Neal: 2002, Garland and Chakraborti: 2006, Holloway: 2007) and intercultural exchanges (Nayak: 2003, Clayton: 2008, Kyriakides et al: 2009). In terms of theorising race, within both sociology and geography, a key conceptual strand has been to focus upon the materialisation of race and racism. I want to focus upon this for the remainder of the section, particularly in relation to Islamophobia, a term which has become increasingly used to discuss racism which is identified as specifically anti-Muslim.

The Runnymede Trust's report *Islamophobia a challenge for us all* (1997) was undertaken in recognition that racist attacks were increasingly 'explicit, more extreme and more dangerous' (3). They identified that the problem of anti-Muslim prejudice required a new

legal term such as 'religious and racial violence' whereby 'the term racial violence' was no longer adequate. Birt (2009) notes that public debate within Britain over Islamophobia has tended to focus on 'when is criticism of Islam rational and not phobic or irrational and driven by fear and hatred', with this emphasis arising from 'concerns to preserve free speech whilst reassessing the impact of ridicule and mockery to the religious symbols of marginalised religious groups' (217). Drawing on Werbner (1997), Birt thus proposes that Islamophobia is better understood in terms of identity theory as 'a form of cultural racism that specifically attacks the sanctified religious symbols of Islam and seeks to silence collective Muslim voices in the public sphere' (217). This identification of religion as a marker of identity subject to discrimination and racial violence needs to be contextualised within developments concerning the construction of racism and anti-racism legislation. During the 1980s, a number of academics discussed the presence of a 'new racism' (Gilroy: 1987, Hall: 1992) based on cultural differences rather than the notions of biological difference and inferiority that informed 'old' racisms, which were no longer politically or intellectually viable (Dunn et al: 2007). This however implies a problematic departure or demarcation from the logic of 'biological racisms' (Hubbard: 2005).

Modood (2005) prefers to distinguish between 'colour racism' and 'cultural racism' in order to provide a more tangible distinction between forms of racism, unsettling the black-white relationship through which he argues racism has historically been defined. For Modood, colour racism tends to be attributed to physical characteristics, for example he contends that 'the putative defects or strengths of black culture are attributed to aspects of their physicality – such as low IQ or rhythm' (7), whilst cultural racism 'appeals to cultural motifs such as language, religion, family structures, exotic dress, cuisine and art forms' (7). Modood argues that Asians tend to suffer a double racism which compounds colour racism with cultural racism. In a discussion on the future of multiculturalism, Modood (2008) asserts that within this context 'the most important form of cultural racism today is anti-Muslim racism, sometimes called Islamophobia' (141).

Whilst acknowledging the need to unsettle the black-white distinction, I find the use of colour and cultural racism problematic in that it does not adequately allow for complex intersections of other markers of identity through which bodies are 'read', including slippage between the two, particularly with regard to how racist attitudes are converted into racist acts which depend upon physical selection (Dunn et al: 2007). Rather, I would argue that whilst there is a variation between the two logics, they must be seen as existing alongside one other, overlapping with each other in terms of how processes of racialisation occur. This criticism extends to the conceptualisation of Islamophobia. The construction of Islamophobia in the late 1990s needs to be contextualised in relation to anti-racism legislative protection, whereby at the time of the *Runnymede Trust* report, Muslims were not deemed to be a racial or ethnic group and so were not protected through racial discrimination legislation or through religious discrimination legislation which applied solely in Northern Ireland and protected Catholics (Allen: 2007, Modood: 2009)⁴. Protection against incitement to religious hatred became a key area of political debate and lobbying in relation to anti-Muslim bias. Whilst I understand the historicity behind the deployment of the term Islamophobia in relation to legislation, I am wary of using it due to its reification of religious markers of identity over other markers of difference and 'othering', particularly given that there has been little emphasis upon how Islamophobia is recognised and experienced within people's everyday lives. This is reflective of broader trends within approaches to race and racism which have focused upon the theorisation of race (Knowles: 2010, Bulmer and Solomos: 2004).

Knowles (2010) argues that dominant trends in race theory are 'over theorised and divorced from empirical research and political engagement at a time when political action is urgently needed' (15). In a review of new initiatives and directions, Knowles urges the need to re-materialise race and ethnicity through paying attention to the 'material substance of racial inequalities' (16), through focusing empirically upon 'how race matters and is made to matter, in space and through people and their activities and social relationships' (16). This

⁴ At the time of writing legislative protection against discrimination on grounds of religion/belief was being brought together through the proposed Single Equalities Act. In 2003 religious discrimination in employment was outlawed and in 2007 this was extended to discrimination in provision of goods and services.

approach includes examining the global, national and micro-scales and dimensions of race/race-making (ibid). A key contemporary approach to race and racism concerns the materialist ontology of race. Saldhana (2006) argues that rather than approach as an 'epistemological problem' he suggests it needs to be thought of as a 'materialist ontology' (9). Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theory of 'machinic assemblages' Saldhana argues for an understanding of race as 'unmediated connections' (10), proposing that 'far from being an arbitrary classification system imposed *upon* bodies, race is a nonnecessary and irreducible effect of the ways those bodies themselves interact with each other and their physical environment' (10). A focus upon the phenomenology of race is highlighted as central to understanding embodied, focused interactions between bodies in particular environments.

In response to a number of essays deploying strategies to capture 'more-than-representational' accounts of race, Jackson (2008) warns against pitting non-representational analysis in opposition to, or as an alternative to, constructionist accounts, arguing that constructionist approaches have 'sought to provide a detailed empirical, embodied and materialist account of specific processes of racialisation' (302). He proposes the need to develop approaches to geographies of race and racism which combine 'a more holistic account of the emergence of race – how it surfaces immanently in particular momentary encounters and how racialised meanings 'stick' to some bodies more than others – together with more historicised accounts of the *longue durée* of racialised discourse' (302). Amin (2010) in an examination of contemporary 'racist biopolitics' discusses the need to explore the historical dynamism of race within examinations of the 'racial present' in order to understand the interplay between different mobilizations of race. 'Codification and institutionalization' are identified as 'the staples of racial legacy' (6). Highlighting the importance of sensory and particularly visual regimes, Amin draws upon Saldanha (2006) to describe the 'sorting filters' through which 'bodily and cultural differences are sensed as racial differences', with this 'everyday doing of race' described as 'phenotypical racism' (7). Amin (2010) places phenotypical racism as a tool of racist biopolitics, arguing that 'biopolitical regimes, with their explicit rules and practices of order

based on bodily differentiation and discipline, regulate the state of alert towards the raced body' (9). 9/11 is identified as a primary referent in 'the sharp escalation' of racial biopolitics as 'a staple of a politics of community and community security' (10).

In relation to the War on Terror, Amin argues that 'past and new portrayals of threat and contamination are being given bite by states hastily cobbling together emergency powers permitting intrusive surveillance, arrest without warrant, illegal detention, foreign rendition, supported by hysterical media commentary calling for vigilance regarding veils, rucksacks, Urdu, gatherings in mosques, Islamic organisations, the behaviour of Muslim looking people in public and private' (10). Amin's approach is particularly useful in regard to how he combines an emphasis upon the historical continuity of race, emphasising its role as a tool of biopolitics, whilst promoting the need to empirically explore the 'intensity and experience of race' (13) which includes its materiality. Following Jackson (2008), I adopt an empirical approach which is constructionist yet allows for inclusion of embodied and material experiences of race and racism within the context of the geopolitical. In the following section I discuss contemporary research which examines everyday experiences of the geopolitical, including work which focuses upon citizenship, racism and identity.

As Pain (2010) has identified, there is a small body of empirical research examining the everyday impact(s) of the War on Terror, highlighting that those groups most affected are visible minority groups (also Askins: 2008). There is a notable focus on processes of racialisation running through this literature, particularly concerning religious identity. In a discussion of the everyday experiences of Muslims in Australia, Dunn and Kamp (2009) highlight how alongside verbal and physical racist incidents, their respondents expressed a general sense of non-belonging which arose from their feeling as though they were under suspicion, particularly in relation to media reportage and socio-political discourses concerning terrorism. In addition to this, Dunn and Kamp highlight trends of non-reporting of racist incidences, attributed in part to participants having either become accustomed to

such occurrences or disillusionment with formal reporting procedures (also Dunn and Kamp: 2009).

In a similar vein, Noble and Poynting (2008) critique nationalist ideologies of Australia as a 'relaxed and comfortable nation' through their examination of migrant experiences of discrimination, harassment and the impact they have upon citizenship practices and a sense of belonging. A pervasive culture of (largely white) fear is argued to centre upon Arab and Muslim Australians through 'panics over 'Lebanese crime', 'race rape' and the perceived threat of terrorism' (129) which has particular affects. Noble and Poynting highlight how the incidents of racism documented by participants 'ranged from incivility – behaviours that are perceived as rude and insulting – to outright violence and discrimination' (131). Such experiences are discussed by participants as 'pervasive and ordinary' (134) yet result in 'self-monitoring of behaviour' in order to 'fit in' and/or minimise risk of incidences (135). Tactics included staying at home, avoiding public spaces such as shopping malls and stopping using public transport. Noble and Poynting conclude that there is an 'intimate link between exclusion from space and national belonging, whereby the denial of 'cultural citizenship' (135), through incidences of abuse in local/national space is argued to 'disenfranchise' participants 'from participation in spaces of local and national belonging (137).

In terms of the UK context, it is important to include Hopkins' research (2004, 2006, 2007) with young Scottish Muslim men, which highlights the racialisation of religious markers of identity and the effects of racist incidents upon his participants everyday geographies of inclusion and exclusion. As noted previously, outside of Hopkins' work which focuses exclusively upon Scotland, there is very little contemporary research within geography and sociology specifically examining issues of discrimination, harassment and politics with Muslim groups, rather there is a range of examples of how incidents become incorporated into the participants' geographies of risk and constraint (see for example, Valentine et al: 2009 for a discussion of Somali young people, Green and Singleton: 2007 who explore young

Muslim women's use of leisure space, Bowlby and Lloyd-Evans for an examination of Muslim workers in the UK labour market).

Hörschelmann's (2008) research on young people's understandings of geopolitical events and particularly political cartoons, in Bradford explores fears about racism and terrorism. Participants from across ethno-religious groups reported some concerns over terrorist attacks, particularly on public transport and planes. However, these concerns were fairly minimal, with respondents from minority ethnic backgrounds feeling more threatened by a potential rise in racism than by the risk of possible terrorist attacks. Despite this very real fear which was based both on personal experiences of racism and recounted stories of racism/discrimination from friends, family and news media, the majority of participants across the study worried 'far more about the consequences of war for related and unrelated *others* in Afghanistan and Iraq' (145). Whilst for some these fears were bound up in diasporic connections to relatives in those or neighbouring countries, for others it was embedded within a 'strong sense of injustice as innocent people lost their lives in the conflicts' (145). Furthermore participants critiqued the British Government's involvement in the war, linking it to other economic and political interests, namely the oil industry and the draw of American Imperialism. The British Government's reluctance to acknowledge the strength of public opposition to the war in Iraq as expressed through anti-war protests, was another key narrative through which participants expressed frustration at the ineffectiveness of their political engagement. Hörschelmann's arguments concerning racism and political agency in relation to the War on Terror demonstrate the need to further explore young people's experiences of geopolitics and the impact they have upon their everyday lives and understandings of citizenship.

There is however little research linking socio-political discourses and experiences of social policy interventions by those communities and groups most targeted by them, there is very little research. An important exception to this is Staeheli and Nagel's longstanding exploration of identity, citizenship and politics with Arab-American and British Arab activists.

Staehele and Nagel (2006) use the concept topography to unsettle closed notions of home and citizenship as requiring loyalty to one nation state. They argue that for their Arab-American participants, conceptualisations of home were complex and full of shifting meanings, with many participants arguing that an attachment to homeland (the Middle East) did not detract from their participation in American politics of commitment to being American citizens. Conceptualisations of citizenship were thus often place-based with participants highlighting ties to both 'here' and 'there', whereby this 'ability to link homes and commitments in two places led to enhanced rather than diminished, commitment and contributed to respondents' sense of Americanness'(18). Staehele and Nagel outline how a small number of participants expressed a sense of citizenship which 'deterritorialized home' with home often linked to culture rather than place. They argue persuasively however that underpinning these narratives was evidence of a 'reterritorialization through place-based activism'(18).

This focus upon the connections between multiple homes and place-based citizenship practices is further developed in Staehele and Nagel's (2008a) examination of British Arab activists' discussions of integration. Again participants maintain a strong commitment to 'homeland' which is balanced with a sense of responsibility and obligation to Britain. Integration is argued to reflect 'a commitment to participation in the places where they live, but does not require residential mixing, assimilation or denial of connections to their homeland' (417). Staehele and Nagel use the descriptors 'here' and 'there' to illustrate their participants overlapping 'geographical affinities' (417) arguing that citizenship needs to be reconceptualised as place based, whereby 'integration is based on the obligation to participate in one's place of residence rather than on cultural membership' (425), allowing for a multiplicity of commitments to nation states; to both 'here' and 'there'. This stands in contrast to contemporary discourses of social cohesion and citizenship which prioritises a primacy of loyalty to Britain with an emphasis on national values and characteristics. Furthermore, anti-Arab sentiment is identified as impinging on participants attempts to integrate or be seen as capable of integrating. Staehele and Nagel draw out how their participants' conceptualisations of integration requires a reciprocal relationship 'involving

'dialogue' and 'bridge building' between distinctive but equal groups' (427), which demands the need for mainstream British society to both recognise cultural diversity and the need to change. These findings are crucial to challenging dominant conceptions of citizenship, particularly in relation to ideas of transnational affinities as evidence of social segregation, a lack of willingness to integrate or enact meaningful commitments to citizenship.

Clayton's (2008) discussion of everyday geographies of marginality and encounter in Leicester in relation to the 'productive capacity of multiculturalism' (255) highlights the need to examine the spatiality of inter-ethnic encounters. Clayton's findings challenge representations of Leicester as a model of successful 'race relations', arguing that his white working-class respondents articulate particular and complex spatial marginalities and processes of defensive territorialisation. Clayton problematises the simplistic notions of encounter posited in community cohesion discourses, arguing that 'knowledge of and physical co-presence with those seen as different is no guarantee of progressive relations, particularly for those in fragile economic and social positions who have not accrued the social and cultural capital (Bourdieu: 1996) to deal with such encounters' (265). Finally, Staeheli and Nagel's (2008) focus on the lived experience of social policy for American-Arab and British Arab activists in the context of government securitisation strategies demonstrates how for religious/racialised communities such policies and their technologies have increased fear and insecurity. Such findings highlight the need for further examination of the impact of security discourses, policies and legislation upon those communities who find themselves positioned as the objects of such securitisation strategies. Taken together this small body of literature demonstrates overlapping concerns regarding the everyday impact of the geopolitical, including social policy upon particular communities, with an emphasis upon examining processes of racialisation, marginality and (in)security.

Conclusions

The need to re-materialise social, cultural and political geography underpins sections of this review. My research addresses an urgent need to produce grounded understandings of some of the impact of the War on Terror upon Muslim communities. I have highlighted how interests within feminist geopolitics and geographies of race and racism concerning the production and experience of racism within the context of the geopolitical converge through a focus on the everyday. My empirical research develops both literatures regarding how racism is experienced, negotiated and resisted in relation to the geopolitical. Whilst I am interested in the empirics of racism, my focus is upon exploring the impact of racism upon the everyday. I position my research as open to exploring racism as 'more than representational' (Lorrimer: 2005 in Jackson: 2008: 302). I combine an examination of both the construction and representation of racialised discourses concerning terrorism with a focus on how such representations and policies are experienced. In doing so, I shall draw upon theorisations of the materiality of race and the significance of racism as phenotypical and ocular. One of the main questions I seek to address in my research is how the War on Terror has impacted upon my participants' emotional geographies of home, identity and belonging. In examining experiences of racism I shall pay particular attention to the spatiality of racism and its impact upon ideas and practices of home and belonging. Through focusing on home and its intersections with public space, I develop understandings of how racism operates and is experienced and negotiated across scale.

One of the themes underpinning work within different sections which touch upon the 'othering' of Muslim women, is the visibility of veiling as a marker of religious identity within public space. The veil itself is seen to be imbued with shifting and highly contested religious, social and political meanings. Veiling practices as enacted in public space becoming the site of complex socio-political, community and familial relationships which operate spatially, affecting mobility, identity and belonging. This raises complex questions concerning the public and the private, whereby veiling is both a private and individual yet public practice.

However, much of the work I have discussed was carried out prior to the War on Terror. In my research I shall explore the impact that contemporary (and contested) geopolitical connotations of the veil as signifying extremism, may have affected my participants' experiences, understandings and narratives of covering, identity and belonging. I am particularly interested in examining the possibilities of fashion as a means through which my participants can resist, subvert and resituate themselves within the various discourses of veiling within which they find themselves positioned. Such discourses include socio-political constructions of nationhood, national identity, home and belonging, in which the veil has become a contested discursive marker.

The ideological construction of home as a safe haven is integral to my discussion of geopolitical evocations of home and national identity in contemporary discourses of global security and the War on Terror. I have argued that the construction of homeland security within the United States both mobilises and collapses scales of home within a politics of identity, security and belonging which is mapped onto the individual home and the nation as home. This politics of security is reliant upon binaries of the familial and alien, in which a racialisation of religious identity has increasingly positioned Muslim bodies as the ultimate 'other'. I have outlined how this perpetuation of an exclusionary and racialised politics of insecurity has precipitated a rise in racial violence which should in itself be seen as an alternative form of 'homeland insecurity' (Blunt and Dowling: 2006: 172). Whilst much of the literature I have examined focuses upon the United States, my research will expand upon this through its focus upon the geopolitical evocation of domestic fear and security within Britain. It is important to note that I am not arguing that Britain is similarly being constructed as a homeland. Rather I intend to examine how contemporary socio-political discourses of fear and national security utilise particular socio-historic, gendered and racialised 'imaginative geographies' (Gregory: 1995). In exploring print media reportage of a number of 'terror raids', as well as the 'niqab affair', I examine how different evocations and scales of home, as well as representations of Muslim women, are utilised. Furthermore I draw out how contemporary socio-political debates and 'domopolitical' (Walters: 2004) policies concerning national terror threats, multiculturalism, and citizenship are mobilised.

In framing my study through the focal point of home across different scales, I aim to examine the intersections between the geopolitical and the materiality of the everyday. In examining both imaginaries of home and home as a material space I will further develop understandings of how home operates as a site of identity. In particular, I have drawn upon work by Young (1997) and hooks (1991) which has served to reclaim home as site of liberation, identity and potential resistance. Whilst these critiques of home are written from different positions, both highlight the centrality and intertwining of emotional work and homemaking practices as integral to the manifestation of a positive conception of home. This highlights the need to continue to hold such evocations of home in place as part of a multiplicity of contradictory relationships invoked by and lived through the domestic sphere. The intertwining of identity and belonging within the material and emotional creation or recreation of home is central to my discussion of mobile and multi-scalar geographies of home. I have focused upon the importance of recognising the fluidity and temporality of experiences of home making and belonging. In doing so, I have highlighted the importance of recognising a sense of 'being at home' as an embodied state which is not necessarily related to a particular place. A central focus of the thesis is how the War on Terror has impacted upon my participants' geographies of home, identity and belonging. I am interested in the importance of both imaginaries of home and the home as a site of material practices for my participants. I shall draw out the spatiality of my participants experiences particularly in relation to the intersections between the public and the private, the 'stretching of home' and the prevalence of ideas of home as a safe haven in relation to the impact of the geopolitical.

In terms of the enmeshing of home and identity I draw upon the work of Dwyer, who argues that 'making of identity is also a process of making home' (2002: 196), in which the negotiation and prioritisation of different identifications (or facets of identity) at different times and in different spaces forms part of the negotiation of a contested politics of belonging and resistance. In studying the home as a geopolitical site, I aim to contribute to the conceptualisation of the home as a political site/scale which stretches beyond the domestic, interfacing and intersecting with different 'public' spaces and scales. Through

exploring the impact of the War on Terror upon ideas of citizenship, home and the spatiality of belonging, I aim to further contemporary theorisations of citizenship as place-based.

As well as developing research within political geography through my focus upon home and everyday experiences of the geopolitical, my findings will contribute to the literature on Muslim identity within geographies of religion and social/cultural geographies of home more broadly. My focus upon the material home as a site of ethno-religious identity contributes to both a grounding of geopolitics and geographies of religion, which for the most part centres upon the materiality and politics of formal spaces of worship within public space. Whilst there is a breadth of research focusing upon gendered Muslim identity within Britain, particularly in relation to home, much of this predates the War on Terror, and lacks a material focus. Furthermore, issues of race, racism and the geopolitical tend to be a secondary focus. My study thus provides a timely intervention into this literature through focusing broadly upon ideas of home, identity and belonging in the context of the War on Terror for Muslim women. More broadly, I shall draw connections between socio-political processes and my participants' everyday geographies, identities and agency. Examining the importance of visibility in relation to the racialisation of religious identity and experiences of racism is central to my research. I am particularly interested in exploring ideas of the public and private in relation to my participants' experiences and negotiations of racism and their religious practices, identity and citizenship. This again will contribute to understandings of the spatiality of home, identity and belonging within the context of the impact of the geopolitical.

Chapter Three

From rhetoric to reality... discussing the actuality of the research process

A central theme of this thesis is a concern with the materiality of home, belonging and identity in relation to the geopolitical. One of the aims in this chapter is to explore the complexities of how to capture the materiality and emotionality of everyday life. Indeed, one of the methodological questions I felt my research raised from the outset concerned a problematising or questioning of the home as a research site, when it becomes both site for, and object of the research. This forms a primary strand of discussion. Running alongside this is an examination of the importance of recognising and reflecting upon the socio-spatial dynamic of research encounters. Thirdly, I have focused upon the importance of approaching research as a social and embodied encounter. I explore the importance of moments of sameness, difference, connection and resistance as a means through which to challenge outsider/insider dichotomies. In doing so, I aim to explore some of the messiness of the research process; the shift from rhetoric to reality, which often gets lost or obscured within the process of writing up (Crang: 2003).

I begin this chapter by discussing contemporary methodological debates and positioning my approach. I then examine the main methods used in my research: discourse analysis, individual and group interviews. The third part of the chapter explores the problematic of researching the home, when it becomes both the focus of and (potentially) the site of the research encounter. I unsettle simplistic notions of home as an empowering interview site for participants by examining how I was unable to access participants' homes. In doing so, I make a geographical argument concerning methodology through discussing the implications of using community group premises for my participants. I then draw upon the importance of using auto-photography as a means of researching identity and home without being 'in-situ'. Finally, I outline how I approached interpreting my 'research data' in order to try and capture the embodied, sensory, material and emotional aspects of my participants' responses.

Grounding my approach; exploring positionality, reflexivity and ethics

Feminist geographers have been at the forefront of questioning the production of geographic knowledge, particularly regarding questions of objectivity, positionality and power. This has led to the development of feminist approaches to research which acknowledge the partiality of the research process and the importance of reflexivity (Haraway: 1991). Early approaches, aimed to challenge the hierarchical power relationship between the researcher and the researched, have been critiqued as essentialist due to their reliance upon the production of an insider/outsider binary. Rose (1997) outlines how feminist conceptualisations of power relations within the research relationship, coupled with the call for transparent reflexivity, meant that:

The relationship between researcher and researched can only be mapped in one of two ways; either as a relationship of difference, articulated through an objectifying distance; or as a relationship of sameness, understood as the researcher and researched being in the same position. The contradiction is that the latter is impossible while the former is unacceptable. (313)

Rose (1997) argues that it is through this contradiction that other possibilities come into view, through a conceptualisation of interviewing as a performative 'process of constitutive negotiation' (316) between the researcher and the researched. Drawing on the work of Butler, Rose outlines the relational character of identity, as made through mutually constitutive social relations and performances of self, whereby 'social identity is made and remade through the research process' (315). As such, Rose argues that the research process is always uncertain, complex and incomplete. Drawing upon and developing Rose's understanding of research as performative, Valentine (2002) outlines that it is through an exploration of 'the tensions, conflicts and unexpected occurrences which emerge in the research process ... [that we] might begin to decentre our research assumptions, and

question the certainties that slip into the way we produce knowledge' (126). Similarly, Falconer Al-Hindi and Kawabata (2002) argue that attention needs to be paid to how research participants position and interpret their relationships with the researcher(s). This includes incorporating their insights, comments and reactions concerning the researcher within analysis of the research encounter in part as further exploration of participants identities, values and beliefs.

This contemporary focus on the recognition of research positions as multiple, flexible and fashioned through a process of interaction is coupled with gradual transformations as to the way qualitative methods are conceived, carried out and interpreted (Davies and Dwyer: 2007, Latham: 2003, Crang: 2003). Questions of emotion, embodiment and the performativity of place within research encounters are at the forefront of current methodological discussions and reflection (Valentine: 2003, Widdowfield: 2000, Davies and Dwyer: 2007). The recognition of the importance of emotion and its incorporation as a field of examination occurred primarily within the field of health geography and in particular, that of chronic illness, disability and mental health (Anderson and Smith: 2001) and more recently in geographies of affect (Brennan: 2005, Thrift: 2004, Thein: 2005).

Whilst acknowledging that there are different theoretical perspectives within this range of literature, Davies and Dwyer (2007) argue that despite this, the research practice produced has all contributed to 'reformulating what it means to know something' and opened up social science research to 'the different kinds of knowing produced through embodiment or emotionality' (258). This has in part been achieved through the increasing acknowledgement and exploration of different methods for 'invoking the emotional and the implications for strategies of interpretation' (258) which have begun to shape such research. In seeking to explore emotional and embodied experiences of social life, there has been an emphasis upon the constitution and negotiation of subjects and knowledge as occurring through material practises in specific sites (Dyck and McLaren: 2004). This approach offers resistance to a separation of, or dichotomy between the material and immaterial through its

conclusions concerning the interrelatedness of place, emotion, embodiment and materiality.

The emphasis upon studying relational and emotional relationships to place raises particular methodological challenges, whereupon there has been a call to both develop new techniques and to adapt and 'imbue traditional' (Latham: 2003: 2000) methods in order to recognize and reflect upon the routine, emotional and embodied aspects of everyday social worlds, lives and interactions (Pratt: 2000, Latham 2003, Crang: 2003). Davies and Dwyer (2007) document the increasing development of experimental methods (including walking ethnographies, urban explorations and the use of visual methods such as photography), which have emerged in response to this challenge (Latham; 2003, Lorimer: 2005)⁵. The challenges faced in writing up research have also received increasing critical attention in terms of interpreting and representing the complexity of such accounts. Dyck and McLaren (2004) discuss how reflecting upon the particularities of place and the 'finer scale dynamics' of their interviews with immigrant and refugee women, facilitated an understanding of the 'multi-layered and multi-scaled' context of the women's accounts. Their focus and reflection on the scale of the body, facilitated recognition of how the women's active participation within the research agenda challenged, produced and reframed their categories of analysis. Through conceptualising research as a form of performance, Latham (2003) argues that there has been a deflection away 'from looking at depth (in the sense of a single unified truth)' which 'directs us towards detail (in the sense of a fuller and more variegated picture of the interviewee)' (2007). The increasing acknowledgement and reflection upon the relational, emotional and embodied aspects of research practice, as well as the importance of recognising the research process as a form of performance with tensions, gaps and ambiguities, rather than an overarching 'truth' strongly influenced my methodological approach.

⁵ I will be discussing the development of new methods through which to examine the home further on within this section.

Towards a collaborative approach

A further interrelated methodological development which shaped my research design relates back to questions of power and positioning within research. Valentine (2003) documents developments within geographies of disability in which researchers' commitment to developing an 'enabling geography' has 'sought to define new ways of establishing genuinely collaborative research partnerships with disabled people' (377). This has included involving research participants in the design and conduct of research, the interpretation and dissemination of results. Whilst the practicalities of implementing 'enabling geographies' are not without their limitations (Dyck: 1999), as Valentine (2003) argues, this only 'serves to reinforce the need for research and activism to be united in a single political process' (379). I was highly aware that my research would potentially be both ethically and emotionally challenging, given its focus. Bingley (2002) argues that qualitative methods entail 'the deliberate use of personal interactions and relationships with other people in order to explore behaviour ideas experience memories and so on' (210). As such, in asking people to take part in such research is 'to request them to open themselves up to the researcher's questions and queries' (210). This is exacerbated when researching sensitive and traumatic issues and experiences. As Panelli, et al (2004) argue, such topics 'raise concerns about the relationship between respondent and researcher' (452). I wanted to try and create a relationship between myself and my participants within which they could become active researchers.

Whilst I would not classify my research as Participatory Action Research (PAR), because it does not have collaborative outputs, nor did I work with participants to define the research agenda, it was informed by PAR principles, particularly in relation to positioning myself as the researcher. PAR can be primarily defined through its 'ethical and dialogic engagement', which underpins its commitment to research informed action (Kindon et al: 2007). As Kindon et al (2007a) outline, 'emphasis is placed on collaborative knowledge production and knowledges performed intersubjectively in and through research processes' (28). It suggests

that through the process of collaboration and using participatory methods, the researcher relinquishes control, becoming positioned more as a facilitator than a director of the research process, whereby knowledge and action should be produced between participants and academics as co-researchers (28). It is important to note that issues of power within PAR are subject to critique, particularly concerning the reality of power relations, hierarchy and governance, notably in relation to development agendas, as well as issues of coercion, foreclosure and domination/manipulation of participants (Kindon et al: 2007). These possibilities and the importance of critique should inform the practice of PAR as part of the process of reflection and action.

As Kesby et al (2007) argue in a discussion concerning the theorisation of PAR, empowerment and post-structuralism, 'acknowledging that PAR is enmeshed with power clarifies how it works as a spatial practice and how empowering effects might be spread and stabilised. We can no longer see PAR as a privileged, power free mode of research, and must see it as a situated contestable work in progress' (25). The importance of collaboration, relationalities and spatialities within PAR informed my methodological approach and my resultant methodology, particularly in relation to my focus upon the materiality and emotionality of the everyday in relation to the geopolitical. PAR emphasises inclusive methods and notably visual representations such as photography, art, maps and video (Kindon et al: 2007, Cahill: 2007). Certainly, as I discuss further on, my decision to include auto-photography as well as group interviews was influenced by the rise in visual methods partly associated with PAR approaches. In the following sections I discuss the reality of putting my methodology into practice, with a focus upon my approach to researching 'home'. I begin by outlining my use of discourse analysis as a framing device for my study.

Framing my thesis: examining the geopolitics of home.

As Meer et al (2010) argue, whilst there is a substantive body of work which discusses the positioning of Islam and Muslims within Britain, there is a lack of research which systematically deconstructs how 'accounts of nationhood and citizenship are invoked' (84) within such discussions. In framing my research through a discursive examination of mediated coverage of three terror plot home raids (beginning with the 7/7 bombings) and the immediate media response to the 'niqab affair', I seek to provide analysis as to how such mediated public discourses drew upon ideas of home, securitisation, nationhood and citizenship. Discourse analysis has been utilised (either explicitly as a methodology and/or an epistemological approach) within a range of geographic sub-disciplines and particularly urban geography (Lees: 2003 and 2004, Imrie and Raco: 2003) and political geography (Dodds: 2008, Dittmer: 2005 and 2007). There are two interrelated main strands of thought within discourse analysis. The structuralist strand is rooted in Marxist approaches to political economy and ideology (notably Gramsci's (1992) concept of 'cultural hegemony'), whilst the poststructuralist approach to discourse analysis is most strongly associated with the work of the French theorist Michel Foucault (1926-1984). Foucault saw discourses as particular ways of organising knowledge to serve specific types of power relations in which 'all knowledge is discursive and all discourse is saturated with power' (Rose: 2001: 138). It is important to note that in practice these two approaches are often mixed despite the tensions between the two (Lees: 2004). Discourses are articulated through a diversity of forms and practices and as such are inter-textual, in that the meaning of any discursive image or text is in part dependent upon the meanings carried by other texts and images. These connections of meaning are referred to as discursive formations (Rose: 2001: 136-7). My approach to discourse analysis broadly follows a Foucauldian understanding, that language, knowledge and power are all interconnected through discourse (Foucault: 1977).

There has, however, been little discussion concerning how to undertake discourse analysis (Lees: 2004, Dittmer: 2010). As Hoggart et al (2002) outline, it 'is a craft skill, something like

bike riding . . . which is not easy to render or describe in an explicit manner' (165). Drawing on Fairclough (1992), Dittmer (2010) identifies a three dimensional approach to analysis; text analysis, discursive practice and social practice. Textual analysis incorporates examination of the text itself, its vocabulary, structure and grammar, its rhetorical stance, organisation and authority. Discursive practice refers to the immediate context of the texts deployment and how it links to other debates and literatures. With regard to social context this includes the broader ideologies within which the discourse(s) are located. Making the connections between these three scales is identified as one of the main challenges to undertaking rigorous discourse analysis (Dittmer: 2010). Furthermore, as both Lees (2004) and Dittmer (2010) recognise, examination of the performance of discourse and their impacts upon the material world constitute an emergent theme within contemporary approaches to analysis. Lees (2004) argues in relation to linking discourse to activism in the context of urban social justice; 'discourse analysis could be used as the first step in an action research agenda rather than as an end in itself' (105). When designing my methodology I was very aware of a need to use discourse analysis as an entry into critically exploring the impact of the geopolitical upon the everyday across scale. In combining discourse analysis with an in-depth examination of the War on Terror upon my participants' everyday lives, I hope to examine some of the material effects of such geopolitical discourses.

To return to my analysis, I adopted an approach which sought to incorporate all three elements, in order to link the micro-scale examination of the text to wider themes and socio-political processes. In terms of selecting a breadth of texts whilst still ensuring my data collection was manageable, I chose to focus upon press reports from four daily national newspapers, two broadsheets: *The Telegraph* (a traditionalist, centre-right politically orientated paper which consistently supports the Conservative party) and *The Guardian* (a centre-left and socially liberal publication, which is seen as sympathetic to the Labour Party but also supports other centre/centre-left parties). I also included two tabloids: the *Daily Mail* (a 'middle-market' tabloid which is politically right-wing and consistently supports the Conservative party) and *The Mirror* (a 'mass-market' tabloid which is socialist in orientation and traditionally supports the Labour Party). It is important to note whilst I partly chose to

collect my data from these newspapers due to their different contexts of production, audience and social modality, with regard to carrying out my interpretative analysis I had to try and dismiss any preconceptions I may have had about the political positioning of each publication (Tonkiss: 2004 and Gill: 1996). This was particularly important regarding being open to the recognition of internal variation within each text (Khiabany and Williamson: 2008).

Regarding practicalities, I used the Lexis-Nexis database of national newspapers to select my material, using a small number of keywords for each event I wanted to examine. I analysed 262 articles regarding the home raids carried out after the 7/7/2005 London bombings, failed 21/7/2005 bombings and the ‘airline terror plot’ in August 2006. With regard to limiting my search I chose to search articles published up to ten days after each event. In addition to this, I included articles published during the culmination of the criminal trials held for the 21/7 ‘failed bombings’ in June 2007 and the ‘airline terror plot’ in September 2008 (see Table One). I chose not to use a time limit but included articles from across the time span of the trial. I made this decision to allow for examination of how discourses may shift over time. I did however choose to apply a calendar month time limit to my selection of articles concerning the ‘niqab affair’ in October 2006. Again I used key words including veil, niqab and Jack Straw to search the database.

Event	Number of articles	Date range for articles	Search keywords
London Bombings	60	7/7/2005-14/7/2005	7/7, London bombings, home raids
Failed London bombings	45	21/7/2005 – 28/7/2005	21/7, London bombings, failed London bombings
Failed London bombings criminal	51	15/01/2007-9/07/2007	21/7 failed London bombings trial, 21/7, London bombings, failed

trial (first trial)			London bombings
Airline Terror Plot	40	10/7/2006- 20/7/2006	Airline terror plot trial, Airline terror plot, chemical plot, chemical explosives, home raids
Airline Terror Plot criminal trial (first trial)	66	02/04/2008 - 8/11/2008	Airline terror plot, chemical plot, chemical explosives, home raids
Niqab Affair	92	5/11/2006- 05/12/2006	Jack Straw, Niqab affair, niqab, veil, Muslim women

Table One – articles for discourse analysis

Articles were coded in two stages. Firstly, I categorised them according to whether they comprised a) newspaper editorials or leaders, b) news items/features or c) columnist commentaries/opinion. Quite early on in my analysis I chose to focus mainly upon editorials and commentaries. This was partly to contain the volume of material for each analysis, but also in recognition of the fact that editorials and opinion pieces are not subject to the same constraints as news items with regard to factual reportage (Petley: 2006, Richardson: 2001). Secondly, I developed a coding framework through identifying key themes from within the texts, before beginning to unpick the relationships between the different themes and how they related to the social context of production (Dittmer: 2010). I chose not to use qualitative software and coded by hand, revisiting each text a number of times and paying particular attention to the interrelation of themes, before building a spreadsheet which mapped the different quotes and their thematic relationships.

An integral part of the process of deconstruction was the recognition and analysis of variations within texts and perceived ‘silences’. As well as deconstructing how particular discourses sought to persuade (Rose: 2001), I looked for moments of dissent within

discourses, particularly between themes, to examine how such dissent was acknowledged and explained. Identifying patterns of variation has been identified as integral to disrupting the 'smooth' appearance of a piece of discourse, which allows insights into any internal inconsistencies (Tonkiss: 2004: 89). Similarly, looking for textual silences allows the analyst to examine issues and explanations which are not in the text and remain 'unsaid' (89), which can help 'place the discourse in a wider interpretative context' (89). I found that this notion of textual silence was particularly pertinent in relation to deconstructing discourses of national identity which worked on implicit and racialised notions of exclusion and inclusion.

As well as examining the rhetoric and construction of the texts, I also included analysis of images. McAuliffe (2007) highlights the importance of visual representations of people and places in relation to understanding issues of identity and belonging, arguing that such representations are central to the construction of essentialised stereotypes (also Rose: 2001). In relation to print media, photographs are used as evidence to back-up the reportage; a form of 'witnessing' of events which works to stabilise the article (Geraghty: 2000). Richardson (2004) argues that photographic images in a journalistic context remain imbued with connotations of objective evidence, and are thus used as proof of a 'professional norm of objectivity' (45). Whilst I only draw upon a small number of images within my analysis, as photographs tended to accompany news features rather than editorials and commentaries, following Rose (2001) I deconstructed the images as part of the discursive formation, paying attention to composition, the claims of the image, its relationship with the text and wider social practice. As I proceeded with my analysis I began to focus upon how images acted as forms of evidence and legitimisation in relation to the construction of opinion pieces. This reflection upon the 'doing' of my discourse analysis is important particularly given that there has been little interrogation of discourse analysis as a method. I want to now discuss the methods used in the second strand of my fieldwork, with the following section focusing upon the reality of accessing participants once 'in the field'.

Knock, Knock Knocking on closed doors: recruitment and access

Overall I worked with 36 women (see Table Two below, Table Three and appendix one for fuller participant details). Five women were interviewed individually, with thirty one women interviewed using a group interview format. Over half of the group interview participants attended two group interviews and were invited to carry out an auto-photography exercise. In terms of sampling, my participants were, due to the nature of the research, 'self-selecting' with my criteria being that they were women who self-identified as Muslim (the extent to which they practised was unimportant) and were over sixteen years of age. Given the nature of the research I wanted to develop an in-depth study which captured and interpreted my participants' particular experiences, rather than produce generalised accounts or undertake wide-ranging survey data. From the outset, I decided to recruit participants through a range of organisations which could offer support for my participants. With regard to the ethics of participation, I was very aware that in asking participants to potentially discuss experiences of discrimination and racism, I was venturing into emotional, sensitive and traumatic territory. Indeed, one of the risks associated with researching emotive topics is that whilst respondents can find the research process 'therapeutic' this is not the purpose of the research (Bingley: 2002, Lowes and Gill: 2006). Whilst this approach can be critiqued in terms of not seeking the 'missing voices' of those who are not aligned to community organisations, I feel that regarding my responsibilities and role as a researcher it was important that my participants were accessing 'professional' emotional and practical support concerning their experiences. This however meant that I was reliant upon gatekeepers in developing access to participants, as Heath et al (2004) outline; 'in the "real world" in which we conduct our research... researchers remain dependent on the goodwill of gatekeepers to a very large extent' (26).

Name	Location	Age	Ethnicity
Khoulah	London	25	American

Shoma	Bristol	29	British-Bengali
Maryam	Bristol	29	British-Bengali
Aasma	Bristol	36	British-Bengali
Sara	Bristol	39	British-Bengali
Husbana	Bristol	45	British-Bengali
Kusum	Bristol	62	British-Bengali
Rana	Bristol	58	British-East African Indian
Khaduah	London	23	British-Jamaican
Favel	Bristol	16	British-Pakistani
Nina	Bristol	16	British-Pakistani
Nasraa	Bristol	17	British-Pakistani
Zainab	Bristol	23	British-Pakistani
Yasmeen	London	24	British-Pakistani
Alara	London	27	British-Pakistani
Nazreen	Bristol	27	British-Pakistani
Parveen	London	28	British-Pakistani
Naima	London	29	British-Pakistani
Rashida	Bristol	29	British-Pakistani
Khadija	Bristol	31	British-Pakistani
Sheila	Bristol	38	British-Pakistani
Abeda	Bristol	55	British-Pakistani
Shemla	Bristol	64	British-Pakistani
Hannah	London	20	Dutch
Hadiya	Bristol	16	Somali
Hope	Bristol	16	Somali
Mariam	Bristol	24	Somali
Suad	Bristol	29	Somali
Ishmahan	Bristol	30	Somali
Firdous	Bristol	36	Somali
Safia	Bristol	40	Somali
Habareyo	Bristol	41	Somali
Sarah	Bristol	16	Sudanese
SR	Bristol	18	Sudanese
Umm-Zayol	London	24	British-Turkish Cypriot
Amina	London	56	British-Turkish Cypriot

Table Two – Participants by ethnicity, age and location

Initially I chose East London as a single case study site, focusing on Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, Lewisham and Newham, due to their different demographic compositions and patterns of immigration and settlement. However, in reality accessing participants in these boroughs proved extremely difficult. Firstly, the context of my research needs to be acknowledged, as Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkett (2008) identify in their discussion of research encounters with gatekeepers in Bradford, it is important to understand the intersecting local, national and global 'climates of fear and suspicion' within which particular Muslim communities are positioned, which coupled with the related prominence of Bradford as a research site produces a sense of being besieged. Similarly Hopkins and Gale (2009a) acknowledge the increasing focus upon Muslim communities as the subjects (and objects) of research, whereby researching with and writing about Muslim communities is 'an unavoidably political exercise' (1).

I found that within Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest and Newham there was a sense of research fatigue amongst the community groups I contacted. This was in part due to my research coinciding with the launch of Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) pathfinders in all three boroughs. However, whilst women's groups were targeted as key stakeholders I argue that it also relates more broadly to the rise in academic and policy interest in working with Muslim communities in London, particularly in relation to 7/7. For example, as a director of a Tower Hamlets based youth group put it, 'You're the fourth person to contact me this month; you know it's like 'please not another researcher!' (Field work notes 14/03/2008). Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert (2008) argue that 'increasing research weariness may be part and parcel of the climate of fear and suspicion; wariness as opposed to 'weariness' mutually reinforce each other' (552).

Whilst it is important not to homogenise the situated socio-spatial legacies of different communities, I would argue that this notion of research weariness/wariness contributed to the resistance and refusals I encountered within East London. I had however been able to

hold individual interviews with four participants in London, three of whom represented national Muslim organisations, as well as a group of five women through a mosque-based women's group in Lewisham (see Table Two and Table Three). I then chose to shift my focus from East London to Bristol. I recruited participants for group interviews through two community organisations, which identified as providing services to specific South-Asian communities, an educational trust which was primarily for the Somali community and a young women's group which was part of a cross-cultural Muslim organisation. In addition to this, I interviewed a community worker in Bristol who worked with victims of racial harassment (see Table Three for an outline of participation, Table Two for participant demographics and also appendix one for a fuller account of participants' details).

Upon contacting community groups in Bristol, I found they were subject to considerably less research interest than those in London. Consequently, I found it far easier to arrange initial meetings with gatekeepers who were generally surprised to be approached and enthusiastic (although still cautious) as to what the research would entail and the intentions behind the project. Whilst I discuss positionality further on, I want to note that I was aware when meeting women in the interview setting that whilst I had largely been positioned by gatekeepers through my differences from the participants, they had however stressed the aims and objectives of the research project as an opportunity for the participants to 'be heard'. In doing so, they positioned me as someone who was genuinely interested in listening and giving voice to their experiences, shifting my positionality. Initial concerns I harboured over the possibility of gatekeepers limiting participants' potential to exercise choice regarding their participation (Skelton: 2001, Valentine; 1997) were partially alleviated through my discussions with participants concerning why they wanted to participate, coupled with reassurances that they were free to withdraw from the process at any point without explanation. It is also important to reflect upon the implications such a recruitment strategy had concerning the profile of participants. I argue that the thematic issues raised by my participants concerning citizenship and ethno-religious identity were shaped through their involvement with, and commitment to, the community or religious organisations through which I recruited. Whilst I do not see this as necessarily problematic or a weakness

of the research, particularly given the diversity of my participants ethno-religious identities, I feel it is important to both acknowledge it from the outset and reflect upon it where relevant within my empirical chapters.

Date of Interview	Type of interview	Location	Attendees (A) denotes participation in auto-photography exercise
July 26 th 2008	Individual	Housing estate community room in which participant organised a group for new Muslim women	Alara
August 7 th 2008	Individual	Participant's office	Parveen
September 10 th 2008	Individual	Participant's office	Yasmeen
September 18 th 2008	Individual	Participant's office	Naima
December 18 th 2008	Group	A mosque in Lewisham (mosque based women' group)	Umm Zayol, Khaduah, Khoulah and Amina
January 21 st 2009	Group	A mosque in Lewisham (mosque based women' group)	Umm Zayol (A), Hannah, Khoulah and Amina (A)
February 12 th 2009	Individual	A mosque in Lewisham (mosque based women' group)	Khoulah (A)

March 10 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering services to South Asian women	Rashida, Abeda, Shemla, Rana, Sheila
March 27 th 2009	Individual	Participant's office	Ishmahan
March 31st	Group	Organisation offering services to South Asian women	Rashida (A), Abeda (A), Shemla (A), Rana (A), Sheila (A), Khadija, Zainab
April 15 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women	Maryam, Shoma, Aasma
April 29 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women	Sara, Husbana, Kusum
May 5 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering educational services mainly to the Somali community	Suad, Safia, Firdous, Habareyo
May 19 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering educational services mainly to the Somali community	Suad (A), Safia, Firdous, Habareyo, Mariam
May 19 th 2009	Individual	Organisation offering educational services mainly to the Somali community	Suad (A) (Suad stayed on after the group interview to continue her discussion of images – I have categorised this as an additional individual interview).

June 11 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25	Nazreen, Hope, SR, Sarah, Hadiya, Nasraa, Favel, Nina
July 17 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25	Hope, SR, Sarah, Hadiya, Nasraa, Favel, Nina
August 26 th 2009	Group	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25	Hope, SR (A), Sarah, Hadiya, Favel, Nina (A)

Table Three – outline of participation

The realities of collaboration: using group and individual interviews

When designing my research I had wanted to use a series of two group interviews followed by an auto-photography exercise, and then an individual interview in the home, within which we would discuss the images taken and the material home more broadly. This schedule, designed to enable a process of reflection and feedback, was to enable participants to have an opportunity to present me with suggestions and feedback regarding the previous sessions, my initial analysis and the research method. This would enable me to design a collaborative framework in which respondents could take an active part in the interview process (Bankey: 2002, McDowell and Sharp: 1997). However, this design proved too time-consuming for my potential participants, which in itself is important to acknowledge and reflect upon. Certainly one of the reasons for refusal given by a range of organisations related to the time implications of my methodology. Recognising the validity of these critiques, I made clear to gatekeepers that this schedule was flexible and I revised my strategy in collaboration with my participants in each initial group interview. The majority of my participants committed to two group interviews (see Table Two). All interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and participants were assured of

anonymity in accordance with the ethical clearance received from my university research ethics committee⁶. All participants were given both information and a consent form which had been subject to ethical review and approval. My participants either chose a pseudonym or asked to be given one, depending on their personal preference. At the end of the first group interviews, I asked participants if they would like to take part in an auto-photography exercise. If they were willing to do so they were given a disposable camera and asked to take photos over a period of a week, which they felt represented the themes we had discussed in the interviews. Whilst I wanted to do follow-up interviews in the home, the majority of women wanted to use a group interview format and all of the women wanted to continue to hold interviews in the community organisation setting, which I discuss further on.

Part of my decision to use group interviews related to the emotive nature of my research. I had an ethical duty to protect my participants and myself in terms of carrying out the interviews in ways which 'generate insight but do not unduly disturb the participants, so that both researcher and participant are left with more rather than less at the end of the fieldwork' (Bingley: 2002). As well as creating a supportive research environment I was interested in the potential for the group process to open up material which I had not considered. Furthermore, group interviews are argued to shift the balance of power away from the researcher (Kneale: 2001), with group members having more freedom to 'interpret the researcher's topics in their own terms' (Pratt: 2002: 215). Following Dyck (2006) I felt that group interviews provided an opportunity to promote a more 'inter-active, story-telling mode of imparting everyday experience' (5). All of the interviews were quite lively, with participants speaking over each other, taking the conversation in different directions and sparking comparisons. Despite the differences in participants' ages, identities and socio-economic positioning, the fact that they usually knew each other helped the generation of different ideas and depth of discussions. Whilst group interviews can help challenge the hierarchical positioning between the researcher and the researched, it is important to

⁶ Whilst the ethics of anonymity are themselves subject to debate in relation to power and ownership of the research process I do not have the scope to discuss this within my chapter given that my participants consented to anonymity without question.

recognise that other hierarchies and power relations are implicit within the operation of the group and its production of knowledge (Pratt: 2002). Throughout the interviews I sought to be attentive to this and alleviate any issues where possible through my facilitation. Boaco and Herman (2010) separate group interviews from focus groups arguing that focus groups are conversations between participants whilst group interviews are 'designed to generate multiple individual responses to a set of questions prompted by researchers (194). However, I found that with each set of participants the interviews incorporated both characteristics and allowed for peculiarities and discontinuities to arise.

For the first set of group interviews, I used a semi-structured approach dividing the interviews into three key areas based on my research questions. I began by asking participants to draw a diagram which showed different aspects of their identity or how they would describe themselves. This activity was designed both as an ice-breaker and also as a way of ascertaining which different facets of identity (for example religion, ethnicity, gender and occupation) were important to them. I then used the following broad themes: definitions of identity, perceptions and effects of the War on Terror, home and home life to structure the interview. In each of the group interviews, the women immediately discussed media representations of Muslims and the impact this had upon their identities and issues of belonging. Indeed, the media proved a dominant theme, with the women often referring back to the media in later stages of the discussions. Experiences of racism and discrimination similarly arose as a related key theme across the groups. I was initially surprised at the depth and openness with which the women relayed their experiences and felt that this was partly related to the group interview structure, whereby the women were familiar with each other and were often longstanding friends. In terms of my positioning, there was an assumption by research participants that I would not have shared their experiences and as such they went into quite a lot of detail at times concerning how racist experiences made them feel, because they wanted me to understand what I could not have experienced. Umm Zayol discussed her experiences outlining that people did not often realise she was of Turkish-Cypriot heritage due to her skin tone. Her experiences of discrimination related to wearing the niqab and so she positioned herself in relation to me

as white, often asking me 'can you imagine how I felt to suddenly experience abusive comments and intimidation based on my religious identity, when as a white person who didn't really practice Islam I had just been accepted'. Whilst this excerpt reveals a complexity with which people's bodies are read and marked out as different (which I discuss in Chapter Four), I want to highlight how Umm Zayol appealed to my positionality as 'white' in trying to help me gain an understanding of how she felt as a white woman experiencing racism for the first time, due to the visibility of her religious identity, which now marked her out as different.

My experiences stand in contrast to those of Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert (2008), who discuss how within their project, gatekeepers assumed 'the researcher' had shared 'life experiences' of racism due to their positioning as of South-Asian heritage. Moreover, in a discussion of Pakistani Muslim women and gender, Mohammed (2005a) compares and contrasts her research findings to those of Dwyer (2001), arguing that the discussions of racism elicited by Dwyer were linked to her positioning as a white researcher. Mohammed argues that in contrast to this, as a researcher of Pakistani-Muslim heritage, her participants assumed she too would have experienced racism and so shared an understanding of their experiences. Consequently, rather than discuss the 'taken for granted issue of racism', she outlines how some participants chose to use the research encounter as an opportunity to discuss other topics, notably their sexual identity. Mohammed related the prevalence of this topic to her positioning as a researcher, who shared the same ethnic heritage and understood the gender expectations experienced by the women, but was positioned differentially through her status as a divorcee and as an academic. This positioning meant that for some participants, Mohammed represented a 'safe' person with whom to discuss such issues. These examples serve to emphasise the complexity of positionality and the impact of differences and commonalities upon the research relationship and shared production of knowledge.

Conversely to my expectations (which reflects upon my own positionality and experience), underlying some of the women's anger concerning their racist experiences was a sense of acceptance, particularly for those of Somali heritage, who had very complex narratives of identity and belonging in relation to their position as asylum seekers/refugees. This changed however when talking about racist experiences in relation to their children whom they felt should not be subjected to such incidences. In these discussions, I invariably became positioned by my participants as someone who would understand their desire to protect their children, as well as their sense of injustice and frustration at being unable to prevent such incidences occurring. Within these narratives, my identity as a mother was drawn upon by my participants and racism was construed as a form of bullying, which enabled the possibility of an affinity of understanding, despite the continued foreclosure of either me or my child experiencing racism per se. The possibility of my experiencing racism as a white woman seemed outside of their conceptualisation, despite their complex discussions of racism as including incidences of intra-ethnic discrimination. This is significant in terms of their views on the power and hierarchy of whiteness.

Two of the groups raised issues of discrimination which lay outside of the scope of the research project. These related to experiences with maternity services where the women felt subject to discrimination due to their family size. Dyck and McLaren (2004) have discussed the negotiation of knowledge which occurs in interviews. Drawing on research concerning settlement issues with immigrant and refugee women in Canada, they outline how the women used the researchers' position 'in relation to the overall research programme of the Metropolis project in a purposeful way' (528), asking for information and help in accessing resources/employment as well as utilising the project to discuss grievances concerning the Canadian government. Whilst the research topic was addressed, for the participating women 'other stories were more prominent' (520), Dyck and McLaren highlight how research 'stories' are 'critical to opening up the categories that underpin policy-making and have consequences for how immigrants are positioned in relation to social and material resources' (525). In the case of my research, whilst the women's stories were tangential to my research topic, my participants clearly raised them in relation to my

position as a researcher, whom they felt had the power and authority to pass the information on. This highlights both the importance of recognising the interview as a mediated event (Dyck and McLaren 2004: 520) and the difficulties and tensions inherent within the positionality of the researcher-researched relationship, whereby I became situated as someone in a position of influence and power. What is also of interest is how the women addressed me as a fellow mother, asking about my experiences. Although it was clear they assumed I would not have experienced discrimination, they were interested in how I had been treated whilst under the care of maternity services and whether or not I had witnessed familiar stories of discrimination and/or experienced negligence. I felt I had an ethical responsibility to pass this information on and so in discussion with the Bristol branch of the National Childbirth Trust I produced a document outlining the research process and my findings which they presented to the Bristol Primary Care Trust through their position on the maternity services advisory committee.

To return to my participatory approach, whilst I prepared transcripts for participants to comment upon, all refused. This should not be seen as disinterest however, rather the women entrusted analysis to me as part of my role as 'expert'. For example, Rashida upon being asked if she wanted a copy of the transcript said that she was sure I had understood from my reactions and questions in the interview and so there was no need to check. Again this illustrates the power and authority invested in the researcher by participants. In an attempt to circumvent this lack of feedback, during the second interview I spent ten minutes or so recapping the main themes of the interviews and my initial analysis, to give participants opportunity to feedback, reflect and challenge. The second interviews were then based around the auto-photography exercise and I discuss these further on.

With regard to the set of individual interviews I conducted, as noted four of these were carried out with women representing national or regional organisations (see table two and appendix one). I had intended to interview a further three women from Muslim women's networks but was unable to gain access, with a lack of time and resources given as the

reason for non-participation. This was also partly related to the volume of requests made by researchers for access/participation and as such is further indicative of the binary of research wariness/weariness previously discussed. In addition to this, I interviewed one woman (Alara) from Lewisham individually who invited me to observe a study group she co-facilitated for new Muslim women, many of whom were converts. Whilst I felt very much an outside observer at first, this was partly because I had been invited into the group as a researcher, but was also due to differences in dress. Longhurst et al (2008) have drawn attention to the importance of 'body-space' relations, arguing that they often remain undocumented despite the impact they can have on the research encounter.

I wore relatively modest clothes, but had felt wary about looking as though I was solely dressed in order to 'fit in' or meet a predetermined set of assumptions based on how I expected the women to be dressed (Dwyer: 2001 for a discussion of participants reactions to her interview attire). Upon meeting the group however, I felt distinctly incongruous because I was using an old rucksack and they all had very smart handbags. After this meeting I bought a handbag large enough to fit all my interview apparatus, in order to avoid a similar sense of embodied unease in future interviews. The women were all very welcoming and the session helped contextualise my interview with Alara as well as providing an insight into the broader themes of religious identity and gender roles which permeated other interviews. The group took place in the community room on the estate on which Alara lived with her family. The community room was then chosen by Alara as the interview site because it provided a more formal interview setting than the home. Alara expressed that she had invited me to observe the group to both learn a little more about Islam, but also to witness the diversity of participants and the way in which Islam gave rights to women which was central to the ethos of the group. Interestingly, she repeatedly reassured me that she was not intending to try and convert me, as did several other participants when providing me with in-depth explanations regarding their individual practice and religiosity. As with the group interviews I did not feel positioned as an outsider, despite not sharing a religious identity, with participants again taking on a role as 'educator' in order to help me understand their responses. Whilst none of my participants asked if I

was religious, several presumed I had a faith and would often try to discuss their faith in relation to mine. Had I been asked outright if I were religious I would have told my participants I was not, however I valued the connections my participants were attempting to forge and so tended to remain silent in order to not foreclose the situation (Keith: 1993, regarding self-representation in the research process).

Semi-structured interviews have been defined as ‘conversations with a purpose’ (Burgess: 1984 in Mason 2002). In each individual interview I prepared an interview guide covering the main themes of the research, but in relation to the women’s professional roles. In conducting the interviews my approach was very much informed by feminist notions of the research interview as a social encounter (McDowell: 2010). As Holstein and Gubrium (2004) argue:

Creative interviewing is a set of techniques for moving beyond the mere words and sentences exchanged in the interview process. To achieve this, the interviewer must establish a climate for mutual disclosure. The interview should be an occasion that displays the interviewer’s willingness to share his or her own feelings and deepest thoughts. This is done to assure respondents that they can, in turn, share their own intimate thoughts and feelings. The interviewer’s deep disclosure both occasions and legitimatise the respondent’s reciprocal revelations. (147)

Through attempting to open up the interview process to enable participants to shape the research, I found that they tended to combine personal experiences and opinions as well as drawing on their professional experiences and the ethos of the organisations they represented. Whilst this gave me an unexpected depth of data, I was aware that in coding and analysing responses I needed to be attentive as to whose experiences my participants were drawing upon and whom they may be speaking for. In this section I have discussed the

'doing' of my interviews with a focus upon positionality and the impact of moments of difference and commonality, whereby research should be understood as a social and embodied encounter. In the following section, I begin by problematising the home as a research site, before reflecting upon the importance of exploring the socio-spatial dynamics of the research encounter.

Problematising the home as a research site

There is a growing body of research which has begun to focus upon the home as an embodied and emotive site. I would argue that this work highlights both the appropriateness of longstanding techniques, such as focus groups and in-depth interviews, as well as the importance of interpretative strategies in such explorations (Bankey: 2002, Dyck and McLaren: 2004, Dyck: 2006, Hockey et al 2005). Whilst approaches to the emotional relationships to home have remained largely reliant upon interviews and focus groups, research focusing upon home through a material lens has increasingly begun to draw upon ethnographic techniques and to be carried out in situ (Tolia-Kelly 2004, Watkins: 2006, Walsh: 2006). It is important to note that despite the differences in methodological approach and critical focus, both sets of literature offer resistance to a separation of, or dichotomy between the material and immaterial through their discussions on the interrelatedness of place, emotion and embodiment.

In addition to researching the material home in-situ, there is a long history of examining family relationships within the home as part of broader explorations of social worlds within anthropology (Atkinson et al: 2001, Marcoux: 2001, Miller; 2001). As Miller (2001a) outlines, in the 'classic' period of ethnographic enquiry it was felt that researchers needed to live in the homes of their informants in order to reside within and observe the 'heart of the community' and that this was problematic in that the host families became key informants and gatekeepers. Furthermore in most of the societies deemed appropriate to ethnographic study, homes were, relatively speaking, public places' (2). Miller documents a fluidity

between the world of work and home, in which the home was often a site of work and areas of the home which family life occurred within were a form of public domain. The rise of anthropology 'at home' has required a 'meeting point with both the tradition of ethnology in continental Europe, but also of indigenous anthropology in countries such as Japan' (2). This has resulted in an increasing turn to short periods of ethnographic observation achieved by visiting rather than living with families and ethnographic interviewing. In addition to this, there has also been a retreat from the home with regard to single generation studies, particularly within the use of ethnography to study childhood, whereby the school and centres for youth provision have predominated, a trend which is paralleled within geographic studies of childhood (James: 2001, Aitken: 2001, Holloway and Valentine: 2000, Matthews: 2003 for examples of research on youth geographies).

Despite this diverse literature, on understanding the research encounter as situated in and through specific sites, there has been little reflection on the dynamics of interviewing participants about the home in situ⁷ (Dyck and McLaren : 2004). It is important to note that much of the research on the home I reviewed in Chapter Two has been carried out outside of the home, for example, Dwyer's research on young female Muslim identities and home which was carried out in schools (Dwyer: 1999, 2000, 2002). More broadly, however, carrying out interviews in the home has been regarded as potentially empowering for the participant as a way of helping to address the unequal power relationships between the researcher and the researched (Valentine: 1997). An important exception to this concerns Shah's (2007) discussion of the spatial, historical and geographical situatedness of social research and knowledge encounter. Drawing upon fieldwork experiences with older Muslim women in Slough, Shah (2007) discusses the problems encountered in employing a young British Pakistani woman (Sofia) as a research assistant, examining how the 'reactions Sofia engendered amongst some of the mothers ... illustrates the ways in which space, place and historical contexts construct 'difference' and shape reactions to both our projects and researchers' (20). Sofia covered using the niqab and as such was subject to 'repeated and

⁷ It is important to note that much of the research on home which I have reviewed has occurred outside of the home and I am not arguing that the home should necessarily be both the site and subject for such research.

vehement challenges to her religious identity and practice' (22) from participants, which eventually resulted in her withdrawal from the research process. Shah describes how through interviewing in the home; 'the age and safety of being in their own private space gave the Pakistani mothers in Slough the power to challenge Sofia and ignore the research project altogether in the psycho-social space of the interview' (22-23). Shah's discussion highlights both the importance of the interview site in shaping the research encounter, as well as the related tensions and ambiguities involved in the positionality of researcher-researched relationships, problematising simplistic notions of insider-outsider positionalities.

To return to my research, crucially, using auto-photography allowed me to research ideas of home and identity without being 'in situ'. As I noted earlier, I was not given direct access to the home by any of my participants, when I have raised this in conference papers, I have always been asked whether or not I feel this was linked to my 'outsider' status and indeed I often field broader questions about how my participants responded to me as a non-Muslim. I feel it is far more complex than that. In the first instance, I very much resist the duality and inherent simplicity concerning this insider/outsider positioning. Rather, following Laurie et al (1999), I pay attention to how the shifting of positionality within different contexts and fields can be seen as 'spaces of between-ness' which are fluid and dynamic. They argue that working through moments of uncertainties and incomprehension should be written into the research practices and reports 'not as an attempt to account for every aspect of 'our' positionality, but a recognition of the impartial and often uncertain nature of 'our' and other people's knowledge' (53). Furthermore as discussed previously, I became very aware of surface points of connection, difference and sameness. I felt that there was a slight sense of disconnect for the women between the initial group interviews concerning identity, state surveillance, insecurity, racism and fear, and my interest in the material home. The initial group interviews were all quite intense and some had been very political. This made it difficult however, when I tried to steer the discussion towards ideas of home. There was a sense of confusion as to why I was interested and what I wanted and it almost felt as though the home was not a legitimate area of research in comparison to the political and emotive

preceding discussions. This is interesting in relation to my positioning by my participants, in contrast to when I asked for guidance on my interpretation of transcripts, where I became positioned as the 'expert'; here the validity of my research interests seemed to be questioned. Many of the women seemed surprised that I wanted to come to their home and expressed that the home was not as professional a site as the community group premises, which they preferred as an interview site. I think there are several issues here. Firstly, the women all had relatively long standing relationships with the community groups that I recruited through. This relationship went beyond the women's relationships with the centre workers, whom I would classify as gatekeepers. I am interested here in how the women's relationship to the actual space mattered; can spaces act as forms of gatekeepers through the socio-spatial relationships and dynamism between research sites, participants and researcher?

In entering the various community rooms, I was clearly entering the women's space. They set out the tables and chairs for me, often dictating where I sat. They also provided food and drinks despite my having brought refreshments and there was a sense of ease and authority in the way they moved around the room, the way they took off their coats and hijabs and placed them down, the way they would fetch drinks and so on. Hoong Sin (2003) has outlined the importance of examining the spatial context of the interview site, whereby 'the production of information through the interactional interview can affect the experience and understanding of the socio-spatiality of the interview site (306). He notes that the interview site can 'yield important information regarding the way respondents construct their identities', with participants choosing (unconsciously or consciously) to present particular aspects of their individual and social identities. As noted earlier, I would argue that my participants' focus upon issues of discrimination and citizenship were influenced through both their affinity to the community groups through which I recruited and their choice of the organisational spaces as interview sites. There were differences in my participants' affiliations with the different spaces, notably the women who attended the mosque and religio-ethnic community orientated women's groups all expressed strong attachments to the organisation which encompassed the organisational space (I discuss this further in

Chapter Seven). For those Somali participants recruited through an educational centre, their attachments to the organisation was defined primarily in terms of educational/employment opportunities. They did however, identify the centre as a social space, whereby they both attended different courses with friends and were able to make new friendships with other attendees.

Crucially, these spaces were identified as safe spaces in terms of identity, with my participants discussing the way in which they were able to work through experiences of racism and so forth. Indeed, within the auto-photography exercise, participants included images of three of the organisations I recruited through which I discuss in Chapter Seven, outlining how several of my participants discussed such spaces as 'spaces of home', whereby both the professionals employed by the groups and the other attendees formed part of a wider community of friends. Whilst these spaces can be argued to constitute what Gorman-Murray has termed the 'stretching of home', they are also recognised as quasi public-private spaces of engagement. As I discuss in Chapter Seven, regarding citizenship, my participants discussed the importance of being socially and politically engaged, whereby their involvement with community groups shaped both their political awareness and their confidence to engage. Participating in the research was cited as part of this politics of engagement or 'telling themselves', through which my participants wanted to combat the misrepresentations of Muslims which they felt positioned by, as highlighted in the following exchange:

Amina: You know I thought that went really well, it's not easy for us to talk about these issues, particularly to do with the government and discrimination. I'm really glad you came, you can see how much anger there is in the room, it just builds up and you don't realise it.

Imogen: Thank you, I really enjoyed it too and it's great that the women felt they could be so open

Amina: I was surprised, but you know, the work we do here with [name of organisation], like this interview with you, you know, we want to improve things; we need to challenge the media and government. You know too I think it helps that you are not Muslim, it makes us realise that, you know not everyone is the same; other people are concerned about what is happening to Muslims in Britain. It's not just a Muslim issue.

In this context, carrying out all the interviews within the spaces of the community organisation lent an air of legitimacy and professionalism to the research, as part of the 'work of the organisation', highlighting how the interview site itself can contextualise and enhance my participants' narratives. This exchange also reflects broader fears concerning the socio-political pressure they felt under to perform an acceptable moderate Muslim identity, whereby in terms of discussing politics/current affairs/religion in 'public space' they were constantly aware of the possibility for their views to be misconstrued and seen as extreme. This was particularly acute concerning the spaces of the women's organisations, which some women feared would be closed down or 'squeezed out' in terms of funding. For example, Rashida expressed how competitive obtaining funding had become and how as a predominantly Pakistani-heritage organisation, they felt under pressure to be seen as open and not critical of the council and/or government.

With regard to reflexivity and the researcher-researched relationship, as in the above exchange with Amina, my presence was argued by several of the women to be a legitimising presence through their promotion of me as an 'expert' and crucially non-Muslim. This is interesting in that the women outlined that they had been able to open up and discuss their anger at the ways in which they felt subject to racism, particularly at the scale of the state

precisely because I was not Muslim. For example, Sara commented that had I been Muslim she would have been more guarded when discussing media coverage of Gaza in case her actions were misconstrued as extreme, which would reflect badly upon the organisation. This further illustrates the way in which the space of the community organisation interfaces with the wider world. Furthermore, it highlights how the relationship between the spatiality of the interview site and the production of data is informed by, and informs the positioning of, both the researcher and researched. Throughout my analysis I have tried to incorporate reflection upon the socio-spatial dimension of my research data.

Finally, regarding the rejection of the home as an interview site, as noted above, research participation was widely contextualised as an activity aligned with the organisation and as such there was a sense that such activities should be contained within that centre. Whilst it was clear at the follow-up auto-photography interviews that many of my participants had discussed the research with their families, to invite me into the home took the research process into the home, which would impact upon the wider family. Consequently, I felt my participants requests to hold the auto-photography interviews away from the home was more a rejection of allowing the research project and processes to impact and intrude upon the space of the home, rather than a rejection of the researcher as an 'outsider'. Indeed, through the auto-photography exercise, I gained a great deal of in-depth data concerning the material home, as a site of identity, religion, culture and politics. Whilst I explore my findings concerning the material home in Chapter Six, I want to turn now to discuss the use of auto-photography.

Doing autophotography: examining geographies of home and belonging

Visual methods (and particularly photography) have increasingly begun to be used within geography to explore issues such as identity, emotion and place relationships (Young and Barrett: 2001, Crang: 2003, Latham: 2003, Dodman: 2003, M. Thomas: 2005, F. Thomas:

2007, Johnsen et al: 2008, Kreig and Roberts: 2010). Auto photography (or 'Photo voice' as it also referred to) has been most widely developed as a participatory action research technique, particularly within research on health participation and community development (Wang et al: 1998). The use of auto-photography is argued to be both inclusive and empowering in its ability to allow participants to use their 'visual imaginations' (Latham: 2003) to produce images which are embedded within, and contextualised through the personal lives of the producers. The images thus need to be read as products of a research process which is 'sited, subjective, partial and epistemologically productive' (Thomas: 2005: 590). The inclusion of auto-photography within a 'research as performance' framework has important implications in terms of analysing the data. Thomas (2005) and Latham (2003) both comment on the way in which participants' interpretations and discussions of their photographs opened up inconsistencies between accounts given at different points within the research process. This served to further highlight the partiality and 'moment-ness' of research encounters (Latham: 2003). Auto photography brings the intentionality of the research participant as producer to the forefront (Johnsen et al: 2008). It is this centrality of participants' construction, narration and reflection upon their images which gives this method its strength, whereby the photographs act as a visual resource or prompt through which research participants construct a personal narrative. It is through the photo-led discussion of images that participants are able to review and think through what the photos mean to them and they become narrators rather than interviewees (Johnsen et al: 2008).

In terms of practicalities, I carried out this exercise with three of my four groups, but whilst the take-up was about 50% the completion rate was nearer 40% (see Table Two). In setting the exercise up, at the end of the first group interview I asked the women to summarise the themes of the interview as well as repeating an ice-breaker involving the women discussing their identities. We then discussed how these themes could be represented visually (McIntyre: 2003). The women were given disposable flash enabled cameras and a self-addressed envelope to return the camera to me by a set date. Upon receipt of the cameras, two sets of images were produced, one for the participant and the second for the researcher. Interestingly, the young women I interviewed had the lowest completion rate

despite appearing enthusiastic when the activity was introduced. This was partly related to the timing of the research which coincided with the revision period for their GCSEs, however when the two women who participated were interviewed within a group interview setting, it became clear that some of the young women had lacked confidence in composing images for fear of 'getting it wrong'. I could have shown the young women examples of another project as part of my set-up. However, I chose not to do this as I was wary of overtly influencing the production of images, confusing the participants by using an unrelated project or reinforcing concerns over failure though inadvertently insinuating that there was a 'right' way to produce images. These concerns remain and as such, I am unsure that using examples as advocated by McIntyre (2003) would have ameliorated the situation. It is important to reflect upon the young women's reluctance to participate, whereby creating images as a form of narrative is a very personal endeavour given the association of photography with art and creativity. Moreover, participants are aware they are producing a visual record that is subject to discussion, which (as with some of my participants) can potentially increase a sense of vulnerability. Indeed several women who completed the exercise were self-effacing concerning the quality of their images. I would argue that such concerns need to be recognised, whereby there is a danger that such issues get lost as visual and participatory methods become posited as enabling, dynamic and liberating.

Two women were interviewed individually and I carried out three group interviews in which the women took it in turns to discuss their images. In all of the interviews my participants selected the images they wanted to discuss and the order of the discussion. The interviews were also introduced as an opportunity to develop themes from the initial interviews and this was picked up on by the women whose narratives often went beyond the image and related back to previous themes. In all of the interviews the discussions were relatively unstructured and photographer-led; my role was to prompt and delve as appropriate. It is important to note that all the participants expressed that they had enjoyed the activity, which draws parallels with other accounts (Johnsen et al: 2008, Dodman: 2003, Bagnoli: 2004). The group discussions were very lively; the women enjoyed discussing each others' photos as well as their own, particularly where their images overlapped thematically. In

addition to this, participants who had not taken images still attended the group interviews and talked about their homes and the images they would have taken. Crucially, using auto-photography allowed me to research ideas of home and identity without being 'in situ'. As touched upon earlier, there was a sense of disconnect between the initial interviews and my interest in the material home. This shifted in the auto-photography interviews. The women seemed to grow in confidence as they discussed their images and it felt as though they were guiding me through a more private sense of their identity, as articulated through the narration of their images of their home spaces and material possessions.

Interestingly, whilst home had not been specified as a key theme, the majority of images taken by my participants were of the material home and were related to their ethno-religious identity (see Chapter Six). One final point I want to make regarding this notion of insider/outsider, as with my participants' discussions of racism, I gained deep level of explanation regarding individual practice and the material home as an Islamic space. I feel this was very much because it was assumed (quite rightly) that I wouldn't know about such practices and/or couldn't really know or understand as I was not Muslim. Consequently, there was a real sense of my participants as educators rather than just respondents. Sanghera and Bjorkert (2008) similarly discuss the complex dynamics of difference in the research process, whereby some gatekeepers 'preferred the fact that [the researcher] was not a Muslim because he would be coming from a different moral framework (or position) and, therefore, would not hold them to the values that their family and community would hold them too' (557). This stands in stark contrast to the issues surrounding Shah's (2007) employment of a British-Pakistani, Muslim research assistant (Sofia), whereupon Sofia's wearing of the niqab 'and her perceived practice of Islam may have been seen as threatening norms and practices transported by parents and elders from Pakistan' (24). Again these findings reinforce the importance of deconstructing the complexities of how knowledge is produced within the research encounter, particularly in relation to moments of connection and difference. The next section continues to develop this theme through an exploration of my approach to analysis.

Interpretation: allowing room for the messiness of the research process

With regard to questions of reflexivity, power and ethics within the research process, less attention has been paid to the 'doing' of data analysis than the production of knowledge (Cook and Crang: 2007, Schiellerup: 2008, McDowell: 2010). There is however a wealth of literature concerning the codification of research data (Silverman: 2004, Conradson: 2005, Cook and Crang: 2007). This codified part of data interpretation is perhaps the most straightforward aspect to document; as Cook and Crang (2007) identify towards the end of their book on ethnography they 'probably haven't given enough attention to the process, i.e. the pains and pressures of writing' (202). Blunt et al (2003) outline; 'most pieces of published work ... are presented as completed, neat and tidy arguments with all the loose ends tied away and the evidence pointing in the same direction... We want to argue that you can think of these pieces of research like a tapestry. On one side is an orderly composed picture. On the other side is a tangle of threads' (3).

In this section I want to focus upon the complexity of trying to capture the messiness and dynamism of the research interview as a form of performance. I was influenced in my approach by the idea of grounded theory (Cook and Crang: 2007, Charmaz: 2006), in that I wanted to work with my data, carrying out initial analyses (including fieldwork notes and diaries) from the outset of my fieldwork. MacKain (2010) outlines the confusion between 'analysis' and 'interpretation', 'whereas analysis might be seen to be addressing the key features from the data, interpretation attempts to move beyond the data'... yet the 'very act of constructing data is in itself an act of interpretation' (360). Following MacKain (2010), I have attempted to use notions of reflexivity throughout the process of exploring my data, in order to move analysis into interpretation (360). As Schierellerup (2008) argues, 'data interpretation as interpretation of experiences encountered in the research process, goes

on throughout the research process and not only in dedicated moments of focused data interpretation. Nor does it go on only when one is at work' (165).

Certainly I found it was often upon reflection of my fieldwork, whilst doing unrelated and usually mundane tasks that moments of interpretation would occur. To this end I kept a research diary to note down different ideas and interpretations as they occurred, occasionally resorting to recording my train of thought on my mobile phone. I coded 'by hand' in favour of using qualitative software. I used 'open coding', identifying major and minor themes from within the data and I then developed a spreadsheet in order to map the ways in which particular themes overlapped and intersected with each other, in order to try and keep track of the 'layers of textuality' (Cook and Crang: 2007: 152) through which my interpretations were made and revised. Whilst I understand the need to approach the data without preconceived ideas, I am in agreement with MacKain (2010) that 'the reality is we analyse and interpret from the minute we decide to tackle a particular research topic, and bring with us an outsize range of baggage prior to even reaching that point. All of which will influence the final interpretation and presentation of our finished work' (359). It is this gap between rhetoric and reality that I have been mindful of addressing throughout this chapter. Within my interpretations, I have attempted to capture the embodied, sensory and emotional aspects of the research encounter.

Conradson (2005) notes that within focus groups (and I would argue this is also applicable to group and individual interviews) interactions and communications go beyond the verbal, whereupon the bodily postures, physical reactions, facial expressions and so on all contribute to and shape the meanings produced. I used research summaries which focused upon the dynamics of the research encounter in order to try to capture some of these dynamics. I noted emotions, embodied reactions and exchanges throughout the interview to supplement the recording. I tried to approach the transcripts as narratives. I used my spreadsheet to record my analysis and interpretations as unfolding throughout the process. I wrote comments upon my spreadsheet, noting how my interpretation of codes, particular

quotes and incidents changed over time. I revisited each transcript a number of times looking for silences and foreclosures as well as how different narratives intersected, in order to uncover the variations of meanings within the transcripts/narratives. As noted earlier, I attempted to engage in collaborative analysis with my participants through giving them transcripts before realising that they felt this was my remit not theirs. I then chose to discuss my initial interpretations as part of the interview process. This less formal method was far more useful, as it allowed me to discuss the emotionality of different exchanges, notably in relation to discussions concerning discrimination, racism and the media. The affirmations of, and challenges to my initial interpretations were useful in helping me shape my narrative in deciding 'what' and how to 'write up' (McDowell: 2010).

My approach to analysing the auto-photography interviews differed little, whereby as discussed my participants selected the images they wanted to discuss and led the interview. Interestingly, the discussions went beyond the individual image and as such the transcripts needed to be interpreted as narratives in and of themselves. I made notes as to which image was related to the different threads of narrative. In setting the exercise up, my participants chose not to include images of people, but rather take photographs that represented them. This was in discussion over anonymity and consent over the researcher's proposed use of the images and alleviated issues of consent, permissions and anonymity over including photographs of people only tangentially related to the research. As Johnsen et al (2008) argue in their discussion of auto-photography, it is the combination of the visual image and the accompanying contextual narratives which make auto-photography such a valuable tool, whereupon even if 'ethical considerations dictate that images ... are never published, the narratives associated with them still prove valuable' (205). Inevitably there was overlap between the sets of images taken, for example, each set of photographs included the Qur'an. In selecting which photographs to include whilst writing up, I have used the images which accompanied the particular narratives and exchanges drawn upon in the text. As touched upon previously, the images generated were integral to providing a material understanding of home, identity and the impact of experiences of discrimination and racism upon my participants' everyday lives and senses of belonging. In incorporating

images into the text, I have tried to prioritise this sense of materiality within my textual interpretation. I want to turn now to bring together the different strands of this chapter and draw some conclusions.

Making sense; drawing conclusions

The main aim of this chapter has been to examine the problematic of the home as both the object of the research and the research site. I have discussed my participants' resistance to being interviewed in the home, arguing that increasing attention needs to be paid to the socio-spatial dynamics of the research encounter. Whilst I will never be able to fully explain my participants' resistance, I refute the notion that it was solely because as a non-Muslim I constitute an 'outsider'. Rather I have outlined how for my participants, holding the interviews within the space of the community organisations which they were affiliated to, lent an air of security and legitimacy to the interviews. My participants variously showed me around the premises and set up the rooms for the research. I was invited to stay for food on two occasions and some participants included images which were accompanied by narratives of home (see Chapter Seven). In trying to write this through, I am interested in how such spaces acted as forms of quasi-gatekeepers, influencing the nature and dynamism of the research. What would have happened had I reacted incongruously within the space? Furthermore, I have acknowledged how my participants' narratives reflected their involvement with the organisations I recruited through, particularly in regard to ethno-religious identity, gender roles and citizenship practices, themes that are developed in subsequent empirical chapters.

With regard to the gap between the rhetoric and reality of fieldwork which often become obscured or written out of final accounts, I have tried to examine the realities of access, adopting a participatory approach and the complexities of documenting, interpreting and writing up. I discussed the importance of recognising the socio-political context of both

what and when/where you research, arguing that within London potential gatekeepers were subject to research wariness/weariness related to both a rise in academic interest in researching with London-based Muslim communities and the wider positioning of Muslims within local-global discourses of fear and suspicion. Through incorporating Bristol as a second research site, I was able to gain access to a wider range of participants. Whilst gatekeepers were still wary as to what I was researching and why, they had not been subject to the same pressures over academic and policy research participation. In designing my research, I became focused upon enabling as ethical a methodology as possible, without fully considering the philosophies and applications of PAR approaches. I contend that my initial research design proved too time-consuming for participants and that this is related to the scale, objectives and funding route of the research. Unlike fully PAR projects, my research was not intended, funded or designed to effect change for my participants (for example in the form of clear social policy outputs) and as such, I feel that I asked for too much of a contribution from potential participants. In attempting to adopt an ethical framework, I focused on enabling opportunities for my participants to collaborate without fully thinking through what participation would entail in relation to how much participants would have control over and stand to gain from the research. It is important to reflect upon these issues given the breadth of the ethical and methodological 'turn' within geography, whereby there has been relatively little critical reflection upon what impact these debates and methods have had upon the realities of research practice.

My use of group interviews with women who already knew each other facilitated a depth of conversation between participants concerning subjects such as racism and discrimination which are sensitive and potentially traumatic subjects. Whilst inevitably the group format may well have led to moments of foreclosure, overall I feel the dynamics of each group enabled participants to discuss their experiences in a supportive environment. The socio-spatial dynamics of the research encounter were particularly acute here. The sense of security garnered through the group interview format was constituted through (and constitutive of) my participants' complex relationships to the community spaces in which interviews took place. My participants' identifications of such spaces as safe and 'homely'

mapped onto the group dynamics and facilitated their disclosures. Throughout the chapter, I have attempted to highlight the importance of understanding research as a social encounter, drawing out aspects of positionality and intersectionality, through focusing on the impact of moments of sameness, difference, connection and resistance within the shifting relationships between the researcher and the participants. I have explored how complex positionalities were drawn upon, particularly in relation to my participants' narratives of ethno-religious identity and experiences of racism and discrimination. In discussing the tensions surrounding interpretation and writing up, I have attempted not to lose sight of non-verbal aspects. I have discussed how I have tried to incorporate the embodiment and emotionality of the research encounter into my interpretation and written accounts.

To return to researching the home, I have outlined how my use of auto-photography allowed me to examine the home without being in situ. The range of images taken by participants has been crucial in terms of exploring the materiality of my participants' experiences and everyday geographies, identities and senses of belonging, which is a central objective of the research. Whilst the photographs themselves allow for a more visual understanding, the value of the method goes beyond the images per se, with the accompanying narratives and discussions of image construction enabling a more material, sensory and embodied exploration of my participants' identities and ideas of home and belonging than interview methods alone. I would argue that through using auto-photography within a group interview setting, I obtained a less individualised sense of home, than had I accessed the home space itself (as in my original research design) or used individual follow-up interviews to discuss the images. This is important in terms of comparing such an approach with contemporary ethnographic methods which are increasingly used to research home, such as home tours, including video tours of the home (Pink: 2004) which are particularly individualised activities. As discussed, my participants compared images, particularly where the images overlapped and participants who had not completed the exercise still participated in the discussions. The groups' narratives thus facilitated a more collaborative sense of home, which extended beyond the individual

domestic spaces of my participants, with participants drawing on different home spaces (including their knowledge of each other's homes). My participants' constructions of images were clearly shaped in relation to the preceding interview themes, reflecting the way in which I set the exercise up. I would argue that, as with the initial interviews, the 'safety' of the group format and socio-spatial dynamic of the interview setting again influenced the accompanying narratives. My participants discussions of images thus extended beyond the home, picking up on previous themes of belonging and particularly discussions of racism and insecurity, highlighting the way in which the material home interfaces and intersects with different spaces across scale.

Chapter Four

Home, nation and domestic securitization: the insecurity of the unhomely

I begin by examining how racialised discourses concerning home, nation, culture and integration are mobilised in mainstream print media articles concerning the threat of Islamic terrorism within the UK, as well as debates over the veil. I draw out the emotionality of such representations and the role emotions as ‘national characteristics’ play in creating an exclusive national imaginary of belonging, against which Muslims are positioned as incompatible. I argue that such texts are integral within the formation of the ‘imaginative geographies’ (Gregory: 1995) of securitisation. I focus upon exploring the positioning of certain Muslim bodies and homes as ‘unhomely’ within the discursive production of the nation as home. My analysis centres on distinct ‘moments’ within the unfolding of such discourses. Firstly, I explore reporting of the 7/7 home raids and a series of subsequent terror raids. I argue that the construction of the threat from ‘home-grown’ terror employs a spatialised language, in which particular sites of home are represented as spaces of sedition, which threaten both the security of the nation as home and individual homes within it.

Secondly, I examine the socio-political debate over the ‘veil’ which was sparked by a newspaper article written by Jack Straw (the then home secretary) in October 2006 concerning women in his constituency who wore the face veil. I argue that a main discursive strand of the debate utilised a framework of segregation/extremism/terrorism, in which the figure of the veiled Muslim women as threatening became increasingly prominent. My focus throughout is upon what ‘work’ the figures of Muslim women, Muslim homes and ‘the veil’ are being asked to do in these texts. I explore what their use tells us about underlying notions of national security, national identity and belonging, all of which provide a form of legitimising structure for the incorporation of domestic policies of social cohesion, citizenship and integration into state security concerns. I argue that these practices of nationhood are inherently gendered; arguing that the socio-political shift from multiculturalism to integration constitutes a patriarchal practice of ‘hard’ governmentality,

through which to re-secure the national body. I examine how the figure of the 'veiled' Muslim woman, as a symbol of Islamic extremism and cultural separation, is central within such practises of securitisation, through a gendered positioning as cultural reproducer. I then explore the impact of my participants' experiences of state securitisation measures, whereby the threat of home-grown terrorism has facilitated the extension of surveillance technologies into the interior spaces of the home, street and neighbourhood. This section focuses solely upon those participants of Pakistani heritage as they alone discussed such experiences, which, as I discuss, is predicated upon Pakistan's position in the War on Terror and the association of home-grown terrorism with the Pakistani diaspora. Running through this half of the chapter are themes of visibility and (in)security. I explore how racial-religious profiling at the scale of the state makes the local lives and everyday spaces of those marked out as threatening, particularly insecure.

Setting the scene: securing the homely nation

I begin this section by discussing articles which form part of the immediate media response to the 7/7 London bombings. My focus is upon the emotionality of the discourse and the construction of national identity as these ideas of nationhood underpin subsequent discourses of national security and the threat of Islamic terrorism. Throughout this analysis, I have focused for the most part on examining editorials and commentaries, because such articles form a key role in the framing of debates. Crucially as Petley (2006) argues, such pieces stand outside of regulatory norms for bias and accuracy due to the fact they offer 'opinions'. Commenting on the role of the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) Petley argues that the PCC has failed to confront racist journalism because of its 'wholly ineffective' stance on opinion pieces, which he identifies as outmoded, given that 'across most of the British press the distinction between news and editorial has entirely collapsed' (61). As such, Petley identifies that 'many of the views on race and ethnicity aired in British newspapers are based almost entirely on inaccuracies of one kind or another' (58). Editorial and opinion

pieces can thus be argued to facilitate the production of racist discourse (Poole: 2006, Petley: 2006, Khiabany and Williamson: 2008).

In examining the emotionality of reports concerning the 7/7 London bombings, I follow Ahmed' (2004) argument that "figures of speech' are crucial to the emotionality of texts' (12). Ahmed argues that particular attention needs to be paid to the way in which 'different figures get stuck together' with this 'sticking' dependent on 'past histories of association that often 'work' through concealment' (13). The mythic strength of the British character resonated across the headlines and leader articles I examined from the 8th July 2005, all of which posited emotions as national characteristics, for example, "*Bloodied but Unbowed*" read the *Mirror's* headline (Edwards and Lines: 2005). The *Daily Mail* announced '*We will not be broken*' as the headline to their leader report, highlighting the 'defiant spirit shown by Londoners in the wake of Thursday's bombings' (Daily Mail: 8th July 2005). Similarly, Bishop of the *Telegraph* argued that 'normality is the only civilised response to terror' (Bishop: 2005). The *Guardian's* leader drew upon a historicity of London as a target for terror citing the Irish Fenians, the Blitz and the Provisional IRA and arguing that 'Just like their predecessors in the face of those earlier horrors, today's generation of Londoners responded to this latest unprovoked act of evil - which in terms of lost lives seems to have been the deadliest act of terrorism in our modern history - with a combination of calm and courage' (Freedland: 2005). Throughout the commentaries that immediately followed the bombings, London, Londoners, and Britons are repeatedly and variously described as 'stoic', calm, brave, resilient, determined, civilised, dignified and spirited. Such attributes are uniformly discussed as part of an intrinsic 'British character', which in itself connotes a sense of 'the native' and begs the question as to who can be included within this imagined community.

The coupling of national attributes with collective identity is thus important in terms of the mediated imagining of the nation. Positing Britain as a strong nation is reliant upon the cultivation of 'hard' emotions as national characteristics. As Ahmed (2004) outlines, the

binary between emotion as feminised and weak and reason as masculinist and strong, becomes displaced by a hierarchy of emotions in which some emotions are elevated as signs of civility and strength whilst others remain low, signifying weakness. The development of the 'right emotions' as defined against 'uncultivated or unruly emotions' (3) is a central part of the competent self, as Ahmed argues (drawing upon Elias: 1978): 'The story of evolution is narrated not only as the story of the triumph of reason, but of the ability to control emotions and to experience the 'appropriate emotions at different times and places' (3). Indeed, Utey writing in the *Telegraph* states that this is a time for 'defiance and cold, measured anger' (2005). Those emotions which are aligned with reason can also be read as 'white emotions' whereby weak and unruly or uncultivated emotions have been historically associated with non-white bodies (Hall: 1997, Ahmed: 2004).

This implicitly racialised discourse was underpinned by a broad utilisation of the term 'Blitz Spirit' as a key referent to the way in which London (and Britain more broadly) responded to the bombings. The rhetoric of national character as framed through the lens of Blitz draws upon historical antecedents of Britishness which are implicitly racialised and exclusionary. The winning of World War Two can be read as a particular mythical moment of national becoming and community, underpinned by narratives of cultural homogeneity and stability. Writing more broadly about the role that World War Two plays within Britain's culture and self-understanding, Gilroy (2004) argues:

Making it a privileged point of entry into national identity and self understanding reveals a desire to find a way back to the point where the national culture – operating on a more manageable scale of community and social life – was, irrespective of the suffering involved in the conflict, both comprehensible and habitable. That memory of the country at war against foes who are simply, tidily, and uncomplicatedly evil has recently acquired the status of an ethnic myth. It explains not only how the nation remade itself through war and victory but can also be understood as a rejection or deferral of its

present problems. That process is driven by the need to get back to the place or moment before the country lost its moral and cultural bearings (97)

The narrative of Wartime Britain as a 'still white nation' is both dependent upon fixing the white subject as sovereign and secures an alignment of the white national body with the nation as home. Kaplan (2002) has argued, that the idea of the nation as home is 'inextricable from the political, economic and cultural movements of empire' (3). In her deconstruction of the spatial and political interdependence of home and empire, Kaplan identifies the need to consider how the meaning of the domestic 'relies structurally on its intimate opposition to the notion of the foreign' (25). As she argues, the domestic has a 'double meaning that not only links the familial household to the nation but also imagines both in opposition to everything outside the geographic and conceptual border of home'(25). This sense of the domestic was integral to imperial projects of civilising whereby 'the markers of domesticity then become markers that distinguish civilisation from savagery' (26). Kaplan (1998) identifies that when 'we oppose the domestic to the foreign, men and women become national allies against the alien and the determining division is not gender but racial demarcations of otherness' (582).

The mediated association of British resilience to the 7/7 bombings to that of wartime victory involves the layering or 'sticking' of these longer histories of articulation. It can thus be read as a desire to rearticulate a bounded sense of national identity in which the identity of the 'native' (i.e. white 'Brits') is hierarchically secured (also Gedalof: 2005). It is significant then that World War Two continues to be a key referent within the reporting of Britain's War on Terror, particularly in reference to both the events of 7/7 and the continued threat to national security from home-grown terrorists. As I outlined in Chapter Two, discourses concerning the threat of Islamic terrorism within Britain have dovetailed with broader socio-political concerns over the failure of multiculturalism, whereby a tolerance of cultural diversity becomes linked to terrorism through discourses of self-segregation, associated specifically with Muslims (Kundnani: 2007 and 2007a). The referencing of a racialised,

bounded sense of national identity within reportage of the bombings needs to be contextualised as part of these processes.

The political context of a shift in emphasis from diversity and multiculturalism to integration and assimilation is based on a narrative that cultural diversity has fostered segregation and is a threat to national cohesion. Such concerns over how to 'manage' cultural diversity coalesce around Muslim communities who are increasingly positioned as failing to be active citizens through a perceived refusal to integrate into British society (Kundnani: 2007, 2007a, Fortier: 2007). Elements of this discourse of isolationism are inherently spatialised, whereby narratives of Muslim communities as self-segregating have become tied into discourses of national security. Kundnani traces the linking of segregation and terrorism to the socio-political civil disturbances in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley in 2001. The reporting of the disturbances utilised an intertwining of security and segregation that was embodied by the figure of the angry young Muslim male 'rioting' in the streets. Kundnani argues that the resulting focus upon community cohesion and integration centres upon Muslims: 'it is their cultural difference which needs limits placed on it; it is they who must subsume their cultural heritage within 'Britishness'; it is they who must declare their allegiance to (ill-defined) British values' (2007: 26). This focus on integration is bound up with discourses of national security that link segregation to extremism to terrorism through the threat of 'home-grown' terrorism (Alexander: 2005). The figure of the home-grown terrorist has thus become a prime referent within such debates.

Home grown terror, home raids and unhomely homes

Attention has been paid to media representation of young Muslim men and particularly young British Muslims of Pakistani descent as constituting 'the enemy within' through their portrayal as militant, aggressive, fundamentalist and ultimately as potential terrorists (Hopkins: 2007, Dwyer et al: 2008). The positioning of terror suspects as British-born

produces a delineation between an ‘us and them’ which has become divorced from the territorial boundaries of nations (Cowen and Gilbert: 2008). Werbner (2009) argues that media ‘scaremongering’ concerning the scale of British-based ‘networks’ of terrorists conveys a clear message that ‘all British Muslims are potentially hidden terrorists’ (23). I argue that the home is central to the spatiality of this threat, whereby scalar utilisations of the material, symbolic and metaphorical home underpin the demarcation of spaces of interior insecurity. Much of the coverage concerning ‘home-grown’ terror suspects employs a spatialised language in which particular sites of home are represented as spaces of sedition which threaten both the security of the nation as home and its individual homes. Media narratives of the 7/7 home raids drew upon the seeming normality of the red-brick terraced houses in Beeston and Dewsbury which housed the 7/7 suspects and their families. See for example Figure One which accompanied an article in *The Daily Mail*.



Figure One: Police guard over a house in Colwyn Road, Beeston, as a forensic officer removes evidence (The Daily Mail, 13th July, 2005)

The by-line described the 'home-grown' suicide bombers as from 'respectable families living quietly in suburbia' (Daily Mail, 13th July, 2005). The use of the word suburbia carries important connotations of middle England, of cosy conformity, the familial, tranquillity and security. Such notions are ruptured by the revelation that 'Britain's first suicide bombers' (1) had been raised in such an area. This sense of subversion is heightened by the accompanying photograph of one of the home raids. The image depicts the back entrance of the home of one of the 7/7 suspects. Two policemen are shown guarding the gateway to the backyard as a forensic officer dressed in white overalls, with surgical gloves on his hands, steps into the property. Washing is hanging up in the neighbouring yards; the angle of the washing lines runs parallel to that of the police tape which cordons off the house. This juxtaposition of the everyday with the criminal frames the middle of the image. It is this rendering of the domestic as alien and threatening which emphasises the insecurity of the everyday. And it is precisely the potential proximity of such homes as sites of national insecurity which emphasises the need to take steps to securitise both the space of the nation and individual home.

Reports of home raids without photographic illustration also draw upon the subversion of the domestic as part of a politics of fear, which rests on the grafting of insecurity onto the intimate space of the home and across the scales of neighbourhood, community and nation. In all the reports I analysed, details of the types of housing proliferate. For example writing in the *Guardian*, Muir et al, in their coverage of the 2006 'liquid bomb plot' repeatedly discuss suspects' homes using descriptors such as 'semi-detached', 'terraced' and 'shabby'. This coupled with the headline '*Arrest of 'normal' neighbours shocks residents*' subtly emphasises the threat to national security from certain 'unhomely' homes. Writing in the *Telegraph*, the headline used by Steele et al (2005) reads 'they were suicide bombers... and they were British', they describe the bombing suspects as 'living modest suburban lives' and highlighting that one of the suspect's parents owned a fish and chip shop. The reference to fish and chips is notable for its connotations of 'Britishness'. Moreover, this discursive reiteration of the spatiality of Islamic terrorism as 'in and amongst us' serves as a continual

reminder of the threat 'home-grown terrorists' are deemed to pose to the material landscapes of home and nation.

As coverage and details of terror plots and raids develop, such homes become routinely discussed as bomb factories, terror cells and suicide cells. This discursive detaching and reframing of the domestic through a language of securitisation serves to further dehumanise the suspects. Such tactics need to be seen as part of the process through which the threat of Islamic terrorism is constructed as an irreconcilable clash of civilisations rather than attributable to experiences of inequality and prejudice (Gilroy: 2004). The intimate and familial spaces of the 'Muslim home' are represented as key sites in the production of both ideologies and acts of Islamic terrorism. Such homes and by implication the communities in which they may be found become incorporated into racial and religiously demarcated topographies of risk and fear. Compounding this mediated rendering of the domestic as a risk to national security, is a focus upon highlighting the ways in which the bombs were made from everyday items.

Articles describing details of 7/7 bombings focused upon the methods and materials used for the bombs. Govan (2005) of the *Telegraph* draws upon police sources to describe how 'the four suicide bombers responsible for the deaths of more than 50 people on the London transport system on July 7 devised their explosives using everyday items such as hair bleach 'which could have easily been bought on the high street'. This reference to the high street hints at the ease with which future bomb plots could be supplied and carried out. Spatially, her allusion to the ubiquitous nature of the 'high street' implies that all such spaces could be vulnerable to infiltration by potential terrorists. The suspects from the failed London bombings of 21/7 were repeatedly described in headlines and articles as '*The Chapatti Bombers*' or '*The Chapatti Flour Bombers*'. The specificity of the type of flour is important. Chapatti flour has connotations of cultural difference as embodied through particular domestic practices. This collapsing of the domestic into terrorism, positions such cultural difference as ultimately dangerous and threatening.

In a similar vein, the reporting of the 'liquid terror bomb plot' foiled by security services in 2006 focuses upon the domestic spaces of the bomb construction, as uncovered by the security investigation. Reporting of this particular incident is repeatedly framed using a quote from John Reid, the then Home Secretary. Reid, echoing the London Metropolitan deputy police commissioner, Paul Stephenson, said 'This was intended to be mass murder on an unimaginable scale' (Laville et al (2006) in Werbner: 2009: 23). Crucially, this political quotation turned narrative referent, accompanies reporting of the initial plot and the subsequent criminal prosecutions brought in 2008. The continual reiteration of this narrative of risk operates to keep the details of the plot in the public imagination, enhancing the scales of risk and fear (Werbner: 2009).



Figure Two: An image of items used in the 2006 'airline terror plot' (The Daily Mail, 4th April, 2008).

Figure Two is taken from an article in the *Daily Mail* with the caption: *'Terror Tools: from soft drinks to deadly explosives'* (The Daily Mail, 4th April, 2008). The image composition echoes the forensic style of crime scene photography, whereby the items are grouped together against a white background and are divorced from any external context. This visual framing of the 'bomb making equipment' is common within the articles I analysed. Such images work to remove the objects from any domestic context, reconstructing them as criminal objects, whilst the accompanying narratives highlight their everydayness: 'For just a few thousand pounds, a group of British men had turned basic chemicals, drinks bottles and everyday equipment, coupled with terrorist know-how gained in Pakistan, into much more than the sum of their parts' wrote Dodd (2009) in the *Guardian*.

Similar reports in the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph* drew upon the details of the court case to outline how the alleged bombers purchased their equipment in BandQ and Tesco, two bastions of the ubiquitous 'high street'. Again, the sense of the ordinary, everydayness of such material items (and their sources) becomes simultaneously highlighted and subverted, whereby the familiar and domestic are rendered unfamiliar and alien through their use as objects of terror. The seeming disparity between the narrative and images works together to construct an account of the 'mundane turned weapon' which works to proliferate a sense of everyday vulnerability, fear and emergency that permeates discourses of national security (Back: 2006). Such discourses utilise a scalar sticking of certain Muslim homes and inner-city spaces with the threat of home grown terrorism. These home spaces rendered unhomely and threatening come to embody discourses of national *insecurity*. This has legitimatised the incorporation of the 'private' space of certain homes as spaces of state surveillance and securitisation (Amoore: 2006). As with the demarcation of suspect bodies, the identification of suspect homes relies upon processes of racial-religious profiling which utilise markers of cultural and religious identity (Back:2006).

One of the most striking aspects of the reporting of the home raids is the way in which the homes are implicitly masculinised, through the sticking of the home to the male figure of

the home-grown terrorist. Women are mentioned in the accompanying narratives as inhabitants, but only in terms of their maternal roles as wives and/or mothers. The relative invisibility of Muslim women and children within the configuration of the home as terror site further destabilises such homes through the stripping out of the familial⁸. It also works to reinforce essentialist representations of Muslim women as passive, submissive and highly regulated objects (Mohammed: 2005), whereby their invisibility within the reporting of home raids can be read as reflecting a perceived lack of agency. Such a positioning draws upon colonial and 'imperial feminist' (Mohanty: 1988) legacies, in which Muslim women are positioned as evidence of the irreconcilability of Islamic and Western cultural practices, through a discourse of victimhood. Muslim women are thus implicitly placed as problematic to the securing of national identity and security through their positioning as subjugated cultural reproducers (Geladof: 2005). The unhomey home is represented as ultimately a space of masculine authority and it is this sense of patriarchal domination which facilitates its construction as a space of sedition.

Within this context, the socio-political calls for a tightening of the boundaries of national identity through policies of integration can be read as a patriarchal practice of nation building (Hage: 1996), which hinges upon controlling the 'alien' values and allegiances of the 'Muslim' other. The figure of the Muslim woman becomes integral to this process of re-securing national identity. Khiabany and Williamson (2008) argue that since 7/7 the discourse of victimhood has shifted, with Muslim women increasingly being re-presented as actively resisting 'British culture'. This shift is being channelled through a reworking of the signification of the veil. I want to turn now to examine how debates concerning integration, terrorism and national identity coalesced around the figure of the veiled woman in October 2006.

⁸ In both the coverage of 7/7 and the airline plot of 2006 women and children became visible as more details of the plots/suspects emerged. These tended to be in articles which profiled the suspects whereas my focus is upon the immediate coverage of the home raids and the representations of home within them.

Self-segregation, integration, the veil and the unhomely home

On October 5th 2006, Jack Straw, then Labour leader of the Commons and former Home Secretary, used his weekly column in the *Lancashire Telegraph* to ask Muslim women in Britain to remove their niqabs which he felt hindered community relations. Straw intimated that he felt uncomfortable communicating with women who wore the face veil, arguing that he felt the face veil was 'a visible statement of separation and difference' (Straw: 2006). These comments were immediately taken up by mainstream British media, whereby 'the veil' became a subject of intense socio-political debate. As Macdonald (2006) has outlined, media discourses 'rarely differentiate between styles of Muslim clothing and veiling choices'. The use of 'the veil' as a descriptor within headlines across the articles I examined draws upon a discursive history of 'the veil' being used as a catchall for the practice of covering by Muslim women. Discursive production of 'the veil' draws upon a long history of colonial and orientalist representations of Muslim covering practices as backward, barbaric and often eroticised (Dwyer: 1999, Donnell:2003, Nagel:2005, Abu-Lughod:2006)⁹. Straw's comments marked a shift in the interpretative framework through which veiling is understood, placing it as symbolising a refusal to integrate. Furthermore he drew upon trends from across Europe which portrayed the veil as threatening.

Drawing upon a framework of analysis from Khiabany and Williamson's (2008) discussion of the *Sun* newspaper I argue that media coverage of the 'veil debate' produced an overarching discourse through two distinct but connected themes. Firstly, the veil is constructed as a barrier to social cohesion whereby women who choose to cover are actively seeking to separate themselves from wider (non-Muslim) society. This has become embedded within broader discourses concerning policies of multiculturalism as overly tolerant of difference. This indulgence is argued to have fostered segregation and threatens to erode national identity. Secondly, the veil is presented as an act of resistance. This builds

⁹ I am aware that in using the term 'the veil' I too am contributing to its continued reproduction as a valid frame of reference.

on the previous theme whereby the veil becomes symbolic not only of a refusal to integrate but as an act of cultural imposition. The demands for the right to veil become reworked as a territorial struggle over national identity, via the demands for acceptance of an 'othered' cultural practice by a minority group. The veil thus becomes a key visual sign of the perceived threat posed by Muslims to national cohesion, security and normative British culture. This signification of the veil as 'alien' is compounded by a discursive linking of the veil to concerns over extremism and terrorism (Khiabany and Williamson: 2008). Tarlo (2006) outlines how every paper 'from the *Guardian* to the *Sun*' reflected Jack Straw's comments under the 'generalised command: Take off your veils!' This reportage acts as amplification from singular political opinion to a political command, a discursive tactic that was repeated in the reporting of subsequent politicians expressions of support. This reflects an identification by Khiabany and Williamson (2008) that the close links between politicians and the media coupled with the number of politicians who write commentaries for newspapers has resulted in a blurring of the lines between press and political opinion.

In his article Jack Straw (2006) cited a meeting he had held in 2005 with a married couple, at which the woman wore the 'full veil'. Straw mused that there was an apparent incongruity between the signals which indicate common bonds- "the entirely English accent, the couple's education (wholly in the UK) – and the fact of the veil". Straw immediately places the face veil as outside the limits of normative English identity thus insinuating it is a practice which is removed from that of an acceptable British Muslim identity. This in itself builds upon mediated discourses of insecurity concerning the influence of external forms of Islam (Werbner: 2009). Furthermore, he felt uncomfortable speaking to someone he could not see, outlining that following the meeting he routinely asks his veiled Muslim constituents to remove the veil when speaking to him at his constituency office. This request of removal is made in order to enhance communication between them. Moreover, he outlined how he used such meetings to urge constituents who wore the face veil to consider the consequences that wearing the full veil was 'bound to make better, positive relations between the two communities more difficult' as it is such a 'visible statement of separation and difference'(2). This clearly places Muslim women who wear the niqab as

'refusing' to integrate, situating responsibility for improving relationships with the Muslim community. Running alongside this debate was an employment tribunal brought by Aisha Azmi, typically described as 'a young Muslim woman' who had been suspended from her post as a teaching assistant for refusing to remove her face covering. This case became interwoven with the veil debate as evidence of the threat to social cohesion (in this case the education of primary school aged children) from overzealous Muslim women (Werbner: 2007 for an overview).

The discursive linking of the two events throughout the articles I examined heightens the sense of preoccupation with the veil, particularly as a predominance of articles posit it as challenging to British values. The socio-political construction of the veil as threatening is innately spatial. Jack Straw draws upon ideas of communities as both spatially and culturally separate. The enmeshing of space with identity highlights the territoriality of national belonging, in which the issue of national identity is also inherently about national space and the ability to feel at home in the nation. Hage (1998) identifies such nationalist practices as inherently spatialised. Nationalists see themselves as 'spatially dominant', as 'managers' of a territory and identity over which 'they have managerial rights over racialised/ethnicised groups or persons which are consequently constructed as manageable objects' (48). Straw's comments implicitly draw upon longstanding discourses of particular Muslim communities as self-segregating which, as discussed earlier, have been constructed as evidence of the socio-political need for a shift towards integration policies. These policies primarily concern the control of those groups who threaten the space of the homely nation through their 'otherness' and refusal to 'integrate'.

A theme of separation proliferated within coverage of the comments of support made to Jack Straw by senior politicians. For example, Tony Blair stated that the veil was 'a mark of separation and that is why it makes some people from outside the community feel uncomfortable' (Woodward: 2006). Blair's comments manage to homogenise Muslim communities and practices of veil wearing, through the assumption that it is only members

from outside the Muslim community who would find the veil problematic. All the articles I examined concerning the reporting of Blair's comments highlight his reference to the veil as a marker of separation, reinforcing the debate over the veil as territorial in nature. Blair's emphasis upon comfort is crucial. Hage (1996) identifies that 'the qualities that are valued in the homeland are those that are normally (that is within patriarchal discourse) associated with mothering: protection, warmth, emotional and nutritional security' (473). The veil is positioned as outside the sphere of normative British identity, thus causing disruption to the homeliness of the nation that needs to be addressed through patriarchal policies of protection. The implicit rhetoric of the ability for the 'host community' to be secure and at home within their nation, builds upon New Labour discourse concerning community cohesion and concerns over 'the pace of change', which can be traced through from the 2002 White Paper on asylum and immigration '*Secure Borders: Safe Haven*' which marked the beginning of a concerted shift in focus towards integration (Kundnani: 2007, Holohan: 2006 and Ahmed: 2004). Again, Blair's comments make clear that the responsibility for restoring cultural harmony resides with the Muslim community.

Whilst those politicians (including Ruth Kelly and John Prescott) who spoke out against Jack Straw did receive media coverage, the reporting of their rebuttals of Straw's argument focused upon the right for women to cover rather than his discursive framing of separation. Khiabany and Williamson (2008) argue that the strength of support for Jack Straw's comments across the cabinet highlights the 'symbiotic relationship between political and media campaigns' (80). The veil is presented as symbolic of the refusal of mythologised Muslim communities to become active citizens, which forms part of a broader discourse concerning national identity and belonging within the space of the nation. As I shall explore it is the visibility of the veil in public space which renders it so symbolic.

The threat from such segregated Muslim communities was variously repeated in news items which followed on from the veil debate. In an article in the *Telegraph* on October 15th, concerning an interview given by David Davis the then Shadow Home Secretary to the

Sunday Telegraph, the authors focused upon Davis's framework of segregation and terrorism. His arguments were supported as 'a stark intervention' which represented a 'toughening of the Tory stance on the dangers of Islamic radicalism' (Hennessey and Kite: 2006:1). The synopsis of Davis's interview develops this framing of segregation and terrorism as interwoven into the debate over the veil. Muslim leaders were accused of 'encouraging "voluntary apartheid" in Britain by shutting themselves away in closed societies and demanding protection from criticism'(1), which would ultimately create the 'perfect conditions for home-grown terrorism'(1). The debate over the veil is identified as one of a series of events 'that highlight the reluctance among some Muslims to integrate fully into British society' (1). The veil thus becomes identified as a symbol of resistance, within a reworking of the framework of segregation/extremism/terrorism identified by Kundnani (2007). The use of words such as toughening and stark within Davis's response to the veil implicitly references the historicity of hard emotions as crucial to Britain re-becoming a strong nation (Ahmed: 2004) as embedded within socio-political calls to reshape British national values in the face of the failure of 'soft' policies of multiculturalism.

In a similar vein, on 23rd October all of the newspapers I examined ran feature articles concerning claims by Trevor Phillips, routinely referred to as 'Britain's race relations chief' that the debate over the veil could 'trigger riots'. Phillips' comments built upon claims made in a speech entitled 'After 7/7 sleepwalking to segregation' given in September 2005 in which he made an explicit link between self-segregation and terrorism. While the speech discussed racism and poverty as causal factors it made clear his belief that integration would not be achieved through economic and political means alone. The primary message taken up by the media and government was that Muslim communities were wilfully separating, which had caused conflict and would continue to do so unless reversed. (Finney and Simpson: 2008 for a critical overview). Phillips' linking of segregation, riots and the veil is discursively contextualised through and embedded within this historicity of argument. The most sensationalised headline I examined came from the *Mirror* which proclaimed *Flames on the streets*. The article drew out Phillips' claims that there would be 'riots and fire on the streets' if there was not a calming of tensions in the veil debate. This violent image was

linked directly to the civil disturbances in 2001 with a quote warning 'this could be the trigger for the grim spiral that produced riots in the North of England five years ago'. The article drew on claims by Phillips that 'excessive criticism of Muslims was matched by over-sensitivity from the community following the call by Commons leader Jack Straw for women to remove their veils' (Prince: 2006:1). These claims were given further weight through the pronouncement that they were backed by politicians.

The coupling of over-sensitivity with the 'violence' of the 2001 riots perpetuates discursive constructions of Muslims as overly intolerant, emotional and irrational which underpinned mediated representations of the 2001 'rioters' (Alexander: 2005). Throughout the articles I examined the need for a 'civilised discussion' was said to be imperative, whereby the Muslim response was implicitly referred to as potentially uncivilised and therefore problematic. Such a representation is reliant upon constructions of Islam as antithetical to the West, whereby 'inferior' emotional qualities become mapped onto particular mythological Muslim bodies through the potential of their uncivilised, violent responses (Alexander: 2005). The fact that Trevor Phillips' claims are speculative becomes understated through media heightening of the certainty of violence. Consequently as Khiabany and Williamson (2008: 81) argue 'Muslim women can be held accountable for 'violence' that has not actually happened. The defence of the veil by the discursive figure of the angry Muslim male is important here. Hage (1996) has argued that the veil symbolises the presence 'of another fatherly will within the nation' (484), challenging the security and unity of the nation as motherland through the rendering of the nation as 'unhomely' for the host community. The sense of unhomeliness initiated by the visibility of this alternate patriarchal culture challenges the ability of the 'fatherland' practices of governmentality to secure the nation as home. I argue that the restating of the need to make Muslim communities integrate, with the veil as a sign of refusal, needs to be viewed through this lens of nation building practices.

A second theme also emerges in the reporting of these debates through the linking of the veil as a sign of separation to the mythologised isolationist Muslim community, whereby the 'veil' comes to encompass the threat to the space of the nation from such 'unhomely' homes and their inhabitants through the figure of the Muslim woman as cultural reproducer. The shift from the veil as a sign of oppression to that of informed choice, constructed as an act of resistance, is crucial here. In a discussion of the problematic figure of the migrant woman within socio-political debates concerning the limits of multiculturalism, Geladof (2005) argues that the migrant woman is constructed as a problem of a particular kind. Whereby 'she is a problem defined by her linguistic isolation and limited awareness of cultural difference, her entanglement in the 'backward practices of arranged marriage and gender subordination' (222). These discourses produce her as a 'victim of patriarchal culture' and use her 'victim status as the measure against which a progressive British identity and citizenship status is established' (222). The migrant woman stands in opposition to this progressive identity as she embodies the limits of difference which can be absorbed by the multicultural ideal of Britishness without destabilising the progressiveness of that identity. Underpinning this is an understanding of 'reproduction as sameness' whereby her role as cultural reproducer is assumed to represent a 'tradition-bound, repetitive sameness' which she 'will dangerously pass onto her children' limiting their ability to become active citizens (223). There is a long history of Muslim women as viewed through this lens of victimhood, whereby such women need to be 'saved' by the West (Donnell: 2003, Dwyer: 1999, Mohammed: 2001). This image has been partially replaced by socio-political discourses which produce young British-born veiled woman as actively spurning British values and choosing to reproduce an extreme version of Islam linked to terrorism.

This construction of the veil as a signifier of Islamic extremism runs through the commentaries I examined in support of Jack Straw's comments. Whilst all of the newspapers I analysed published commentaries and leader articles concerning the veil debate, the *Guardian* produced the highest number. Interestingly, whilst they also provided a number of counter discourses, their editorials were overwhelmingly in support of Jack

Straw. Riddell (2006) argued that 'progressive Muslims have moved beyond the veil' before drawing upon Harriet Harman's (a prominent Labour MP) arguments that 'the veil is suffering a revival as a badge of radicalisation and a symbol of community' (2). Similarly, Kettle (2006) under the headline '*Jack Straw should be praised for lifting the veil on a taboo*' hints at extremism by arguing that the veil 'seems to say I do not wish to engage with you. It is at some level a rejection. And since that statement of rejection comes from within Islamic cultures, some of whose willingness to integrate is explicitly at issue in more serious ways, it is hardly surprising that it has been challenged' (3). The wearing of the veil is again constructed through a segregation/refusal/terrorism framework.

This framing is countered in a commentary column by Akhtar (2006) who points out that 'only 5% of Muslim women observe the full veil, and it is not prudent to lay the blame of the lack of social cohesion at their feet' (1). Overwhelmingly however, veiled British Muslim women are increasingly depicted as aggressors who have been given too much agency through the multi-cultural ideals of British liberalism and tolerance. It is against this idealised version of the nation that the veiled woman is defined as embodying an unhomely threat which needs to be controlled through a 'hardening' of governmental practices via the adoption of integrationist policies. This discourse is represented visually by the *Daily Mail* through their use of an image of Muslim women gathered in public (see Figure Three). The shot focuses upon a section of the crowd who are predominantly niqab wearing. The women are applauding as though listening to a speaker. The interrelation of this image with a narrative which links political discourses (including Jack Straw's comments) concerning the veil as a symbol of wilful segregation produces the connotation that the women are at a politicised Islamic gathering or protest, particularly because the context concerning the image production are not given, leaving it open to interpretation. Such images are informed by stylistic themes of journalistic photography which portray Muslim women as misguided political actors. These images disrupt stereotypes of Muslim women as passive and cloistered, presenting them instead as prone to extremism (Falah: 2005 for a contemporary discussion of images of Muslim women in Western media).



Figure Three: an image of Muslim women gathered together in a public space (The Daily Mail, 15th October 2006).

The construction of British tolerance as a vulnerable national characteristic underpinned many of the commentaries I examined. Writing under the headline 'The Veil stretches our tolerance to the limits', Moore (2006) of the *Telegraph* argued that 'Mrs Azmi's unreasonable demands, coupled with Jack Straw's bold comments about the intimidating aspects of the full-face veil, have forced the British public to think carefully about the presence of Muslim ghettos and Islamic fundamentalists in our society. A clear conclusion has emerged. As a nation, we feel that our tolerance is being stretched to the limit' (1). Moore also utilises a veil-segregation-fundamentalism thesis within his commentary. He invokes an exclusionary vision of nationhood which positions Muslims as outside of its cultural norms through their religious practice. This essentialist construction works to homogenise veiling practices and groups all Muslims together as a monolithic entity.

The ideal of British tolerance as having been stretched to its limits connotes the vulnerability of this national characteristic as open to abuse by ungrateful subjects who fail to remain within the limits of homely difference prescribed by the image of the idealised nation (Ahmed: 2004 for a discussion of 'multicultural love' and national belonging). Hage (1998) argues that the very notion of tolerance is a nationalist practice. For Hage, tolerance is an active practice that emanates from a position of power, whereby within the context of 'nation building to tolerate is not just to accept, it is to accept and position the other within specific limits or boundaries' (89). The concern with 'limits and boundaries emphasises,

above all, the *empowered spatiality* that is part of tolerance' (89). Consequently those who are the tolerated become part of the nation but only insofar as they are accepted by the tolerant. Their 'belonging to the national environment in which they come to exist is always a precarious one, for they never exist, they are allowed to exist. That is, the tolerated are never just present, they are positioned' (89-90). This element of spatiality is integral to the ability of the 'tolerating' to feel at home in the nation.

The visibility of the veil is constructed as inherently challenging this ability to feel 'comfortable'. *'The veil, the cross and a vital debate over the heart and soul of our nation'* proclaims Phillips in the *Daily Mail*. Drawing together Jack Straw's comments, Aisha Azmi's tribunal and emerging mediated debates concerning a British Airways employee allegedly sacked for wearing a crucifix, Phillips argues 'The source of this confusion is a profound loss of national, cultural and religious nerve. The Christian values that once defined national identity have simply collapsed, creating a cultural vacuum which Islam – Britain's fastest growing religion and most assertive religion – is busy filling' (1). Phillips' comments concerning the vulnerability of the 'heart and soul' of our nation can again be read as utilising a gendered notion of the nation as motherland. Phillips' construction of the dangers of Islam is inherently gendered, whereby the nation as motherland is in danger of becoming violated from within by the imposition of the patriarchal religious culture of a minority group. Again this threat to the national body is constructed as enabled by patriarchal governmental passivity, via the 'soft' politics of multi-cultural tolerance as positioned against the 'assertiveness' of Islam. Phillips expands this threat to native (white) Christian sovereignty through the evocation of changes to the national landscape.

Whilst Phillips acknowledges only a small minority of women wear it, the veil is described as 'inherently separatist and perceived by some as intimidatory. That is why it is unacceptable' (1). Phillips continues by linking sharia law to extremism and claiming that 'parts of our inner cities are fast becoming sharia enclaves' (1). This image of undesirable cultural practices is compounded by Phillips' final argument concerning plans to build a 'super Mosque' on the

Olympic site, which she argues amounts to a symbolic assertion of 'Islamic power' (1) within Britain. Such visual assertions of Muslim culture present a threat which can be read using Hage's (1998) categorisation of homely belonging, whereby 'when the nationalist feels that he or she can no longer operate in or recognise the national space in which he or she operates, the nation appears to be losing its national character' (40). Phillips perpetuates the need for a reclaiming of the national body based upon a mythical 'how it used to be' ideal of cultural and religious homogeneity. The right of Muslim women to veil, the ability to practice sharia law coupled with the threat of the 'mega-mosque' all stand in opposition to Phillips' construction of homely belonging. Consequently she argues that such claims on the space of the nation need to be rebutted as part of the reorienting and salvaging of Britishness.

The utilisation of homely belonging similarly pervades a number of articles in *The Guardian*, albeit from a more liberal perspective. Writing about his discomfort at the increasing numbers of Muslim women using the 'full veil' in his locality, Porter (2006) argued that he 'would even go so far as to say that I object to this one group of people holding itself apart, not from an intolerant white majority, but from a remarkably diverse and easy going ethnic mix' (1). Porter continues by outlining how he engages with individuals from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, all of whom run local businesses in his area, as evidence of his liberal position. Following the work of Hage (1996), I argue that Porter's comments can be read as a discourse of tolerance. Porter follows the description of his ethnic interactions by commenting that 'the way people get on without compromising their culture or ethnic origin is really rather moving' (2006:1). This statement is innately power laden, Porter's hierarchical positioning as tolerating means he is thus in a position to be 'moved' by the actions of his objects of tolerance. The people with whom he interacts are neatly positioned as contributing to a landscape of diversity which Porter finds homely. The limits of this homeliness are reached however by the figure of the fully veiled woman who he constructs as threatening to both the cohesiveness and security of the nation. As I have outlined, Porter argues that such women are separating themselves from the rest of the community. He then goes on to link this act of separation with terrorism by asserting that the 'We have a

problem with radicalised Muslims in Europe' (2), before asking 'do we ignore what is going on and hope things just get better or confront the minority and risk antagonising a much larger section of Muslim opinion' (2). Porter's discourse thus also intimates at the oversensitivity of the Muslim community as feeding into a broader intolerance of their cultural diversity as outside of the bounds of acceptable difference. Whilst the political position of the authors differ, all invoke the weaknesses of policies of 'tolerance', whereby a call for hard line integrationist policies are needed to restore homely order and hierarchal belonging posited on a sense of acceptable difference.

Throughout this section I have examined how the construction of 'the veil' as a symbol of refusal and resistance represents a new threat to the national body. This is constructed through a framework of segregation/extremism/terrorism which endangers the fabric of the 'nation as home'. The construction of homely belonging is predicated upon a mythical and historical notion of Britain as a 'still white nation'. This nationalist ideal references attributes as part of an intrinsic and exclusive national character which is threatened from within by incompatible Muslim values and allegiances embedded in 'alien' communities. 'Soft' governmental practices of multiculturalism are positioned as enabling the rise of isolated and ungrateful Muslim subjects. Policies of integration are posited as 'hard' policies through which to re-secure homely belonging and national security through conformity. This shift towards a politics of integration represents a patriarchal practice of nation building through the securing of the national body against the external and internal operation of the 'fatherly will' of Islamic culture. The visibility of the veil within the space of the nation utilises its inclusion within a framework of national insecurity through which the materiality of Islamic cultural landscapes such as mosques, the unhomely homes that make up segregated communities and veiled women are positioned as seditious. The figure of the home-grown terrorist epitomises such sedition. As I have argued the coverage of home raids renders domestic spaces alien and threatening, emphasising the insecurity of the everyday. Such spaces are central to scalar discourses of national insecurity through a collapsing of unhomely homes into the threat Islamic terrorism poses to the nation as home. In the

following sections I examine the impact of securitisation policies upon my participants' everyday lives and senses of home and belonging.

Exploring the insecurity of national security: the mobile border

Within Britain, the domestic imaginative geographies of 'The War on Terror' are argued to have become increasingly predicated upon the threat of both the 'home-grown' Islamic terrorist (Dwyer et al 2008) and the 'shadowy figure' of the asylum seeker who fits a certain risk profile (Sales:2005). As I have outlined, in response to this, state security measures now encompass immigration, citizenship and social cohesion strategies as well as technologies of border control and surveillance (Staheli and Nagel: 2008, Amoore: 2006). Walters identifies such securitisation as an example of 'domopolitics' in which the ideological links between the individual home, the nation and the politics of terror are utilised to create an 'us' and 'them' within the 'nation as home'. The risk from the 'other' to home and nation is argued by Young (2003) to be an inherent part of the logic of the protectionist, masculinist state. Young outlines how the protectionist state uses a politics of fear and protection to both define which people and behaviours 'belong' in a country and to gain or bolster state powers to protect those who do belong from those who do not. Drawing on Young's analysis, Staheli and Nagel (2008) argue for the importance of seeing current securitisation efforts 'as part of a larger dynamic of exclusion and "othering" that is integral to nation states (783). They place the post 9/11 intensification of security within a wider dynamic of fear. Drawing upon their research with Arab-American and British Arab activists, they push for the need to examine security from the perspective of 'those people who are the objects of society's fear and governmental surveillance' (782). This draws parallels with Hage's framework of patriarchal nationalist practises as inherently spatial, through the positioning of bodies within national space as belonging or not-belonging. In this section I examine my participants' experiences of protectionist security practices, arguing that they constitute a form of *insecurity*, which permeates the everyday. I discuss their articulations that they are subject to racial and religious profiling, which they argue is a form of racism at the scale of

the state. I explore the spatiality of such experiences with a particular focus on the intersections between high risk security spaces such as the airport, the 'public' space of street and the domestic spaces of home. This section focuses solely upon the experiences of those participants who identified as being of Pakistani descent, as they alone discussed encountering discrimination as a result of state security measures. This is reflective of both the positioning of Pakistan within the War on Terror and the rhetoric of Asian Muslim youth as embodying religio-cultural barbarity through the figure of the 'home-grown' terrorist (Alexander: 2005).

In my Bristol focus group, Rana, Abeda and Shemla recounted incidents which had happened to male family members under the guise of anti-terror enforcement. All three women had either sons or nephews who had been detained at international airports whilst going on holiday (in America and Egypt) by immigration officials under suspicion of being linked to terror organisations. In each incident the men were argued to fit a particular (and in one case named) risk profile. Although they eventually gained entry to the countries, they were informed they would be under surveillance and that their names were known to British security services. Rana, Abeda and Shemla variously reported that these experiences went beyond the airport space of border control, whereby their relatives were harassed by police whilst travelling around. They all described how fear inducing this was for their relatives as they had no idea why they were being scrutinised.

Whilst the incidences are too detailed to recount in full, it is important to highlight the anger with which the women spoke and the impact they felt such unwarranted surveillance had upon their families and the Pakistani community more broadly. The space of the airport (and international travel more broadly) were becoming seen as problematic. Moreover, they argued that under the auspice of international security, they and particularly their sons and nephews were subject to a dual 'othering', which relied on their fungibility as both Muslim and Asian. These experiences highlight the underlying racial, ethnic and religious profiling which informs risk profiling, despite the 'technical rationality' of the term (Staehele

and Nagel: 2008). Such use of surveillance within the different countries visited by my participants' relatives highlights British terror legislation as an apparatus of state power on a global scale, through the extension of security beyond the territory of the nation state. This securitisation of the nation as home has direct implications for those rendered unhomey, whereby the mobile boundaries and technologies of state power can render them immobile, fearful and stigmatized (Walters: 2004) .

In their examination of US security strategy, Bialasiewicz et al (2007) argue that the emergence of such mobile geographies of exclusion is signified by a notion of integration. This concept of integration is 'enacted through a number of practices of representation and coercion that encourage countries to adopt a raft of US attitudes and ways of operating or else suffer the consequences' (409). It rejects simple 'us or them' and 'home and away' binaries arguing that the US treats 'away as a home' through a process of incorporation. They argue that the 'process of integration enables the territorial integrity of other sovereign states to be violated in its name as specific places are targeted to either ensure or overcome their exclusion' (416). Parallels can be drawn here between the domestic and transnational policies of integration as a 'hard' fatherhood mechanism of securitisation through which to re-secure the borders of the motherlands of the US and its allies through the imposition of their patriarchal will upon suspect nations. In terms of my participants experiences they identify Pakistan as particularly vulnerable to US intervention, which is having profound effects on their sense of familial security within Pakistan:

Rashida: I think actually the Pakistani people, they do blame America, because they put a lot of pressure on the Pakistani government.

Shemla: They are under pressure, the Pakistani government is under pressure to arrest people, to look like they are doing something and that means a lot of

innocent people have been targeted and now Pakistan is in danger of a civil war.

Rashida: At one point when I went last year they had been killing people in the areas on the outskirts, you know near the Afghan and Pakistani border.

Abeda: they have just been targeting people, because obviously they need to show that they are doing something, so they order their army to just kill and sometimes they have been killing civilians and these civilians are now coming back to kill and bomb and do these terrorist bombs and you know they are creating the suicide bombers, there has never been so much bombing before.

Shemla: It makes you scared to go back, scared for the family in Pakistan

Rashida: and just really angry that they can't see the harm they are creating.

Britain's positioning within the coalition on the War on Terror has particular consequences for my Pakistani heritage participants' sense of security and home. This exchange highlights the stretching of home across diaspora. For many of my participants Pakistan was an integral part of both a material and imaginative geography of home. These geographies were seen as increasingly under threat through Pakistan's geo-political positioning, which added to my participants' articulations of insecurity, both 'at home' in Britain and in Pakistan. Further on in this exchange, Rana highlighted the collusion she felt occurring between the American and British governments in their treatment of Pakistan and towards the War on Terror more broadly. This sense of alienation from state policy, coupled with the identification that her visibility as a specifically Pakistani Muslim excluded her from the

norms of British society, impacted upon her ability to feel British. Rana emphasised that arbitrary security surveillance was a particular problem for the British Pakistani community, a concern she believes will intensify over time. Rana's arguments are again bound up with feelings concerning ideas of home in relation to global-local familial security. Rana fears that her children will experience increased state scrutiny, which even now affects their ability to safely return to Pakistan to visit. The fear of returning home resonated with the rest of the group, who stressed that they felt they were almost being made to choose between these spaces of home as a test of their loyalty to the state:

Rana: especially with America, like you said when they do that a lot and that same culture is coming to this country, so as it comes our children are growing up and it is going to get worse in here as well. Even going to Pakistan where a lot of us come from, because now it comes in the news that there are training camps and this and that and they are going to think that's why the children are going to Pakistan to go to the training camps and things like that.

This sense of fear concerning my participants geographies of home and the positioning of Pakistan within the War on Terror are gendered, with my participants fearing that their young male relatives may eventually be unable to visit Pakistan because of its association with 'home grown terrorism'. In this section I have attempted to tease out some of the lived realities of being subject to seemingly borderless security measures, as experienced by those Bristol participants who identified as of Pakistani heritage. I now turn to focus upon my participants' experiences of the reach of 'the mobile border' into the interior.

The (in)security of national security: visibility in public space

As well as expanding and mobilizing the notion of 'the border', contemporary securitisation measures have facilitated surveillance technologies to move to the everyday spaces of the home, street, neighbourhood, workspaces and social spaces (Coleman; 2007, Staeheli and Nagel: 2008). In Britain the rise of 'stop and search' tactics (as introduced in the Terrorism Act 2000) has been particularly controversial as they are predicated on racialised perceptions of who constitutes a threat (Allen 2005, Alexander: 2005, Fekete: 2004, Kundnani: 2007 and 2007a). My participants in London identified such measures as impacting upon their communities, again particularly with reference to male relatives. They argued that such measures were emblematic of the societal suspicion and social injustice which the Muslim (and especially the South Asian Muslim community) is subject to:

Parveen: I mean even stop and search, obviously before the police were sort of focusing on Muslim communities this used to happen to black communities a lot and just looking at the way they talk about it, it had a very negative effect towards black youths and their sort of opinions and views towards the police, they lost trust and didn't feel as though they were seen as ... they were seen as the other and it didn't do anything for community relationships between the police and the youths and I think the same thing is happening now. I don't think they have learnt their lesson, things like stop and search, I think it does more damage to community cohesion, it's not intelligence led. I don't really think it is of much benefit.

Parveen draws upon her professional work which focuses upon monitoring racism and Islamophobia to highlight a widely held belief within Muslim communities that stop and search tactics are based on racial stereotyping. She warns of the damage this is doing to community relationships both directly with the police and more broadly in terms of a sense

of alienation from society. Further on in this discussion, Parveen acknowledges one response to this is to turn away from society. This notion of retreat is important in terms of discourses of self-segregation which ignore the possibility of segregation as a security tactic. Parveen identifies Muslim communities as becoming forcibly estranged from society through what she considers to be anti-Muslim or Islamophobic policies which have been imposed upon them. As such, the 'turning-in on itself' that she identifies occurring can be read as a form of securitisation in response to oppressive anti-Muslim policing. Parveen's comparison to 1980s policing of the black community was echoed by some of my London participants in two distinct ways. They felt that the contemporary treatment of the Muslim community needs to be contextualised as part of a longstanding legacy of institutionalised racism, in which as Amina encapsulated, they were the 'in vogue scapegoats'. Secondly, they articulated concerns that Muslim youth would become locked into a cycle of discrimination and criminalisation which would parallel that of black youth.

Whilst my participants in Bristol did not discuss personal experiences of stop and search tactics, they did identify them as openly demonstrative of racial-religious profiling. They identified 'the street' as a site of surveillance, insecurity and fear for Muslims. This resonates with a body of geographic work which challenges the ideal of the street as an inclusive and democratic space, arguing that it is subject to overt and covert policing which excludes and marginalises certain groups, such as young people or the homeless who are deemed 'out of place' (Valentine: 2004, Mitchell:1997, Cresswell: 1996). My participants' focus on the street echoes Hopkins' research with young Scottish Muslim men (2004, 2006, 2007, 2007b). Hopkins argues that many of his participants identified the street as a place where they were likely to experience racism, harassment and discrimination, an expectation which impacted upon the geographical negotiation of their everyday lives in various ways. It is interesting that my female participants highlighted similar patterns of behaviour within their communities and families, especially in regard to harassment at the scale of the state, as the source of harassment is not made explicit by Hopkins' participants. The gendering of this 'fear' within public space is of interest given that in opposition to 'traditional' concerns regarding the safety of women within public space (Pain: 1991). Here my female

participants' narratives focus upon their concerns for male relatives in relation to the visibility of their age and ethno-religious identity. These fears centre upon the susceptibility of their relatives to racial-religious profiling at a range of scales. The emotional and psychological impact of such surveillance upon the women is articulated in relation to both communal, but particularly familial relationships, as highlighted by Rana's discussion of the fear she feels for her sons when they attend events at the mosque:

Rana: we feel scared even though it feels like it is not our fault but we are still scared, if there is gatherings we scared whether to go there or not to go there because we do not know what the media is thinking, they might be thinking you know there is something terrorist going on, or is there something being discussed here erm things like gathering at the mosques, we are scared to send our youngsters there especially our boys because they are young British born Muslim boys and things that we have been hearing we are afraid to send them there, because you know what if the media walks in there or the police walk in there and say 'hang on there is a discussion going on what is happening here' so there is a fright there all the time. A typical example, my children went for a talk yesterday and okay we were very happy that they went there, they went to get knowledge about Islam, but then again we were frightened because there was all young Muslim boys and men getting together, talking about religion and then on the other hand if there is any media or anybody out there thinking 'hang on why are they getting together'. That fright was there for me as a parent, I can't speak about others but for me there is always fear, even the dressing because I have got young boys, the way they dress up, the Islamic code you know my husband gets worried 'don't dress up like this because you might be the next one pulled, hang on you're dressed like this, young Muslim boy, born in this country, you know what's going on'.

Both the mosque and the street are implicated in this quotation as spaces of insecurity and this is interesting when thinking of these spaces in terms of public life and private life. Rana outlines that both she and her husband are frightened for her sons when they go out in public due to the visibility of their Muslim identity, in this case their beards and dress. Similarly, the visibility of attending the mosque in terms of how it may be construed by the media or police is an additional source of fear for their sons' safety. The identification of the mosque as subject to 'interior' securitisation measures, problematises notions of the mosque as a space of 'private' life through its importance for male religious practice. Hopkins and Smith (2008) have described the mosque as essentially a private, communal space which provides a link to both a local and global Muslim community. They highlighted the precariousness of articulating an affinity with a global Umma in the context of post 9/11 geopolitics but argued that at the scale of the local, the mosque still represented a space to which the young men could retreat as part of their 'behaviour of safekeeping'.

Hopkins (2007) identified some of the young men he interviewed as withdrawing from the mosque but this was in response to concerns with racism. Some of Hopkins' participants had difficulty negotiating a safe route to the mosque and/or identified the space of the mosque itself as being a target for attack. My findings develop this work through an identification of the mosque as a space of insecurity in and of itself. The Mosque was seen as subject to covert (and overt) scrutiny by both the media and the police. Consequently a number of my participants discussed feeling fearful over their son's/husband's daily attendance at the mosque in case it was misread by police as a sign of fundamentalism. Rana's fears that the media will misconstrue the Imam's teaching reflects a framework of media reportage and governmental concerns in which mosques feature as hotbeds of terrorist activity and certain Imam's as preachers of hate (Poole: 2006).

As I have outlined, whilst the mosque as a symbol of alien cultural presences has a long history (Naylor and Ryan; 2002, Gale: 2009), it is increasingly constructed within socio-political discourse as a space of sedition, legitimising its place within the expansion of spaces of surveillance (Werbner: 2009). This inclusion is a measure which makes the lives of my participants who attend, or whose family members attend the mosque, increasingly

anxious.¹⁰ This sense of insecurity is founded upon notions of visibility. In a similar vein the spaces of Muslim community organisations have been argued to be under scrutiny. My participants talked about being fearful of discussing ‘Muslim issues’ such as Gaza¹¹ in both the mosque and their various offices. Whilst this does not signify a tactical break from the notion of Umma as found by Hopkins and Smith (2008), it highlights the very invisibility of surveillance technologies as producing fear and circumscribing behaviour. As I discussed in Chapter Three, my presence as a white researcher legitimised the group discussions from which this chapter is drawn. My participants outlined that they would not have discussed such issues amongst themselves for fear of being heard or watched and their comments misconstrued as extremism. Naima argued that the fear of surveillance and labelling acted as a form of self-censorship amongst Muslim communities:

Naima: In terms of terrorism, this idea of a terrorist is so undefined; it can apply to the whole Muslim community. Within micro-communities, it creates the same kind of fear, everyone is suspicious of each other, they don’t want to be seen with the wrong person or heard talking about the wrong issues in case they are seen as extremists, terrorists, associates and so on and it helps to gag people, it promotes a form of self-censorship within the community.

Using the concept of domopolitics, Walters (2004) has described such technologies in Foucauldian terms as ‘conquest, taming, subduing; a will to domesticate the forces which threaten the sanctity of the home’ (242). Certainly as I have discussed, my participants identified the threat of surveillance as impacting upon both the spaces they inhabit, and their behaviour within such spaces, in this case their ability to discuss and participate in ‘Muslim issues’. Whilst this section has focused upon the street and community spaces, I

¹⁰ I discuss my participants’ religious practice more fully in Chapter Six, however I want to note here that all my participants attended mosque at Eid and several attended prayer circles and would go to special lectures and it was their visibility at these meetings which was particularly seen as potentially arousing suspicion. More broadly my participants worried for their husbands and sons whose mosque attendance was very regular.

¹¹ I conducted group interviews in the seven months after the Israeli air strikes on Gaza in December 2008 and so this issue was particularly pertinent.

want to turn now to examine the role of the 'unhomely home' within the intensification of security.

The insecurity of national security: the reality of the unhomely home

The home has been identified as 'intensely political, both in its internal intimacies and through its interfaces with the wider world' (Blunt: 2005: 210). As I discussed in the first half of the chapter, media coverage of terror raids highlight the use of domestic products within bomb making practices and familial spaces as terror cells and factories. The subversion of the familiar and the homely become symbolic of the threat of terrorism to the material and metaphorical spaces of the home and/as nation. This discourse whereby the nation as home is under threat from the home of the 'enemy within' renders particular Muslim homes as potentially unhomely. The vulnerability of the home to the threat of unwarranted surveillance was highlighted by my Pakistani heritage participants in Bristol as part of a broader discussion concerning their positioning as subject to targeted securitisation measures. In London the fear of home raids discussed by my participants was articulated in reference to the visibility of such raids within their localities. Several of my participants knew of families whose homes had been raided needlessly. Underpinning these discussions was an objection to the seemingly arbitrary levels of suspicion and methods of 'knowledge gathering' through which a home could be subjected to a raid. It was this arbitrariness that was seen as problematic rather than home raids per se.

The husband of one of my London participants¹² was arrested under the Terrorism Act 2000 and their home was raided. Although he was later released without charge, she discussed the alienation which follows a raid. This estrangement was primarily due to the fear of 'guilt by association' experienced by the family's wider social network. It highlights the production

¹² I have not identified them by their pseudonym as a precautionary measure to ensure their anonymity, given that this experience coupled with other details associated with the pseudonym could result in their identification.

of fear through surveillance as a means of securitisation by which suspect bodies are disciplined:

I mean for instance like with us, if one person is arrested in the family, it's going to affect the whole rest of the family because either you could be going for a birthday party or you could be going to someone's house for a gathering and you might go there a couple of times or maybe after you know you might go a couple of times in the night or you might go a couple of times to the Mosque and then next thing you know a policeman is saying oh you have gone ten times this week to the Mosque and can you explain that.. and people do get worried , and think oh my God we can't go to this house too much because the police will look at us because you know he has been arrested and we might be seen as a terrorist too.

This participant also outlined the way in which having their belongings rifled through and replaced neatly but 'in all the wrong places as though it had been done on purpose to spin me out', left an indelible impression upon the spaces of the home, which was described as taking months to fade. The initial sense of a violation of the home as a space of familial intimacy was initially experienced through embodied domestic practices. She described incidences such as reaching for the cling-film to wrap her children's sandwiches only to find that it was no longer there as the police had put it back in a different place. The memory of this sense of disruption lingered whereby the repetition of the act of making her children's packed lunches would invoke it at random, acting as a raw reminder of events and prolonging the sense of intrusion. This experience highlights the way in which a home raid itself can rupture the familiarity of the home, reproducing it as an insecure and unhomely space. The fragility of feeling secure that this demonstrates draws parallels with work by Chapman (1999) on experiences of domestic burglary in which he demonstrates that many victims experience strong feelings of defilement and invasion. Such feelings often result in rigorous exercises of cleaning, reordering and throwing out of polluted items as part of an

attempt to eradicate reminders of the event and the resulting impact such memories have upon the victims continued sense of vulnerability (142).

Similarly, Yasmeen, (who works with families who have been subject to home raids and arrests under terrorism legislation) outlines some of the impact such practices have upon the domestic life and spaces of her clients:

Yasmeen: There may be a large number who get arrested but very few who actually get charged and then convicted. Therefore there are a huge number of families who are left broken, literally. I mean the impact can range, but it can obviously have a huge impact especially upon the wife and the children. Sometimes you have children who have witnessed the raid, you have got wives who have witnessed their husbands being taken away, sometimes in quite a brutal manner, it depends on the raid. Often the raids are done in the early hours of the morning so therefore you are not expecting, I mean that is the tactic that is used by the police in terms of not expecting it, so a lot of families they don't suspect or expect that there will be a raid taking place. It can have a huge impact I mean emotionally and psychologically, even just the arrest itself and what comes after it. I mean there is one family I can think of and the husband has become quite suicidal and the wife, she just doesn't feel safe in her home, she is always wearing a headscarf, thinking that the police are going to come at any time.

Again home raids are described as producing a legacy of trauma and insecurity, through the violation of the safe, private and familial space of home. This conceptualisation of the home as a site of risk and surveillance for some of my participants stands in contrast to Hopkins and Smith's (2008) research in which the home was argued to be a space of tactical retreat.

The identification of the home as 'unsafe' through the visibility of its Muslim inhabitants was echoed by my Pakistani heritage participants in Bristol:

Rashida: I do feel a bit shaken and I do feel concerned because of I think things like the forty days¹³ without any question, keeping people you know things like that, it makes you feel really insecure about 'oh am I just going to be pulled up in the street' and it could literally be a neighbour that doesn't like you and says 'do you know what, I don't like that Muslim family and I've seen they go to the Mosque and they wear those funny things' and I mean it could be any kind of misunderstanding and they could say 'okay they're too religious, they're just too weird' and they could interpret that as something else and then the police can come, literally come to your doorstep and take you away. I mean that really unsettles me, that is the most frightening thing for my brothers, for me, for everyone, I mean I think that's the most frightening and you don't have to necessarily be radical or anything.

Rashida's reference to a sense of neighbourhood surveillance as a source of fear is important in terms of what Amoore (2006) describes as the extension of responsibility for national security towards the 'electronically enabled citizen as foot soldier' (Butler: 2004 for a US centred appraisal). Rashida identifies such measures as highlighting the porosity of the borders of the 'unhomely' home. She describes the reach of security powers as creating a palpable sense of fear amongst her community. Rashida's comment that 'the police can come, literally to your doorstep' highlights its role as both a material and metaphoric border which is now vulnerable to state penetration. In terms of post 9/11 securitisation, the suspect home can thus be seen as one of the new border spaces of the interior, whereby as Back argues 'fear of the enemy next door has become a key weapon in statecraft' (2007:6).

¹³ Rashida is referring to a proposed clause in the 2008 Counter Terrorism Act to extend pre-charge detention from 28 days to 42 days.

A further strand of the home as a site of insecurity is identified by Khoulah who argues that Muslim women are now being targeted by politicians as the potential guardians of national security through their mothering. This identification should be read within the context of patriarchal processes of nation building. As I have argued, 'securing' the problematic figure of the Muslim women as cultural reproducer, has become increasingly central to strategies of governmental securitisation. Khoulah highlighted the effects of such discourses concerning her role as educator in a longer discussion on integration and assimilation. She described how 'under the spotlight' she felt raising her children as Muslim in a borough that had a relatively small Muslim population. Khoulah felt John Reid's¹⁴ espousal that the prevention of terrorism started in the home essentially demarcated 'good' (and by implication integrated) Muslim mothers from 'bad' (non-integrated) Muslim mothers. Khoulah discussed the arbitrariness with which she felt terrorism and terror suspects were identified by the state, whereby any actions which linked Islam with violence could be misconstrued as 'bad' or threatening:

Khoulah: now the drive is young Muslim females, that is the target now. Now they are saying that it's the women that we should make sure, like you know Reid, John Reid when he made that stupid comment when he was in Walthamstow and he said that parents, specifically mothers need to keep an eye out on their children for potential suicide bombers... what are you going on about?! That is the most stupid thing. Are you going to say now that mums are going to know from birth or from when they are toddler to say that this person is going to become a radical? I mean we've got books, kids books called the Battles of the Prophet, from a young age Muslims are teaching children that the Prophet Mohammed he fought and he fought like this and he used this and he used that... what are you going to say? That we are radicalising the children?

¹⁴ In September 2006 John Reid, the then Home Secretary gave a speech to an assembly of Muslims in East London in which he said that parents should be alert to the signs of grooming by Islamic fundamentalists.

Khoulah identifies both her domestic role of educator and the space of the home as a space of religious education as subject to socio-political scrutiny. This again reflects the messiness of the public/private divide through the complex interfaces of the domestic with public life (Blunt and Dowling: 2006, Staeheli: 1996). In this section I have examined the home as a site of insecurity for those whose homes are constructed as a threat to national security. Drawing upon my participants' experiences and fears, I have outlined some of the impact that home raids have upon the spaces and senses of home. For some of my participants the fear of surveillance and potential misconstruction of their religious practices rendered the home, at times, a site of insecurity and vulnerability. The experience of securitisation measures as making life insecure for my participants is again predicated on visibility.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused upon the construction and experiences of patriarchal nationalist practices of securitisation through the lens of the home. I explored the spatiality of media constructions of home-grown terrorism by focusing upon representations of home raids. I argued that the rendering of the domestic as alien and threatening within media coverage of such raids was part of a politics of fear, predicated upon the grafting of insecurity onto the intimate space of the home and across scales of neighbourhood, community and nation. The discursive reiteration of the threat of Islamic terrorism as 'in and amongst us' amplifies the threat of home-grown terrorism and positions particular communities as threatening the material landscapes of the nation as home. Increasingly, such discourses utilise a framework of segregation/extremism/terrorism, against which policies of integration are positioned as integral to a re-securing of the nation. Drawing upon the work of Hage (1996 and 1998) I have argued that such processes are patriarchal mechanisms of nation building. The figure of the veiled Muslim woman has become central to such debates, whereby the veil symbolises the influence of an alternate 'fatherly will' within the nation. I identify a shift in the discursive framing of the veil from a symbol of oppression, to a mark of cultural refusal, separation and ultimately resistance embedded in the threat of terrorism. This

positioning draws upon socio-historic concerns regarding the role of Muslim women as reproducers of a backwards and barbaric, patriarchal culture which now stands outside of the limits of tolerable difference within the national body.

I have examined how for some of my participants their visibility as Muslim women of Pakistani heritage positions them as particularly suspect, impacting upon their everyday geographies as a form of *insecurity*. The securitisation of the 'nation as home' renders them as 'unhomely'. Such a positioning leaves them subject to visible and invisible technologies of state surveillance. The reach of security technologies and the fear of being targeted impacts upon the security of my participants' everyday lives, policing their behaviours in different spheres. The public space of the street has been argued to be a site of particular insecurity for their male relations and the 'private life' spaces of the home, mosque and community organisation are seen as potentially subject to surveillance, as part of the policing of the 'interior'. The reality of having an 'unhomely' home renders the domestic as vulnerable to state intrusion and penetration in the form of home raids. This sense of exposure extends to their role as mothers, whereby they feel under pressure to perform an identity that conforms to governmental proscriptions of acceptable difference and integration. Such pressures are argued to constitute a form of unequal citizenship. It is important that my participants' fears are not overstated, nor underplayed. I argue that an undercurrent of fear and anxiety has become interwoven into the emotional geographies of my participants' everyday lives and landscapes. These experiences of *insecurity* are predicated upon the visibility of my participants' ethnicity and religious identity. The following chapter is further concerned with the effects that visibility has upon the everyday lives of my participants through a focus on identity and belonging. I explore their arguments that media discourses concerning Muslims are a key source of everyday insecurity which impact upon their senses of national belonging. I draw out the scalarity of my participants' feelings of belonging and non-belonging in relation to their experiences of cultural racism at the scale of the media, the state and the street. I explore the impact such 'othering' has upon my participants' everyday geographies and relationships to home.

Chapter Five

Insecurity, (in)visibility and the 'veil': exploring Muslim women's everyday lives in London and Bristol

This chapter focuses upon exploring my participants' experiences and negotiations of racism in the context of the War on Terror. I begin by examining my participants' identifications that media discourses concerning Muslims constitute a key source of racism, insecurity and fear. This is largely predicated on the visibility of my participants' religious identity and the ways in which they feel their bodies may be misread. I outline ways in which media representations are read by my participants through frameworks of nationalism, gender, diaspora, exclusion and racism. I draw out the impact such experiences have upon their identities and scalar narratives of belonging, and not belonging (Anthias: 2005, Hopkins: 2007). I argue that my participant's self-representation is set within and against such wider networks of representation and understanding. Dwyer has argued for the importance of understanding the 'multiplicity of subject positions that might be held by young Muslim women whilst also recognising how their everyday lives, like those of all individuals are constituted through intersecting discursive, material and social formations' (1999b: 9). Dwyer's framework has influenced my own approach within this section to understanding how my participants are positioned and position themselves in relation to socio-political discourses and their impact. I argue that my participants' discussions of identity are intrinsically political, with many of the women identifying as Muslim and British as part of a politics of resistance to the othering and exclusion of Muslims from normative British identity.

The themes of (in)visibility and (in)security are further developed within the second half of the chapter, which explores my participants' experiences of racism in 'public space'. I discuss how those participants who dress in religious attire are highly visible as religious subjects, yet become invisible as individuals through a process of de-humanisation. I argue that covering as a form of religious dress thus has socio-spatial effects, through its

significance as a marker of religious identity. I then suggest that whilst religion has become a primary marker of difference, my participants' experiences demonstrate how such othering on grounds of religion, needs to be seen as a form of contemporary racism, which often becomes conflated with other markers of difference, primarily gender and ethnicity. I examine the impact that such experiences have had on my participants' everyday geographies and particularly their relationships to the home as both a material and imaginary space bound up with notions of security. Finally I explore my participants' discussions of their own covering practices, paying particular attention to the way in which they attempt to reclaim the veil through opposing simplistic discourses which suggest the veil is a symbol of oppression/extremism. Within this however, I draw out some of the contradictions within their narratives, arguing that whilst they attempt to combat 'policing' of female identity through a discourse of individual religiosity, they continue to reinforce proscriptions upon dress. I then turn to explore how rather than minimise the visibility of the veil, some of my participants use fashion and bodily corporeality to heighten and rework its visibility as part of a politics of acceptability.

Mediated (in)security: exploring the politics of representation, belonging and identity.

Within this half of the chapter I examine my participants' discussions concerning Islamophobia within mainstream western media. It is important to recognise from the outset that whilst my participants identified British tabloid papers and both British and American news channels as the main sources of media through which they monitored the representation of 'Muslims', they were resistant to being drawn into a detailed analysis of different sources. Rather, western media was very much discussed as an all pervasive monolithic entity. It is the total sense of bombardment felt by my participants which is important to draw out here. My participants all saw themselves as marked by mediated (mis)representations of Islam through which all Muslims could be read as deviant. They argued that the conflation of Islam with terrorism produced a representation whereby all Muslims could be seen as potential terrorists. My participants discuss how within this

context their visibility as 'Muslim' is in and of itself a source of insecurity through their positioning as 'fearful'; as part of a community which is to be feared. The primacy of media discourse as a lens through which they felt that their identity as Muslim would be read by others is central to this insecurity. Thus, my focus is upon exploring how these representations are read by my participants and the impact such interpretations have upon their senses of belonging. I argue that their articulation of identity should be read as illustrative of the political and performative nature of belonging (Yuval Davis et al: 2005) whereby, as I shall explore, my participants' lived experiences and negotiations of belonging are complex, shifting and fragmentary in nature.

Reading Muslim identity in relation to Britishness

All of my participants discussed their religious identity as under scrutiny through contemporary socio-political discourses concerning security, citizenship and terrorism in Britain, which they felt coalesced around Muslim communities. They argued that such reporting went beyond relaying news of terrorist attacks and was increasingly focusing upon Islamic and cultural difference, which insinuated that being Muslim was no longer compatible with Britishness. This sense of scrutiny was enhanced by their identification that religion had become a primary marker of identity in news stories concerning Muslims, particularly those articles concerning crime or deviancy, but that this practice was not adopted in stories featuring non-Muslims, as this quote from Favel and Nina encapsulates:

Favel: People just look into the media and be like...

Nina: Yeah like they exaggerate a lot, like people see one Muslim do one bad thing and like criticise them all, but if it were a different religion nobody looks at you from the religious aspect they normally look into it more as well this person as an

individual but when it becomes a Muslim doing something they always have to state that fact

Favel: It's always what this Muslim person has done, not just that person has done, like they never say this person's name is this, they say a Muslim person done this and they turn round and say all Muslim persons are like this

This singling out of religion as a marker of identity through which Islam is conflated with criminality and fear is seen to go beyond the reporting of terror incidents or threats. Rather my participants saw it as a particularly insidious form of 'othering' which informed a wider discourse through which Muslims were positioned as outside the norms of British society and as a threat to the wellbeing and security of the nation. This highlights the 'vulnerability of the Muslim Diaspora' caught up in the impact of 'a historical moment not of its own making' (Werbner: 2004: 462).

A second strand to this discourse of othering was identified as resting upon Muslims as culturally 'other'. My participants relayed accounts of media stories in which Muslim communities were seen to be making cultural demands upon state institutions, such as the NHS and the prison service. Such demands (for example, for the provision of halal food or prayer rooms) were seen to position Muslims as failing to integrate, a failure that was at the cost of the British public. Many of my participants also identified that this form of othering marked their bodies and often their domestic and familial practices as 'other', foreign and ultimately threatening. The sense of dislocation from British society through religious affiliation and cultural practice was again seen as targeted exclusively towards the Muslim community, compounding the positioning of Muslims as the 'ultimate other' (Alexander: 2005) within British society, as Parveen illustrates:

Parveen: I think that that's the way that not just the media but politicians as well, that's the way that Muslims are portrayed, that they don't want to integrate, that they choose religion over being British – that they are difficult – that you know they will make the demands, it's their way or the high way or sort of thing and you don't find the sort of the way that Muslims are portrayed like that – you don't find that about other minority communities. For example, there has been quite a bit about halal meat (for example in prison meals) but you know Muslims and Jews, I mean it's almost identical the way they slaughter meat and you know you don't get the same kind of reporting about other faith communities so I think they are made out as if they are different and I think you don't get that sort of constant marking out of difference with other faith communities.

This identification that stories concerning demands for halal food emphasise the undesirable 'otherness' and unhomeliness of Muslims is based upon a reading of such domestic practices as 'alien'. The importance of cultural difference as constructed through sensory encounters is emphasised by Longhurst et al (2008) who argue 'embodied experiences cannot be ignored when attempting to understand relationships between people' (340). Here the construction of difference is seen to utilise a speculative discourse of 'othered' sensory and embodied cultural and particularly domestic practices, which are embedded as evidence of the 'barbarity' and backwardness of Islam.

The positioning of Muslims as outside the boundaries of normative British society was often described in terms of a sense of estrangement from wider society, which impacted upon my participants' sense of self and belonging. The women who articulated their heritage as Pakistani, Turkish or Bengali specifically categorised themselves as British Muslims when discussing the positioning of Muslims within media discourse. Whilst this reflects their legal status as British citizens I argue that it needs to also be read through a framework of belonging which, following Yuval-Davis et al (2005), is a 'thicker' concept than citizenship. Through foregrounding their discussions of such negotiations by asserting the compatibility

of their identity as British and Muslim my participants are overtly challenging the exclusionary constructions of Britishness to which they feel subject.¹⁵

Yasmeen, who is of Pakistani origin, but was born in the UK, argues that prior to 9/11 and particularly 7/7 she had felt secure in her identity as a British Muslim. She felt her identity as a British Muslim was accepted in terms of both constructs of national identity and a lived experience of belonging, borne out through her interactions with wider society. This sense of inclusion has been challenged by the socio-political demonisation of Muslim identity:

Yasmeen: In my case I have always thought of myself as being part of the wider community, but now you feel that well where is your place and where is your identity now, within the current climate and I still don't know? There is a question mark there, whereas before I was pretty sure, 'yes I'm a British Muslim', I take part in things and I like to do things for the community and be a part of this British culture and now there is a question mark as to how well do I fit within that remit, just because of the current climate.

Yasmeen outlines a shrinking of the boundaries of British identity. This highlights the complex dynamics of identity formation whereby, as Valentine et al (2009) argue, the claiming of identity is in part reliant upon the recognition of and/or acceptance of that identity by a 'wider community of practice' (236). This exclusion at the scale of the nation is contradicted through her continued interactions and engagement with society, yet such contradictions cannot fully undermine her sense of not belonging. This emphasises the complexity of negotiations of belonging at different scales. Yasmeen goes on to articulate her sense of not belonging as a sense of homelessness, whereby Britain is no longer somewhere she can call home. Her sense of Britain as unhomey is experienced

¹⁵ This is not to insinuate that this positioning is purely political. I develop this discussion of identity and belonging in Chapter Six in which I further explore my participants' discussions of ethnicity, identity and belonging in relation to the material home.

imaginatively and spatially. This demonstrates the temporality and vulnerability of claiming belonging. Yuval-Davis et al (2005) argue that: 'there is a range of spaces, places, locales and identities to which we feel we do not and cannot belong. Belonging therefore involves an important affective dimension relating to important social bonds and ties. It is where the sociology of emotions interfaces with the sociology of power' (528). Similarly, Rashida, Abeda and Shemla highlight the role of the media in perpetuating what they describe as a sense of cultural or societal segregation which goes beyond the spatial and impacts on their everyday negotiations of belonging:

Rashida: We could blame the media for spreading these lies and I mean they are lies and instead of communities integrating the media causes all of this.

Abeda: Yes they are aggravating the communities.

Shemla: Absolutely, the media I think is, plays a big part to blame for segregating communities and making the gap that is there even wider because the media could do a hell of a lot more to put us together.

Abeda: That's what I said the media is causing all this, the newspapers, the television all wrong.

Rashida: and the worst part is you can't silence them either so it's such a battle, you know if it is one politician you can all say right so and so said this but *media*?! I think it's just really ignorant; it's just ignorance isn't it.

It is important to recognise the implicit power relations embedded within this sense of estrangement. My participants argue that their dislocation from British society has been imposed upon them through their experiences of mediated anti-Muslim 'othering'. They feel that their visibility as Muslim means that they are read through this framework of 'othering' by wider society. This highlights the spatiality of national belonging which, as Hage (1998) argues, always involves the positioning of otherness as part of the securing of national space. Rashida's frustration at the pertinacity of the media is heightened through her identification of its reach as all pervasive. The sense of mediated spatial and symbolic exclusion articulated by Rashida draws parallels with Hopkins and Smith's (2008) work with young Muslim males in Scotland, through which they identified 'the narratives of young Muslim men, spoken fresh from the aftermath of 9/11, point insistently to the power of the media to define and circumscribe their lives' (109).

Mediated constructions of Muslims as 'other' are not without challenge however. The disjuncture of claiming an identity as British Muslim was both recognised and refuted by several of my younger British-born participants who disavowed the exclusion of Muslim communities from a normative British identity. They were highly aware of the cultural and racial norms which were inherent within discourses of national belonging, but they refused to accept such public definitions of Britishness which were not of their making. This is highlighted within this excerpt:

Nazreen: It's like the media, those people are completely ignorant, I just ignore people like that because it's just plain stupidity, how can you not be, it's like me going up to a Christian and saying you can't be Christian and British, you can't breathe and you can't be British, at the end of the day being British is nationality and being a Muslim is my faith.

Favel: It's two completely different things

Nazreen: Those kind of people are the ones that either are completely thick and ignorant, or they're the people that want segregation between communities and what they do is, they provoke us and we're stupid because we react

The separation of nationality from religion was a common tactic within the claiming of national identity, whereby my participants argued that their loyalty to Britain as a nation (and the sense of civic citizenship that this implied) was both distinct from and compatible with their religious identification and practice. This enabled them to claim space for their religious identity within articulations of Britishness at both the scale of the individual and the nation. The challenge by my participants to media representations of 'Britishness', which exclude Muslim identity was part of a symbolic renegotiation and reclaiming of national space. As I have outlined, whilst not all of my participants articulated their identity as British, they still positioned themselves as estranged through their visibility as Muslim. The following exert from Suad and Firdous highlights the impact that such visibility has upon their negotiation of belonging within the space of the 'nation as home'. They argue that they are not welcome within Britain due to their Muslim identity, the experience of which positions them as not belonging:

Firdous: I am going to say we wish the media would stop blaming.

Suad: Stigmatising the Muslims as a terrorist, we wish that people, British people they welcome us, to know us more before they know our religion, as a person...

Firdous: Know the Islam, what is Islam.

Suad: ...and to know deeply and understand Islam is not violent, that's the bottom line.

They argue that their experiences of societal exclusion are based upon an awareness of the circulation of mediated constructions of Islam as violent and until this changes they will be unable to negotiate a meaningful sense of belonging. This demonstrates the importance of examining ways in which different groups interact with the performance of media representations as part of the negotiation of identity and belonging (Dwyer 1998, McAuliffe: 2007, Hopkins: 2004). I have drawn out my participants' negotiations of belonging at different scales. As Hopkins (2007) argues 'different geographical scales provide the setting for different kinds of interactions, contestations and struggles over power and identities' (1131). It is also 'a process whereby these struggles result in certain scales being made to matter in certain ways' (1131). Scale thus provides a framing device for understanding my participants' contestations of identity, positioning and belonging. My participants highlight mediated discourses concerning Islamic terrorism and the 'othering' of Muslims as impacting upon their negotiations of belonging on a national scale. Implicit within these struggles over national belonging is a sense of my participants attempting to (re)claim space for themselves and their religion within the imagined community of national identity.

The impact of mediated representations and the feelings of othering and exclusion expressed by my participants constitutes an oppressive form of racism. Such processes are recognised by my participants as a form of boundary maintenance, a form of policing of national identity, whereby 'the imagining of a national community while fostering a sense of sameness also necessarily involves delineating boundaries to define who stands outside the nation' (Valentine et al: 2009: 241). This, coupled with the powerlessness articulated by my participants in the face of media representation, reinforces Archer's (2009) contention that media panics constitute a form of violence on Muslims in Britain. Furthermore, the

proliferation of anti-Muslim sentiment within the press was argued to facilitate anti-Muslim actions within broader society. Amina best illustrates this fear:

Amina: It kind of in one way, in one sense people just follow along with it, but that is what I mean, it has always been there, but it is just now people that were racist in the first place or who don't like Muslims will say what they like. They look at the media and they think well they are saying these things and they are higher up, you know they are educated people and they can speak like this so we have got the right to say what we like.

This response highlights an awareness of the role of media discourse within the construction and legitimisation of 'common-sense' racisms (c.f. Smith: 1989), which sustain geographies of oppression and exclusion. I want to turn now to examine how, for some participants, their readings of mediated Muslim identity are contextualised through transnational or diaspora identifications.

Intersections of diaspora, state, religion and identity

Whilst all my participants identified the media as impacting in complex ways upon their sense of identity as 'Muslim', the intersections between local identities, global politics and transnational connections were particularly highlighted by those participants who identified as of Pakistani heritage. Many of these participants argued that the Pakistani community was under particular scrutiny:

Rashida: I feel that whatever happens 'oh it's the Muslims, whatever there is a problem there 'oh it's the Muslims' even before they find out what the real situation is, what the inside story is, 'news flash: - Muslims'.

Shemla: Yes Muslims, Pakistani Muslims, especially Pakistani, always Pakistani.

Rana: We feel very upset when this happens, on the news, on the radio, in the paper 'Muslims, Muslims, Muslims'.

Rashida: Yes, everywhere you go.

Shemla: The media just throws everything out of proportion; even before they know the real nitty gritty of it they just want to blame us.

Rana: They always blame us whenever there is a bombing or they think there is one, here they blame the Pakistani Muslims.

Again this sense of scrutiny was identified as partially discursively legitimised through the 7/7 bombings and the complexity of Pakistan's positioning within the War on Terror. The scalarity of media impact was highlighted by Rashida's comment that the media is 'everywhere, everywhere you go'. The sense of media flows as all encompassing is important in terms of thinking spatially about the media as a geopolitical entity. Further on in the discussion Rashida explained that she felt the media was inescapable:

Rashida: You can go to a shop and a headline would catch your eye, enter a café and hear a snippet of news in the radio and so on.

Rashida's comments demonstrate the need to understand the consumption of media texts as a sensory experience. This highlights the impact of mediated Islamophobia upon my participants' daily negotiations of their everyday lives and local spaces, their ability to feel 'at home' within their localities. The reading of discourses as focusing upon Pakistani Muslims as 'the ultimate threat' demonstrates both the intersections of scale and the socio-historic, temporal and contested nature of negotiating a politics of identity and belonging. As Werbner (2004) argues, the 'global vulnerabilities' revealed by the events of September 11th 'raise the question whether members of diaspora communities can ever fully cease to be strangers'.

These themes concerning the complexity of identity politics were reiterated within discussions concerning socio-political and mediated discourses of integration and terrorism. Those participants who had been born in Britain highlighted the difficulties inherent in trying to claim allegiance to Britain in order to be seen as 'safe', arguing that, to be 'with us' in the fight against terrorism required subscribing to a hierarchy of identity. My participants argued that within this context, discourses of national belonging increasingly required a primacy of loyalty to an exclusive, racialised notion of Britishness. Rashida and Nazreen in particular argued that proclaiming allegiance to Britain within this context required a silencing or subjugation of the complexity of their identities. Furthermore, my participants argued that their visibility as Muslim and Pakistani undermined the potential of any such proclamations (were they prepared to make them) through the continued subjectivity of Pakistani Muslims to security measures based on racial-religious profiling (as discussed in Chapter Four). This again emphasises the problematic nature of claiming national belonging. Generational differences were highlighted by some of my younger participants regarding reactions to racist experiences:

Nazreen: I mean for them [first generation immigrants] they experienced hidden racism but as soon as something like this comes along it all comes out. So I think even now it will be the opposite –a lot of older Muslims have become

more quiet. They are still Muslims but they are a bit scared to say it now. We get told you know they might not cover or they might not go out to pray. They are really strong in their belief but they are just not doing that because they think, oh it's just too difficult, or, it's too hard and they can't really be open. It does open your eyes up more when things like this happen – you think why are these things happening, why is it causing such a stir and then you kind of look into it a bit more and research it a bit more.

Nazreen argues that for some elders, the visibility of their religious identity is in and of itself a source of fear and so they make minimal the practices and markers of those aspects of identity. This draws parallels with Hopkins' (2007c) research with young men who often adopted this approach as part of a securitisation of their personal safety in public space. Interestingly all the women I interviewed had rejected this tactic, although as I discuss further on, their visibility was a source of insecurity. Rather, the elder women from Pakistani and Bengali heritages had become more forthright, asserting their right to an inclusive identity and refusing the framework of invisibility identified by Nazreen. They argued that they and their children had a right to dress in accordance with their religious beliefs despite the problems such visibility could provoke. Underpinning their sense of defiance were concerns over their children's futures which were articulated as a form of injustice:

Abeda: I think this is the fear of the youngsters here, even my sons they say mum I don't know what is going to happen in the next five years there is not going to be any jobs, there is not going to be any you know religion, any safety...

Shemla: And it's harder for Asian people to get jobs, it's harder for us.

Abeda: ...he says Mum it looks like we are just going to have to leave the country and be driven away, that's how we feel even though we were born in this country, but this is the fear we have and the biggest fear is bringing their family, they say okay we have grown up here, we know what's wrong and what's right but what is the next generation going to go through? So I mean the youngsters they have got fear in them all the time, all the time.

Abeda and Shemla argue that anti-Muslim sentiments will increase, which may make it impossible for their children to stay in Britain. Whilst my elder participants of Bengali heritage didn't speak of being subjected to state security measures specifically, they drew upon the conflation of South Asian Muslim identity with terrorism to make similar arguments concerning the plight of their children due to the fungibility of their religious and ethnic identity. These discussions were particularly interesting in terms of my participants' feelings of citizenship. Many of the women highlighted a narrative of return which they had slowly rescinded upon putting down roots. Embedded within this sense of temporary Britishness were fears over its security. My participants outlined that they had felt as though they could easily be asked to leave if they spoke out against racism or discrimination and so on. This fear of the state's ability to invoke citizenship resonates with research on identity carried amongst South Asian elders (Ahmed: 2005, Begum and Eade: 2005).

Such anxieties over having their national, political and cultural allegiances called into question still exist but are (for some of my participants) being overridden by their anger at the situation their British born children are facing. Many of the women felt their children's religious identity meant they were unable to claim the citizenship which is their birthright, in any meaningful way. They argued that the levels of racism to which Muslim communities were subjected to by the media, state and broader society constituted a form of social injustice. These concerns have a strong temporal element in that the women had expected their children as second or third generation immigrants to be more accepted by society than they themselves had been. Indeed, many of my participants with younger children relayed

accounts of their children being both highly aware of mediated anti-Muslim bias and subject to bullying at school due to their identification as Muslim. The following exchange again highlights the complex, temporal and spatial nature of identity politics and notions of belonging:

Aasma: Even our kids, you know the younger generation, they don't like the word of Muslim mentioned, every time in media incidents, you know like rumours spreading, rumours about Muslims and putting really big allegations towards them.

Shoma: The kids ask so many questions and you have to explain to them and also you have to give the balance of for the ... to explain to them how even if I talk to them and how they are going to go and talk to their friends at school and things so we have to keep the balance how you talk to them, sometimes they get really angry so you have to calm them down and it is hard for them as well.

Aasma: Hard for us as well, we have to ask our children to calm down and don't do anything, just ignore all these things, but they can't ignore them.

Shoma: That's the reason some kids, some Muslim kids in the school are violent, they are really aggressive and they choose not to mix with the other kids, just to keep same in their religion and they have just got anger inside them and they don't want to mix with everyone.

The identification of their children as tactically self-segregating as part of a negotiation of racism draws parallels with work by Phillips (2006: 33), who argues that fears about 'racism,

ethnic tensions and harassment' prompt strategies of defensive withdrawal. The space of the school is highlighted by my participants as a racialised and racist space, in which self-segregation occurred as part of a micro-geography of inclusion and exclusion (Archer 2003 and Dwyer: 1999 for discussions of schools as spaces of identity). Furthermore, Aasma's and Shoma's fear is also undercut by anger at what they perceive to be renewed racialised and religious constructions of Britishness which exclude their children, despite their being born in Britain and identifying as British. This again emphasises the multi-scalarity of narratives of belonging, whereby Aasma and Shoma identify that an exclusion of Muslim identity at the scale of the national impacts upon the negotiation of belonging at the scale of the local.

This negotiation is spatial as well as emotional. The space of the home is implicit within this section as a space of identity. Aasma and Shoma identified the home as the space in which their children relayed both their accounts of bullying and their concerns over media representations of Muslims. As Noble (2005) argues 'our ability to be comfortable in public settings also rests on our ability to be acknowledged as rightfully existing there: to be recognised as belonging' (114). For Noble when people are marked as being out of place within particular public spaces, 'objects of belonging and their domestic spaces' become 'important elements of making oneself at home' (112). This resonates with Aasma and Shoma's discussion of home as the space in which they and their children make sense of the challenges to their identity and senses of belonging, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter Six.

The space of the school was also highlighted by my British born participants in their discussions concerning the difficulties they faced as mothers in enabling their children to claim a meaningful identity as British and Muslim. They expressed a sense that the politics of diversity or multiculturalism they had experienced whilst growing-up was being replaced by one of difference and assimilation:

Alara: I know my own grandparents in my own family, the way they were before, they were very quiet, they didn't want to provoke things, they didn't ever want to say anything in-case there was a backlash. They were worried about their children, they would not want you to speak out or say 'hang on I can't do this.' Literally anything which they thought would draw attention to you. I mean I was brought up here, and so was my mum. I was brought up that you should be able to ask for whatever you want or need. You ask and they should understand. But I know that it does not work that way, for my own children it does not work that way. I see now with us being the third generation, I see with my children if they ask for something, or say they can't do something (because of their faith) it will be 'why can't you? Not everyone says that, you must be a bit more extreme'. It's already happening with the children, they are classified 'oh she's a bit more extreme, they are quite tolerant' so it's like oh they should be like that, they should be more tolerant. I feel the minority just get set aside and their views are not respected.

Alara argues that whilst her grandparents approached problems on a cautious and almost apologetic basis, her mother had raised her to be more assertive about her rights within a framework of multicultural diversity and respect for difference. Such an approach is now identified as problematic. The highlighting of religious difference and particularly a refusal to participate in activities on religious grounds become construed as evidence of a failure to integrate couched in the language of religious tolerance versus extremism.¹⁶ This reemphasises the impact that governmental policies of integration have upon my participants' negotiations of their maternal roles, whereby they feel under pressure to perform an identity which conforms to socio-political demarcations of tolerable and integrated difference.

¹⁶ I explore my participants' discussions concerning integration in Chapter Seven

In this section I have explored my participants' readings and experiences of media discourses and state rhetoric concerning terrorism, integration and national security as influenced by their own diasporic identities. As I have outlined, my respondents who identified as Bengali and Pakistani discussed their responses through a framework of British citizenship whereby the colonial legacies of their communities informed their reading of anti-Muslim sentiment as a new form of cultural racism which impacted upon their sense of belonging. This was particularly apposite for those participants who had been born in Britain. They felt that their identity claims as British, Asian and Muslim were increasingly challenged through a blurring of race and religion, which they saw as building upon older forms of racism:

Amina: What September 11th did is, it kind of brought it all back out from the shadows, it took it out from the closet and now people really say it to your face again. The venom comes out and they just spit it out at you now, so that's a fact now. Obviously things have gone you could say up to an extent, I don't know if you want to call it bad or you want to call it that it has just got worse in terms of attacks and verbal abuse. A lot of verbal abuse, like I often say to people I have not been called a Paki for many, many years. That word is kind of forgotten now.

Amina argues that since the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11th 2001, the visibility of her religious identity as Muslim has been the primary marker by which she has been racially abused. Further on in this discussion, Amina describes this form of abuse through religious profiling as seeming socially acceptable, which is why she feels the word 'terrorist' has supplanted 'Paki' as a primary form of verbal abuse. This highlights both the complexity of Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism and the need to examine more closely the different experiences of different Muslim communities. The exploration of my participants' complex readings of racialised representations of religious identity based on visible difference reinforces the need for further research concerning the construction and experience of contemporary racism. I want to turn now to examine my participants'

discussion of media representations of Muslim women and their identification of the primacy of the veil as a multiple signifier.

Deconstructing female Muslim identity

In Chapter Four, I demonstrated the need to both recognise the veil as an over-determined signifier through which representations of Muslim women were often framed (Dwyer: 1999b) and to interrogate the specificity of its situated, temporal, historical and socio-political (re)constructions. In this section I want to discuss the centrality of the veil to my participants' readings of mediated representations of Muslim women. My participants identified two main strands through which Muslim women were positioned by the media. They argued that mediated representations are reliant upon a rhetoric of oppression, in which Muslim women are positioned as passive victims and Islamic gender practices as incompatible with Western ideals. Such an essentialist positioning works to mark my participants not just as Muslim, or as women, but as Muslim women. As Hope argued:

Hope: They make it out like we're like locked away in this box kind stuff, away from society in this little corner, like we leave our self in a room and like are limited to certain things, that's what they make it out like, but end of the day we could be just as strong as any other woman like we don't like to be looked on as just 'oh yeah, you're this, you're that'.

Hope draws attention to both the gendered assumptions which she feels underpin media representations of Muslim culture and the lack of agency afforded to Muslim women. This is not to say that Hope is arguing that gender inequality is not an issue, but rather that she is objecting to the stereotype of Muslim women as victims of an oppressive culture, a stereotype which denies the diversity of subject positions and resistance to gender inequalities pursued by Muslim women. This excerpt makes clear that she feels that

mediated discourses concerning Muslim women form a lens through which she is judged by wider society. Similarly Amina identifies the media as drawing upon sexualised and racialised signifiers of cultural inferiority through which Muslim women are positioned as outside of the norms of Western society invoking a clash of cultures thesis:

Amina: I think we are just perceived as not having minds of our own, that we are being controlled, our husbands are locking us up and making us have loads of children [group laughs] and yeah we just haven't got opinions, we haven't got minds, we're uneducated, we most probably can't speak English.

My participants also highlighted the lack of voice given to Muslim women in mainstream Western media which, as Naima argues, works to both silence Muslim women and make Muslim women's diversity, agency and participation invisible:

Naima: Muslim women are completely and utterly marginalised, there is a lot of talk about Muslim women, but it is talk about, not talk to, and it is not really about what we think about what is really, and then obviously there is the perception that we are all hidden behind the veil anyway and you know [adopts whispering tone] can't really come out and speak about things. But it doesn't actually work that way, in actual fact because within the community itself, Muslim women are very, very active and there is a lot of stuff that we are doing.

Naima argues that this misrepresentation draws upon homogenising orientalist and colonial assumptions about the veil as a prime signifier of Muslim women's otherness and lack of agency. In my analysis I identified the symbolism of the veil as a marker of oppression becoming partially replaced by an emerging moral panic concerning veiled Muslim women

as political agents and potential terrorists. In terms of my participants' readings of media discourse, mediated debates around the veil were of less significance for the majority of my participants than the positioning of Muslim women as oppressed. This is in part due to their differential attitudes towards covering, a point I return to. The debate over 'the veil' became read by some of my participants as preceding a governmental move to ban the hijab. This blurring of media discourse and governmental policy highlights the symbiotic nature of media and political campaigns, as discussed in Chapter Four. Interestingly, these were the only fears concerning state policy articulated by my Somali participants. Whilst it is difficult to draw strong conclusions from this, I would argue that is partially a reflection of their short lengths of residency and their relatively insecure residential status. None of the Somali women I interviewed identified as British, describing themselves first and foremost as Muslim and Somali. The right to cover was articulated as integral to their right to practice their religion and as such was discussed in relation to the primacy of their identity as Muslim:

Safia: I think, in my opinion I am so worried that they will be compulsory not to wear hijab because they, that will be the next step.

Mariam: That's true.

Safia: They say the hijab and Niqab you can't wear it, you don't have a right in your religion, no rights in your religion especially if you're Muslim, not other religions but if you're a Muslim you don't have no rights at all, so that is our worry to lose our religion and identity and that's very, very important to us.

Mariam: I think in my opinion it is wrong because this is democratic country.

As Safia argues, to deny her the right to wear the hijab is to render her unable to fulfil her obligations as a Muslim which would impact significantly upon her sense of self. Mariam's comment that Britain is supposed to be a democratic country implies that she had expected more freedom to enact her Muslim and Somali identity through embodied performances such as dress. This expectation has been challenged by the perceived threat to her right to cover, under the auspice of integration. The symbolism of banning of the hijab was discussed across my group interviews. It was seen as a tactic of enforced invisibility by the state, an erasure of both the symbols of Muslim women's religious practice and consequently the right to equal selfhood (Staehele and Nagel: 2008a for a similar discussion concerning integration and UK Arab women's right to dress). Paradoxically, it was the visibility of this potential gesture of control which was recognised as integral to placating the fears of wider society.

Tarlo (2006) has discussed how women in Britain who do not cover and find niqab wearing objectionable, nevertheless defended the right of women to wear it. The socio-political debates concerning 'the veil' were identified by my participants as predicated on a sense of societal anxiety in which their right to veil was unimportant. This inequality was discussed within the context of governmental racism. As I shall explore in the following section, a coalescing of fear around the veil is also central to my niqab-wearing participants' experiences of racist encounters in public space, which they felt were informed by readings of their identity as threatening. They argued that such interpretations were facilitated by media constructions that linked the veil with extremism. I examine how this sense of being marked by (mis)representations impacts upon their everyday contestations of identity and belonging.

Exploring (in)security in public space: (in)visibility and covering

In this section I discuss some of my participants' experiences of Islamophobia and racism in public space. Following Secor's (2002) discussion of regimes of veiling in Turkey, I argue that the practice of covering has 'socio-spatial effects' (5), whereby covering both 'marks' the women as Muslim and is a practice by which the women are 'marked' by people's reinterpretation of their actions (Dwyer: 1999b and 2000). I draw upon my participants' experiences of racism to argue that the practice of covering makes their bodies both highly visible yet invisible. It is important to note at this point that I use the term 'covering' rather than veiling when referring to my participants experiences as this was the term most of them used.¹⁷ I am approaching covering as an embodied practice, the meaning(s) of which are embedded in relations of power and resistance across different socio-historical contexts, different scales and within different spaces (Dwyer: 1999 and 2000, Secor: 2002 and 2005, Gökarıksel: 2009). Whilst my participants adopted different practices, including not covering, there were significant commonalities within their discussions concerning its socio-political significance. They argued that the act of covering became in and of itself a marker of religious identity which rendered them visible as Muslims. This is significant in terms of a politics of belonging, whereby, as Valentine et al (2009) outline, the performance of a given identity in different socio-spatial contexts can define individuals as 'belonging or excluded according to specific spatial norms and expectations' (241).

My participants argued that the visibility accorded to practices of covering made them vulnerable to both experiences of and a fear of Islamophobic abuse. Such concerns parallel and reinforce Hopkins' (2004) arguments concerning the significance of symbols of Muslim dress as markers of demonised difference (Ahmed: 2005 for a discussion of the hijab). These fears were exacerbated for the three participants who covered their faces by wearing a

¹⁷ I am using the term covering as this was used by the majority of my participants when describing what hijab meant to them. In this chapter I use the following terms as used by my participants: hijab refers to both the practice of covering and the headscarf, niqab refers to the face veil and jilbab is a gown which covers the head and body to below the knee, but does not include a face veil (see glossary for further details).

niqab. All three of these women lived in South East London and partially contextualised their experiences within a legacy of the fear created by the 7/7 bombings. Khaduah had begun covering before 7/7 and highlights its effects upon her feelings of security:

Khaduah: I loved it and I used to get on the bus and just go places by myself. I didn't feel scared at all and back then people accepted it, no-one was horrible to me. People would say things like 'oh it looks nice' or 'you look pretty' and stuff, like women on the bus. I felt okay but I think after the bombings that affected things, just because I felt threatened and people are going to think I am a terrorist and all this. Then while I was pregnant with my son, that was when I took off the niqab and stopped covering my face because I felt threatened. Just because of how people would react to me and before it didn't bother me but as a mother, I don't know it is kind of like I felt I had to protect myself so if that is going to stop people from, I don't know maybe saying things to me or wanting to do something to me, I like took it off and now it is hard, I still find it hard but I am getting there.

This quotation demonstrates some of the inter-relations between the body, dress and space. Khaduah's initial experiences of covering were positive and she argues that the niqab, whilst still a marker of difference, was more accepted and her decision to wear it at times seemed to be recognised as 'brave' and supported by strangers she encountered whilst travelling around South London. Khaduah argues that the niqab's significance shifted in the context of the terror attacks through an association with Islamic terrorism and that this shift gave her a heightened sense of insecurity. Khaduah's sense of bodily vulnerability was increased when she fell pregnant and she chose to protect her 'pregnant body' by uncovering her face and making her embodied identity as Muslim less visible. The decision to take off the niqab can be viewed through the lens of invisibility proposed by Hopkins, although in Khaduah's case it was to secure her safety in public space in opposition to a tactic of withdrawal from public space.

My niqab wearing participants become both a symbol of Muslim identity and were 'marked' by the reinterpretations of their covering in public space. Several more of my participants discussed such reinterpretations of their covering practices, as arising from a sense of fear that has become associated with 'the veil' and particularly the niqab. They identify that such fear can then produce racist actions. As I have outlined, the media were seen as particularly culpable in constructing the niqab wearing woman as a threat to the nation. Amina discussed this process in relation to her fears for her daughter Umm Zayol who identifies as a 'niqabi'. Amina drew upon her experiences of witnessing public reactions to her daughter to outline how such incidents impacted upon her sense of familial safety. Fatima argued that whilst she would never ask her daughter not to wear the niqab, she could never feel 'fully secure knowing my daughter is out there wearing niqab'.

The sense of bodily objectification as 'Muslim' was seen by my participants as facilitating a process of dehumanisation by which their covered bodies (and particularly their covered faces) were no longer recognised as belonging to real people. This process is comparable to Ahmed's (2004) reading of hate crime. Ahmed argues that hate crime 'works as a form of violence against groups through violence against the bodies of individuals. Violence against others may be one way in which the other's identity is fixed or sealed; the other is forced to embody a particular identity by and for the perpetrator of the crime, and that force involves harm or injury' (55). My participants saw their covered bodies as representing objects of hate through the insults directed towards them. Their use of a discourse of dehumanisation can be read as a means of distancing themselves from such objectification as part of a process of unmarking and reclaiming their individual bodies.

Whilst none of my Bristol participants wore the niqab, some of the younger women had friends or family who did and relayed their experiences to me. Zainab, for example, discussed how her sisters-in-law's experiences of verbal abuse had shocked her. Zainab also outlined that the recognition of the symbolism and fear associated with the niqab was a highly sensitive issue within her community, whereby her sisters-in-law have been

reproached for their decision to wear the niqab. This was borne out of a politics of fear in which the wearing of the niqab was seen to reflect upon the broader community, marking them out and increasing their sense of insecurity:

Zainab: I mean it comes down even to the community, even people of the community will say 'why are you doing this, it's pointing fingers at you and pointing fingers at us, don't do it?' People are frightened, they don't want to be stared at, they don't want to be made targets, even people, even your own Muslim sisters will say 'don't do that,' people have come up to my sister-in-laws and said 'why are you wearing that? Take it off you're making us look bad'.

These discussions highlight the complex way such incidences are exercised temporally through familial and communal networks. Following Brah (1996) I argue that such 'collective trajectories' are key 'constitutive moments' in the formation of my participants' collective subjectivities.

Whilst a sense of marking is particularly strong for those women who wear niqab, it was also experienced by those participants who wear the hijab. Alara outlined that since 7/7 people's reactions oscillated between positioning her as oppressed or as a terrorist. She argued that both impressions denied her a sense of agency, by divorcing her actions from any sense of religiosity. Consequently Alara felt she was positioned as either forced into wearing the hijab or wearing it simply as a symbol of rebellion but never as a marker of her religious practice:

Alara: I mean I would go on the bus before and it would be like [adopts pitying tone] 'oh you poor lady you must be really oppressed'. But now it's the opposite

now, it's 'Oh you must have a bomb'. So the thing is the way that you are perceived now by people is different, because first there was a clash at the beginning when people used to cover. If you covered people would look at you as though 'wait a minute, oh you must really be forced into wearing that' whereas now it's 'oh you're doing it as a statement, you're trying to put your point across'. So it has kind of switched. It's true we are the same as we were before but people take it differently now and either way that's not why I wear it.

Most of my participants in Bristol contextualised their experiences in reference to both 9/11 and 7/7. However, (and this was common in London also) many of the women argued that these events had facilitated forms of cultural racism which were already underlying. Several of my participants described incidences of abuse which occurred on buses whereby members of the public made negative comments concerning the number of children the women had and the amount of space they took up on the bus. Such experiences were identified as part of a broader stigmatisation concerning the size of their families. These incidents can be read as an 'othering' of the women through their reproductive practices, in which their family formations are regarded as outside the norms of acceptability. This societal demarcation of such families as problematic reflects longstanding concerns over the 'swamping' of the nation by immigrant communities. The women embody this threat through their position as mothers. Their families are seen as threatening the homely nation by literally taking up too much space (Hage: 1998, Gedalof: 2005 for a discussion on the figure of the migrant woman in immigration policy).

It is important to note however that despite these incidents, my participants' experiences varied greatly in Bristol with women who identified as of Bengali and Pakistani heritage experiencing much lower levels of incidents than those who identified as Somali or Sudanese. This is interesting regarding the discussions explored in Chapter Four concerning their vulnerability to state scale surveillance through the targeting of their male family

members in public spaces and the threat of home raids. Thus, the state is seen as their prime source of insecurity. I suggest that this reflects the women's relatively localised everyday geographies of mobility. In addition to this many of them had access to a car and so had less contact with the space of the street. Most of the Somali women I interviewed were single mothers and as such were less able to withdraw from public space (had they wanted to), due to their need to engage in the public sphere as part of their everyday lives.

In the group interviews some of the Somali women discussed their experiences of racism in terms of their identity as black, female and Muslim, as expressed in this exchange:

Safia: In Somali it's different than other people who you meet right here, first of all we're black, I have been discriminated as a black, again we're Muslim, we're discriminated as Muslim, we're being discriminated as a female because we're female so it's a lot of issues.

Habaryero: Racism is everywhere but this racism and this discrimination here in this country is different, every Muslim has been, there is a stigma actually amongst this community and this society, wherever you go if you are wearing hijab either full hijab or scarf over the head you are going to be targeted for that because you're Muslim and you feel like you're going to be targeted as an individual even if you are among a group of 100 people.

Safia: Everyday, it's an everyday thing, it's not... you go about and you see... like the other day a lady had a dog and it ran to me and I said 'oh no stop.' And she said 'this is its country, hello get used to it.' Things like that it's an everyday thing isn't it

Habaryero: Absolutely yeah.

Safia: It's the way people look at us... what can we do?

Firdous: I have to say the people are not the same you know, but there are some people who don't hide their feelings and they just...

Whilst Safia, Habaryero and Firdous view their experiences as part of a broader anti-Muslim sentiment, they argue that their religious identity is conflated with their gender and race and as such they feel 'othered' across those facets of identity. A further element to the racism they face lies in their position as part of a large and relatively new immigrant population within Bristol. Further on in this discussion Safia argued that the Somali community were not welcome in Britain as exemplified in this exchange through the woman's assertion that her dog belonged to this country, the implication being that Safia did not. In an individual interview Ishmahan argued that the Somali community were particularly targeted due to their positioning as asylum seekers. Kundnani (2007 and 2007a) outlines how immigration and terrorism have been conflated within a wider anti-Muslim political culture. Stigmatising discourses concerning asylum seekers as a threat to national identity, resources and security are argued by Kundnani to facilitate the normalising of resentment towards such groups 'not as an expression of a new form of racism but as a natural psychological reaction to 'strangers' (2007: 28). There is a need then to recognise the diversity of experiences of racism within the Muslim community. The multilayered reading of my participants' identities also demonstrates the importance of further exploring the complex interplay between race, religion and gender within contemporary racism, particularly in relation to phenotypical and ocular regimes of difference. Safia asserted that this form of abuse was indeed an everyday occurrence. Such incidences impacted upon the

groups' sense of belonging at the scale of the national, whereby they argued that they could not view Britain as their home because they were not seen as at home here:

Habaryero: It's difficult because we're now in Britain, when has Britain like welcomed me and feel me at home, I try to understand it but when I come here and I don't feel safe and I don't feel welcome at all, I can't think about that.

Firdous: Well yes, somehow because it's a bit difficult when you come out to another country you know that is not your country and you don't, I mean it just feel you know homeless and you don't feel, I mean like how you feel when you stay in your *own* home. Although there's a lot of different community to live in this country and they have all different religions and different cultures but when I just see they treat us Muslim people, we don't feel safe and secure because we wear the hijab, different clothes, that's why.

Safia: I wasn't safe in my home, my country and I'm not safe here.

The women all emphasised the importance of home as a safe space, indeed Safia used the adjective safe to describe the meaning of home. The women all described how their experiences of racism circumscribed their ability to feel secure and at home here. This sense of insecurity pervaded their negotiations of and interactions within public space. The use of the word home is important here. Safia, Habaryero and Firdous all felt positioned as highly visible 'out of place bodies', the effects of which meant that Britain was experienced as distinctly unhomey on a local and national scale. This highlights both the importance of home as a spatial imaginary and the multi-scalar nature of belonging.

Whilst the street and public transport were cited as the main spaces in which they experienced racism by those participants over 19, for those participants aged 16-19, school was identified as a key site of racist encounters, which were often articulated as bullying. All of the young women I interviewed attended schools which required them to wear a uniform. They described various ways in which they were able to adapt the schools uniform code to conform to the level of modesty with which they wanted to be covered. SR, Hope, Hadiya and Sarah all wore hijab and covered their bodies with long sleeves, and either skirts or trousers:

SR: you go to school etc people used to look down on you. 'Like where are you, why are you wearing this?' And especially I experienced some of the racism because people say, and I'm black as well but people say, 'just tell me why are you wearing the scarf for and why can't you wear short clothes?' This kind of stuff and I tried to explain but they don't listen to me because they actually they're not interested in understanding more than they're being funny, trying to joke around and everything, so yeah its hard actually sometimes.

SR describes a dual 'othering' through both her identity as black and Muslim. She outlines being approached by people asking about her religious dress and upon answering would be laughed at for assuming they were genuinely interested. SR described this complete dismissal of her religious identity as making it difficult to have the confidence to engage with people who were not Muslim for fear that they too were not interested in her other than as a figure of ridicule. The space of the school is thus highlighted by SR as a key social space within which identities are negotiated (Dwyer: 1999 and 2000, Archer: 2003 and 2009, Humpage: 2009). Hope argued that even within the school's Muslim community, religious dress was an important marker of difference regarding levels of religiosity. This resonates with Dwyer's (1999b) research in which she argues that 'dress is important in drawing boundaries both between *and within* different groups' (6). The differences and social

separation between Muslims were not articulated in the same way as between Muslims and non-Muslims, this however is a point I return to in more detail in Chapter Seven. SR's sense of withdrawal into a segregated friendship group as a form of self-protection is again important in terms of combating political discourses of self-segregation in which the causal realities of racism are absent (Hopkins: 2007 and 2007c, Archer; 2005, Phillips et al: 2007). Such experiences of insecurity, of being out-of-place (Cresswell: 1996) in 'public' space not only impact upon my participants' senses of self but also inform their everyday geographies of mobility.

Exploring (in)security in public space: Islamophobia and everyday geographies of mobility.

Back argues that racism is both a 'spatial and territorial form of power' (Back: 2008). All of my participants identified areas of their city as no-go areas, areas that were not safe for them to inhabit because of the visibility of their religious dress and in some cases their ethnicity. My participants in Bristol identified the inner-city areas which had the highest proportions of BME (Black Minority Ethnic) communities as areas in which they tended to feel safe. These findings reinforce geographic work on segregation as security (Keith: 2005, Phillips et al 2007, Finney and Simpson 2009, Valentine et al: 2009). Those areas which they would not travel to were predominantly in the south of the city and were depicted by my participants as 'white' estates entrenched in racism and territoriality. These estates were prime areas for the settlement of refugees and asylum seekers as they contain family-sized social housing and so were areas of particular notoriety and fear for my Somali participants who drew on experiences from the broader Somali community:

Safia: Unfortunately the areas that the Somali community has been allocated are not good areas and it's not educated people, if the person is English and educated they can understand. I don't think they will be that racist even if they are racist they will hide somehow but the person is not, when they are not

educated, they have their faults all the time and anger they can't hide. They never went outside; they never mix with other people different religion and different colour, culture.

Safia again highlights both race and religion as markers of difference in the production of a racialised landscape which informed her topographies of security and insecurity. This highlights the way in which fear of such incidents are embedded within narratives of isolation and a lack of social acceptance (Pain: 2000). These topographies need to also be situated in time as well as space and most of my participants identified that these were daytime geographies and that they rarely went out on foot at night. Whilst my participants' concerns were specifically articulated through the lens of fear of racism they can also be read as reinforcing social norms concerning the vulnerability of women's bodies in public space (c.f. Valentine: 1989, Pain: 1991). This stands in contrast to the fears over male bodies in public space as articulated by my Pakistani participants in Chapter Four in relation to state policies of securitisation and racial-religious profiling. Such landscapes are not fixed however and different stories are told through different experiences, producing different maps of risk and mobility. My younger participants all identified areas of risk but made it clear that they did and would continue to navigate and inhabit those spaces, as the following quotation from Nasraa and Hadiya illustrates:

Nasraa: Because let's say I'm living in [...] and it's alright because there are a lot of Muslims there and nothing really happens to you but then I walk in [...] and [...] next thing you know, people are like terrorist, this that

Hadiya: They're shouting out of cars at you

Nasraa: I'm like 'what are you shouting at me like that for?'

Hadiya: They're stupid, they're stupid people, they just don't know nothing.

Running through these accounts of my participants' maps of high and low risk areas regarding racism and Islamophobia is an awareness of the complex interrelationships between social class, education, experience and fear. My participants outlined how the risk of incidence was linked to both the 'whiteness' of the area and the perceived levels of education and encounters with difference experienced by the predominantly white communities. Some 'white' areas were argued to be safe due to the class and education of the inhabitants, whereupon the cultural norms of the community prohibited racist actions, rather than racism per se.

Whilst those areas which my participants identified as safe were inscribed with racial or multicultural associations, they were not seen as necessarily free of racism/Islamophobic attitudes. The risk of racism was seen as minimal however and the areas were identified by my Bengali and Pakistani heritage participants as areas of inclusion and 'home'. Whilst some of my participants lived in these areas and so classified them as their home within a broader identification of the area as encompassing a landscape of community and belonging, other participants from outside those areas identified feeling more at home there than in the neighbourhoods in which they actually lived. This sense of such areas as spaces of refuge, a 'home from home', was again embedded within a politics of local recognition, interaction and community. This is significant in terms of the scalarity of these participants' senses of belonging as articulated through their narratives of localised citizenship and inclusion. Similarly my Somali participants who were housed in areas with a large Somali community talked about their diasporic networks as providing a sense of security through belonging. These senses of belonging were beginning to be rooted in place

with particular 'private' community centres and the domestic interiors of friendship groups providing new material and imaginative spaces of home.¹⁸

My London participants also drew upon sophisticated maps of local situated knowledge in their negotiations of their localities. The following excerpt from Umm Zayol demonstrates the shifting nature of such maps contingent as they are upon context and time specific associations. In Umm Zayol's case the wearing of the niqab now marks her as visibly othered and insecure in a landscape which had previously been one of safety based on cultural inclusion and embedded in childhood familiarity and homeliness. It highlights the temporality and situatedness of such topographies: -

Umm Zayol: One time when I went to Blackheath I wished I didn't go because it was like... because I am so used to, I have an aunt that lives there so I was very used to going on a weekly basis and then after I started wearing Niqab I went there and I completely got a different reaction it was really strange because it's just like an area that I know really well, I practically grew-up there because we always used to go Greenwich Park or Blackheath. So it was like 'wow, I know you people, why are treating me so horrible?'

In a similar vein Khaduah and Khoulah discussed the way in which wearing niqab had affected their everyday geographies. Khaduah outlined how she now avoids Bromley because she feels out of place and insecure there. Khoulah argues that even before she became Muslim she avoided Bromley as an area in which she would be vulnerable to racist abuse:

¹⁸ I explore the processes of making home in Chapter Six

Khadaah: The nearest bus from my house to any centre is to Bromley, the 227 but I go all the way to Croydon or I go to Lewisham which is like an hour away [laughs] just to go shopping because I'm... I'm not scared I just feel a bit uncomfortable in that area because people there, they are quite, Bromley that area I mean I don't think they are used to seeing a lot of women cover their face, well hijab is different but covering their face, I think they still need to get a bit used to that in Bromley

Khoulah: Even, even before actually when I didn't cover I didn't like Bromley anyway, just as a black person I didn't like going there because I just thought that people are just racist and it's just best not go there, get into fights.

Khoulah's remarks highlight the way in which particular sites become inscribed and re-inscribed with shifting narratives of racism, intolerance and fear (Back: 2005, Swanton: 2008, Clayton: 2008, Keith: 2005). As I have explored, my participants all narrated complex everyday geographies. In his work examining how young people made the city home, Back (2005) argues that his participants' localised maps were 'produced through the attribution of social identities and the coding of the urban landscapes with cultural and 'racial' grafts'(41). Drawing upon this I argue that for my participants an interplay between their awareness of the visibility of their racial and religious identities and their reading of the effects of such visibility within specific sites was integral to the production of their everyday geographies . The exploration of my participants' narratives of (in)visibility, (in)security and identity are thus crucial to understanding the spatiality of my participants' senses of home and belonging. My participants were not passive victims however. Rather they used a range of tactics and strategies within the negotiation of such geographies and incidents of Islamophobia/racism more broadly. Inherent within these strategies was recognition of the pressure they faced as visibly Muslim to explain or make public their 'private' religious identities and practices as part of a process of demystifying or 'de-fearing' Muslim identities. Whilst my participants at times expressed anger at this need to 'tell themselves' (Archer:

2009) they highlighted a politics of engagement and education as integral to breaking down barriers and making the spaces of their everyday lives more secure, a point I develop in Chapter Seven.

Reclaiming the veil?

In this final section I want to briefly discuss my participants' discussions concerning covering. I am interested in how my participants relate their discussions of modesty to claiming 'space' for Muslim women within society whilst opposing simplistic discourses which suggest the veil is a symbol of oppression. I explore how my participants frame their decisions to cover as an integral part of their religious identity, arguing that to 'uncover' in order to make their religious identity less visible would be to undermine their religiosity. Raising awareness of why they cover was seen by those participants (who chose to) as necessary to 'reclaim the veil' and the meanings attached to it by broadening understandings of Muslim identity, a point I return to further on. Firstly, I want to draw out the production of the female body as a key religious 'site' within my participants' discussions of identity, focusing on the way in which they negotiate and enact their religious identities through dress linked to the concept of modesty. Mohammed (2005a) has outlined how 'Islamist discourses affirm women's sexuality only to deny women sexuality by positing it as a threat to the Muslim family, the foundation of Muslim identity. In this formulation women's bodies are understood as endangering their own heterosexual purity, which is key to marriage and the formation of Muslim families' (380). Whilst none of my participants overtly discussed sexual identity or purity, it was clear from their discussions that they saw their bodies within a religious framework, whereupon Islamic proscriptions concerning adherence to modesty were argued to be a form of protection, as Nazreen outlined:

Nazreen: In our religion a woman is seen as precious, you know she's seen as the most beautiful thing and it's not just a Muslim woman, its women as a whole, so

a woman is seen as the most highest level and the covering is just to protect her modesty, it stops men looking at you as sex symbols, it stops the 'hey baby, wouldn't mind getting with you.' It's all the derogatory terms it stops you from and it's a protection, it's a shield of protection.

What is of interest here is how 'modesty' becomes defined and negotiated. Decisions to cover become presented as acts of agency by my participants in opposition to stereotypical representations of veiled Muslim women as oppressed.¹⁹ Underpinning this is an emphasis upon covering as an individual marker of religiosity, a commitment which comes over time as part of the development of religious identity. As Nina outlined: 'There's one person who judges you and that's Allah in our eyes, so at the end of the day he can see everything you do, so don't put it on for show because you get judged on judgement day and he can see everything you do'. Wearing the headscarf without commitment is discussed as more irreligious than not being ready to wear it. (Dwyer: 1999b and 2000 for similar findings). Entwistle (2000) conceptualises dress as 'a situated bodily practice' (3), arguing that 'dress in everyday life is always more than a shell; it is an intimate aspect of the experience and presentation of the self' (10). Dress thus can be seen as transforming the self both physically and emotionally and I argue that this is integral to my participants' construction of modesty, within which the hijab was identified as just one aspect.

All of the women I interviewed aged over twenty covered their hair, most wore hijab but both Sara and Ishmahan wore wraps which covered their hair but were argued to be an individualised expression of modesty. The complexities of my younger participants embodied positioning as 'young Muslim women' underpinned their discussions of their veiling practices and dress more broadly. Those young women of East African Muslim backgrounds all wore hijab whilst those of Pakistani heritage did not wear hijab. However, whilst they wore relatively tight fitting clothes they all used shawls or pashminas over their upper body as a negotiation of modesty. Covering was again described as an individual

¹⁹ I critique this position further on in my argument, at this point I want to outline my findings.

decision. The following excerpt from Nina highlights the way in which the importance of covering as individual religiosity was used as an attempt to combat simplistic dichotomies between those who wore hijab as pious and those who did not as sexualised:

Nina: Yeah most of them just turn around and go oh yeah because I'm Muslim but it's like that's not really a reason so that's why like some of us choose not to wear it at the moment, because we want to learn more about the religion as to do it as individuals not because other people say to us 'Oh you should wear it' and then you also get looked down on because people are like well you don't follow your faith, you don't do this type of thing when it's like we know a lot about our religion, like some of us who don't wear headscarves know more than what some do who do wear headscarves but people feel that they know more just because they have got the headscarf on when some of them just do it because they have been taught in their household to do it that way. Like we get judged yeah, we get judged whereas because if we've got legs showing up to here, like I would never, ever go above my knee but say if I was on the street and I like had three-quarter lengths up to here or something because it was really hot and had a top like this, I would still have a scarf on, if my top wasn't up to here [indicates neck] I would still have my scarf on [not hijab- pashmina over top half of chest] but because your hair's out and you like your glitzy, glam jewellery, the Elders?? They look at you like she must be like this, they don't get to know you, she *must* be like this and then it gets sent back to all your family members 'Oh she's like this, she does this and so and so and so and so.'

Nina argues that forcing women to wear the headscarf showed a lack of true Islamic understanding. As such, the young women discussed this practice as typical of communities whose understanding of Islamic texts was entangled with cultural practices which did not have a foundation in Islam yet were justified as Islamic, a reading that was underpinned by assumptions of class and education. Indeed, the women very much positioned their

identities against those who succumbed to such practices, arguing that they undermined 'pure Islam'²⁰ either through their ignorance or their unwillingness to rebel. Favel and Nina both argued that those young women who were forced into wearing the headscarf would ultimately resent it, rebel against it and end up taking it off. This was discussed in two distinct ways. Firstly the group argued that those members who did not cover because they were not yet ready to, had better Islamic understanding and practices than their friends and associates who were forced to cover. There was a strong sense of anger at the way in which despite this, they were judged within the community as 'bad girls' whereby the veil still signifies simplistic meanings concerning the wearer's 'moral and sexual propriety' (Dwyer: 1999b: 18).

Secondly, they argued that such readings of the veil were wrong, recounting acquaintances that covered yet had reputations for being sexually promiscuous. As Hope identified, this in turn tarnished the reputations of those hijab wearers who were 'good girls'. This echoes Dwyer's (1999b) findings in which she draws on work by Alibhai-Brown (1994) to argue that the 'hijab is invested with so many contradictory connotations – notable eroticism (Schick, 1990) as well as fanaticism- that it may not be possible for an individual to control the meaning she wishes to communicate'(Dwyer: 1999b:19). Nina's comments concerning her use of a shawl should be read as part of her negotiation of modesty, whereby she tempers showing her ankles and calf by ensuring her chest is always covered up. It was clear from the broader discussion that Nina saw certain body parts as more sexualised and 'dangerous' than others and this 'hierarchy' informed her construction of modesty.

Indeed all the young women I interviewed saw modesty as going beyond the wearing of hijab whereby they argued it was hypocritical to cover your hair yet wear tight fitting clothes as in doing so you were flaunting your 'shape'. Again this highlights the way in which my participants accepted an understanding of women's bodies as in need of regulating through appropriate attire, despite their different levels of conformation to this ideal. Nina's

²⁰ I elaborate on my participants constructions of 'pure' Islam and 'cultural Islam' in Chapter Seven.

comments concerning the policing of young women by 'elders' draws parallels with Mohammed's (2005a) research with Muslim women in Reading. Mohammed outlines how younger, unmarried women are considered to present the greatest threat to collective identity because of both 'their sexualised bodies and relative lack of socialisation in community norms due to their age' (380). Nina recognises that despite her commitment to a religious identity based on 'proper understanding' through self-education, her dress is still the prime signifier by which she is judged.

Despite my participants' arguments concerning the need to combat the moral and sexual politics of the veil, at no point did any of them challenge the view that women needed to be protected from a male gaze, whereby the responsibility for repressing sexuality through dress and the dangers associated with not doing so lay solely with women. As Dwyer (1999b) has argued in her research upon young Muslim women and their discussions of the hijab, whilst 'wearing the hijab may give an individual sense of power or security, these re-workings of the veil as a resistance remain complicit with the rhetoric of the veil – the suggestion of an active and dangerous feminine sexuality which must be contained' (19). I would add that this extends to the notion of modesty per se. Whilst my participants who described themselves as not yet ready to cover tried to combat the way in which their uncovered identities were read in opposition to the veil, the importance they placed upon modesty continued to constrict the identities of other Muslim women who may wish to challenge the premise of modesty itself. In drawing out these discussions I wish to highlight the multiple ways in which my participants become visible within public space, including forms of self-policing through modesty. What is of particular interest is how my participants related their conceptualisations of modesty as 'empowering' for women through drawing comparisons to 'Western women', arguing that they were objectified as sexual objects and continually judged upon their physique.

My participants variously argued that 'Western' women were not 'free' but rather victims of an alternate oppression, through which they were continually expected to conform to

particular and mainly unachievable standards of beauty. Rashida's comment that covering meant they were free from being judged by their 'shape' was echoed by many of my participants. These findings draw interesting parallels with Hopkins' (2006) research with young Muslim men who justified views about the necessity of modesty for Muslim women through recourse to 'white Western women' as victims of patriarchal culture. Furthermore my participants used such discourses to counter ideas of integration through which they felt they would be pressured to conform to such ideals of femininity. In opposition to these ideas of assimilation through 'uncovering', my participants discussed the importance of reclaiming the veil through a politics of engagement. Those young women that covered by wearing hijab all discussed the importance of fashion, arguing that modesty did not equate to a denial of femininity. They separated out dressing attractively from being overtly sexual whereby flaunting your shape and especially 'bare flesh' in the form of thighs and cleavage were defined as immodest and dangerous, whereas colour, make-up and accessories were seen within a framework of acceptable attractiveness. The following quotation from Nazreen and Nina highlights some of this complexity:

Nazreen: I think I can understand when a lot of the misconceptions come of, you know these women are oppressed, imagine walking down all of us down the street with a scarf on, no make-up on we're like (lowers voice, adopts dull tone) 'yeah' because we think that's what we're supposed to do. Naturally people opposite are going to think otherwise, but I think now the younger generation and I have to say a lot of Somali and Sudanese that have come into the country have brought the whole kind of fashion headscarf, you know you see different colours of headscarves, you see different styles and its becoming acceptable because they're fashionable, they 'work it' as they say and they've made it into something they're really proud of.

Nina: I think you can still preserve your style and still remain respectful to yourself and respect your body and still look good at the same time. We bridge it you know with the eyeliner, the jewellery.

Nazreen discusses the ways in which the young women she works with draw upon a bricolage of different traditions and fashions of veiling from within their localised networks of Muslim friends and acquaintances. The importation of styles from East African heritage Muslims by Pakistani heritage group members, mark a disruption from the adoption of Asian styles of covering worn by their mothers. Here fashion is being used to rebuke stereotypical assumptions concerning Muslim women as oppressed, whereby Nazreen argues that unlike (elder) women who cover out of expectation, the young women 'work' their look as part of the expression and embracing of their Muslim identity. Underpinning such attempts to reclaim the veil as an act of agency was a desire to make the veil an acceptable facet of Muslim identity within Britain. This in turn should be read as part of the young women's attempts to claim belonging as 'British Muslims'. Within this broader exchange, wearing dark eyeliner, earrings and jewelled pins were all identified as key means of 'working' the headscarf. Nina's comments that make-up and jewellery act as a form of bridging a fashionable, feminine look whilst retaining levels of modesty. Parallels can again be drawn with Dwyer's (1998, 1999b and 2000) research in which she identifies fashion as a way of resisting and redefining the meanings associated with particular dress styles.

Nazreen's comments emphasise the importance of bodily corporeality whereupon she argues that their styles of covering combined with walking tall, ensure they embody a strong and proud Muslim identity, which both defies stereotypes and is difficult to challenge. Similar embodied tactics were echoed by several of my participants in both London and Bristol, particularly within the negotiation of public space. My participants identified smiling at people, walking tall, making eye contact and saying 'hello' as everyday engagements through which to try to subvert the various mediated stereotypes of covered Muslim women as potential terrorists; oppressed, illiterate, self segregating and so on which they

felt themselves marked by. My Niqab wearing participants countered the 'invisibility' of their mouths by arguing that they always tried to ensure they smiled with their eyes. These tactics of bodily comportment emphasise the women's presence. To return to Ahmed's (2004) work on fear and hate, she argues that fear 'works to align bodily and social space: it works to enable some bodies to inhabit and move in public space through restricting the mobility of other bodies to spaces that are enclosed or contained' (70). I have explored how my participants' bodies are feared by some in public space. The use of embodied tactics such as walking tall, smiling and saying hello can be read as a resistance by my participants to their bodies becoming objects. Rather than withdraw from public space they use their bodies to claim both their right to be in that space and to not be objectified as fearsome.

Conclusions

The themes of (in)visibility and (in)security underpin this chapter. My participants identified the media as a key geopolitical entity through the production and circulation of socio-political anti-Muslim discourses. They argue that their identities are 'read' through such representations. Integral to my participants' argument is an assertion that Muslims are positioned as 'other', particularly through the conflation of terrorism with Islam, which renders Muslims as a threat to global, national and local security. My participants discuss such representations as a source of intense insecurity, which impacts upon their everyday negotiation of self and identity. Running through my participants' accounts was an identification that Muslims are increasingly excluded from normative scripts of national belonging. I argue that such representations constitute a form of violence in and of themselves. As I have explored, such experiences are made sense of through both individual experience and socio-historically rooted communal experiences and discourses. This highlights the diversity of the 'Muslim experience' and the intersectionality of identity positions (Brah: 1996).

For my Bengali and Pakistani heritage participants, such non-belonging is predicated on their visibility as Muslim and its elision with older tropes of colonial othering, the realities of which are discussed as a form of unequal citizenship and injustice. The figure of the veiled woman was argued (particularly by those participants who wore niqab) to be a central theme within the construction of Muslim women as unhomely. My participants identified their right to veil as coming under enhanced socio-political pressure through its symbolism as a sign of resistance. They saw the potential banning of the niqab by the state as a tactic of 'enforced (in)visibility' via the circumscription of the embodied religious practices of Muslim women. The complex scalar relationships between the body, home and nation are demonstrated throughout this chapter. As I have argued, my participants saw themselves as embodying a threat through the visibility of their religious and racial identities. This is compounded by their position as reproducers of such 'intolerable difference'. Their exclusion from normative constructions of national identity and belonging challenge their ability to be at home in the nation.

Developing this theme of insecurity and non-belonging through visibility, I explored how my participants' covering practices left them subject to becoming marked through societal reinterpretations of what such practices meant. These 'markings' were embedded within contemporary associations of 'the veil' with Islamic terrorism. As such I argue that covering has socio-spatial effects, primarily through both incidences of and the fear of racism. My participants often utilised narratives of dehumanisation to both divorce and reclaim their individual identity and humanity from their objectification as figures of hate. Drawing particularly upon my Somali participants' experiences I argue that the visibility of religious identity as a marker of difference is often conflated with other facets of identity, such as ethnicity and gender in the production of racism. This again highlights the need to pay attention to the diversity of Muslim communities and their experiences as well as the complexity of contemporary racism.

I have discussed how my participants drew upon their experiences of racist encounters as part of the production of sophisticated situated and temporal maps of risk, belonging and exclusion that informed the negotiation and inhabitation of different spaces at different times. Again these negotiations centred on their perceptions of their bodily visibility as religiously and racially 'other'. I have outlined how such maps were framed through a discourse of homeliness, whereby spaces of belonging and inclusion at the scale of the local were embedded within notions of home and homeliness. The ability to feel safe is articulated as integral to feeling at home, a condition which for many of my participants is increasingly difficult to secure.

Finally, I explored my participants' discussions concerning their covering practices. In opposition to tactics of 'invisibility' through 'uncovering', I discussed the importance my participants placed upon reclaiming and depoliticising 'the veil' as an 'over-determined marker' (Dwyer: 1999) through which their identities are 'read'. More broadly, I draw out the importance of covering within the negotiation of identity, particularly for my younger participants, whereby 'fashion' is seen as a highly visible way to contradict stereotypes of Muslim women as forced into covering. My participants discussed the importance of individual agency and religiosity as a means of challenging the familial and community expectations, proscriptions and 'policing' concerning dress. They argued that to perform modesty without religious commitment was in fact irreligious. I argued that whilst this was problematic in that they themselves still continued to proscribe acceptable forms of dress, what was of particular interest was how they positioned modesty as empowering for women in opposition to 'western' norms of dress. I argued that underpinning my participants' attempts to 'reclaim' the veil', through fashion and bodily corporeality was a 'politics of acceptability'. Broadening understandings of covering practices, was identified as integral to challenging the socio-political significations which render 'the veil' so highly visible across scale.

Chapter Six

Meanings of home: home as a religious, familial, cultural and political space

Within this chapter, I focus upon the impact of the geopolitical upon the material spaces of home. In examining my participants' discussions concerning the importance of the home as a site of religion, I explore how the production of the home as a religious space is enacted through embodied, temporal and primarily aural practices. I am interested in examining how such practices become constitutive of constructions and performances of Muslim identity as well as how the making of 'Muslim space' within the domestic reflects gendered spatial practices and roles. I explore how my participants' experiences of racism and non-belonging intersect with and impact upon the material creation of home, particularly in relation to ideas of familial security and the preservation of religion. Within this, I want to draw out the heterogeneity of my participants' experiences, understandings and negotiations of their religious identities. I am particularly interested in how my Somali participants and particularly those who have little experience of Somalia, may prioritise a Muslim identity. I explore the fluidity of identity as bound up with the dislocations experienced through their journeys of forced and active migration. I discuss the extent to which the home represented a safe space in which to be Muslim for my participants in reference to the experiences of 'othering' and non-belonging, discussed in Chapters Four and Five, and particularly those who had experienced racism.

In exploring the spatiality of such experiences in relation to home, I am interested in how the home may simultaneously represent a bounded and unbounded space. I try to show how the centrality of the home as a site of religious identity impacts upon my participants' negotiations of the everyday, which permeate far beyond the material home. This builds upon my examination of the complexity and scalarity of belonging for my participants in relation to ideas of making home. I am interested in drawing out my participants' complex articulations of their religious identities, exploring the way in which home is interwoven throughout their discussions. Central to this is an examination of how the material space of

the home is transformed into 'Muslim space' by my participants. Overall, I argue that making home (for the majority of my participants) is achieved primarily through the performance of embodied religious practices through which they demarcate the home as Islamic space.

Finally, I explore the home as a site of geo-political engagement through the use of domestic media within different home spaces. Whilst moving away from the specificity of exploring my participants' religious identity, in this section I further discuss home as an important site for my participants' negotiations of and resistance to their experiences of racism, 'othering' and oppression. I explore notions of political awareness within my participants' discussions concerning their gendered roles as familial educators. Within this, I aim to challenge contemporary discourses concerning Muslim women as either oppressed or extremist. I examine the importance of media in maintaining links with different home spaces through engagement with multiple news sources. I build upon my earlier discussions of the media as a source of racism and insecurity, whereby in opposition to public space, the home is a site in which they have a sense of autonomy over their media consumption. I am interested in exploring how the home becomes a space of geo-political engagement and interrogation. I examine how my participants' discussions of politics are embedded within their negotiations of citizenship. In exploring the boycotting of Israeli goods by some of my participants, I further examine the materiality of the home as a site for political identity and activism. This chapter draws upon the auto-photography exercise carried out by some of my participants and the group discussions initiated through exploration of the photos. As such, I use these images as part of my examination of the home emphasising their role in both allowing me to see into my participants' home spaces and in creating a more nuanced and sensory discussion of the home as a site of identity and security.

Articulating Muslim identities in relation to home

Writing about the epistemological difficulty of studying religion, Secor (2007) argues for the importance of understanding religion as 'being part of how we come to understand or imagine our relation to the world' (151). Religion in this way refers to 'a way of becoming a subject, both to power and of power', whereby this 'submission is practiced and understood in many ways; women's religious knowledges may be different from men's, rural knowledges may differ from urban, etc' (151). This understanding of religion as a way of 'being inserted into the world and a way of becoming a subject' (151) allows for a multiplicity of religious understandings and practices both in terms of different faiths and the idea of religion itself. Secor acknowledges that whilst this captures the fluidity of religious understandings and practices, there is also a need to recognise what it is that 'stitches together' such understandings, whereby different faiths maintain their distinctions and identities. In a discussion of Islam, Secor acknowledges that the idea of multiple 'Islams' is limiting in that it undermines the 'real religious understandings of ordinary Muslims' (157), in which the idea of the *umma* unites and universalises Muslim subjects.

Drawing upon the work of Bobby Sayyid, Secor argues that the 'signifier Islam acts to guarantee the coherence of the whole discursive field to which it refers', consequently, despite 'its localisation, multiplicity, and historicity, Islam nonetheless works to initiate the idea of a universal Muslim subject' (157). Extending this conceptualisation to the understanding of the term 'religion', Secor argues that 'we need not presume a coherent, totalised, ontological category of "Islam" or "religion" but at the same time we may recognise the discursive power of these terms to retroactively constitute a unified field of meaning. Religion only becomes a distinct category of social life through the active coding of its boundaries' (157-8). In examining my participants' discussions of their religious identities and practices, I follow Secor's conceptualisation of religion as a way of being in the world. My aim is not to add to an ontological debate concerning the study of religion. Rather my focus is upon exploring the intersections between gender, ethnicity and space within my

participants' negotiations of their religious identity. Primarily, I explore the importance of the home as a site of religious identity for my participants. I pay particular attention to the intersections between gender and religion within securing of the domestic as an Islamic space.

I want to begin by exploring the way my participants positioned themselves in relation to their religious affiliation as Muslim. In her research with young Muslim women, Dwyer (1999, 1999b and 2000) has outlined how for some of her participants the assertion of a 'Muslim identity' challenges the elision of 'religious' and 'ethnic' identities, allowing for the contestation of cultural restrictions through reference to Islamic discourse. I found that my participants employed similar tactics (which I explore more fully in Chapter Seven) and as such, when discussing my participants' articulations of their identities I follow their distinctions between religion and ethnicity. This is not to try to artificially separate out these aspects of identity, but is rather to allow for the way in which identities are complex, relational, intersecting, contradictory, situated and contested. In Chapters Four and Five I discussed my participants' negotiations of identity as set against normative, racialised and exclusionary discourses of national identity and belonging. The women's articulations of identity were variously contextualised by and in resistance to their readings of anti-Muslim bias in the media, their experiences of state *insecurity* and the socio-spatial effects of their visibility as Muslim. When discussing their religious identity in relation to home however, the women tended to discuss their religion as an integral part of their identity which informed their everyday lives and practices.

The primacy of my participants' articulations of their Muslim identities highlights important aspects concerning recruitment within the research process. I recruited all of my participants from women's organisations and whilst some of the organisations were cultural in orientation (including for example, a Bangladeshi women's group) all of them referred to themselves as meeting the needs of Muslim women. Whilst I specified that my participants did not need to be practicing Muslims, I was aware that the likelihood was that women

attending the organisations would identify as such. My participants all tended to discuss both Muslim spirituality and religiosity in detail beginning with practicalities such as the five daily prayers and Ramadan, despite their own differing levels of practice. I felt that their initial emphasis on the 'doing of Islam' was very much in reaction to their reading of me as a white, non-Muslim researcher, as these tended to be discussed as the concepts I would most likely be familiar with. As discussed in Chapter Three, I felt the women's narratives were reflective of their desire to allow me to gain a depth of understanding and knowledge about both their individual lives as Muslims and the requirements of Islam more broadly. Interestingly, none of the women I spoke to discussed Islam in terms of their affiliations and/or the differences between schools of thought and again I feel this reflects my positioning. This draws some parallels with Hopkins' (2007b) research in terms of his reading of his participants' focus upon practicality. However, I also feel it extended beyond the immediate scale of researcher-researched dynamics. As I explored in Chapter Three, many of the women discussed their participation in my research as part of a larger project of public engagement through which to demystify Muslim identity and challenge socio-political constructions which position it as threatening. The depth with which they discussed their religious practice and understanding of Islam can be read as part of this project of 'telling themselves' (Archer: 2009), a point which I return to and develop in Chapter Seven.

In Hopkins' (2007b) research with young, Scottish, Muslim men, he identifies that when discussing their religious affiliations, his participants tended 'to focus upon the challenge of being a 'proper' Muslim and therefore more attention is given to doing Islam rather than being Islamic' (73). The majority of Hopkins' participants appear to distinguish between the 'religious and spiritual aspects of Islam as a faith' and the 'actual practicalities or duties associated with being a Muslim, with the latter being given primacy' (76). Interestingly in my research, the vast majority of my participants aged over nineteen (and across ethnic heritage groups), did not make this distinction and their narratives drew upon both their religiosity and spirituality as constitutive of their Muslim identity, despite their different levels of practice. For those participants aged 16-19 however, there was more evidence of such a division being drawn. As I shall discuss throughout the chapter, my participants from

Sudanese and Somali heritages all identified as practising, relating it to their overall commitment to and understanding of their Muslim identity, whereas those from Pakistani backgrounds were more ambivalent towards the 'doing of Islam'. They explained that they were just reaching the age where they were expected (under Islamic discourse but not by their families, a point I return to in Chapter Seven) to become more observant but didn't necessarily feel ready yet. They prioritised learning about Islam and fully understanding it, which in turn would lead to them being ready to commit more fully to its religious requirements.

My participants' explorations of their religious identity tended to unfold during discussions initiated by the auto-photography exercise. There was a real sense of the women leading this phase of the research, which I felt partially reflected their position as producers of the research material. The discussions of identity which inform this chapter are thus focused upon being Islamic through both discussions of Islam as a spiritual and moral experience and the 'doing' of Islam (Hopkins: 2007b), via the performance of the everyday embodied practices which my participants variously regarded as integral to being a proper, practising Muslim. The following quotations from Rashida and Rana are illustrative of my participants' articulations of Islam as a way of living and being in the world:

Rashida: It's a way of life, it's not just something you do once a week, so yes it is, it's literally who we are from when we wake up to when we go to sleep, so you wake up with [unsure if this is with or wake up and give] Allah blessings, you go to bed with [give] Allah's blessings and when you pray, you remember God five times a day... what do you think? I mean it's very much a way of life isn't it? Islam is not described as a religion it's a way of life, how you live your life...

Rana: It's a way of life, so everything is described in Islam, how you live, how you sleep, how you do your job, what you eat, how you dress, how you go to the

toilet, how you do things, how you are with people, you know whatever, so every single thing is explained in there...

Rashida: ... and it's all worship, it's all counted as worship, whereas we, you know we go out to work but if you are an obedient person, if you pray five times a day, you don't hurt anyone, you don't harm anyone then you are being obedient to God, you're worshipping God, when you are going to school you are educating yourself because it's something that you're supposed to do, you're worshipping God again, so it's all kind of...

Rana: ...and thanking for food that is worshipping God, so you know at the beginning of eating the food and finishing your food and the middle as well, you know everything, maybe we don't all do everything it says but we try our best. It's a beautiful religion, it's more than that, it's everything you do is about doing good things, treating people nicely, not just Muslims but everyone, it's living the way God wants you to that's part of your worship, it's everything.

Rashida's and Rana's discussion highlights the way in which they understand Islam as the guiding principle in their lives, which underpins their everyday behaviours, particularly through the role of embodied acts of worship. Underpinning the more practical elements is a clear emphasis upon such acts as part of a bigger sense of spirituality which focuses upon their relationship with and belief in God. Whilst this sense of the centrality of Islamic behaviours extends beyond the home, through Rashida's assertion that the education of women is a requisite of Islam (a point I return to and develop in Chapter Seven), domestic materiality and Islamic practice are intertwined throughout the excerpt. Both Rana and Rashida draw upon the practical side of Islam through bodily practices primarily associated with domesticity such as eating food, cleansing and getting dressed. Rashida's references to

prayer before sleeping and upon waking also implicitly invoke the intimate space of the bedroom as one of Islamic practice.

Indeed, the home was identified by all the participants as their main prayer space.²¹ Underpinning most of my participants' arguments regarding the primacy of home were broader references to the gendered division of space, whereby the home was positioned as a primarily female space. Mohammed (1999) notes that 'feminine space is the space of the home' (230). She argues that Muslim women are placed at the heart of the reproduction of 'religio-cultural identity' through their role as mothers and familial educators. The home is an integral site within the cultural processes and practices of such reproduction. Whilst this gendered expectation was not without contestation, I focus in this chapter upon how my participants' negotiations of this role shaped their domestic practices concerning the home as an Islamic space, which was articulated as a form of preservation and safety.²² As I shall draw out, the creation of an Islamic home environment was seen as central to the securing of their children's Muslim identity for those participants who were mothers. Even for those participants who were single or married without children, this potential maternal role was discussed as central to their religious observance.

The primacy of the home for female prayer is thus embedded within religious narratives, which define the home as the main space for women. The mosque was defined within this as primarily a masculine space of prayer, related to religious practices which positioned men within the public sphere through their role as 'providers'. As Secor (2007) argues, 'the spatiality of Islam is embedded within the everyday practices which produce the segregated spaces of men and women's worship, learning and association' (149). As I shall draw out, there is an ambiguity between my participants' initial discussions and the realities of their

²¹ This included those women who attended the mosque on a regular basis and /or were involved in developing women's space in their mosque. I discuss women's involvement in the mosque in Chapter Seven.

²² My participants' contestations of gender expectations were primarily concerned with patriarchal, cultural restrictions upon women's rights and roles, including being able to work outside the home. I discuss these in Chapter Seven. Regarding their role as educator, my participants of all ages were widely accepting of this as an Islamic expectation.

everyday lives, spatial practices and interpretations of religiously defined gender roles. Again, I feel that this was partly due to my participants' desires to discuss and explain their faith, so that I, as a non-Muslim could understand and engage with them. As such, they tended to clearly outline general Islamic discourses concerning the home, before broadening out their discussions with references to their individual practice and critical reinterpretations of such traditions. In highlighting such ambiguities, I am not trying to undermine my participants' initial narratives or the actuality of the home as a prime space for women rather, it is to make clear from the outset the fragmentary, contested and contradictory nature of their arguments are illustrative of the complexity of their relationships to and definitions of home as a gendered space of Muslim identity.

Home as a site of religious identity and security: creating Islamic space through practice

Photographs of prayer mats featured across the sets of images produced by my participants (see Figure Four for an example). My discussion of domestic prayer space is thus drawn from the conversations sparked by such representations. The following quotation from Suad is typical of my participants' discussions of the home as site of prayer:

Suad: This is the prayer mattress and this is the prayer mat, so we use this one, can you see in the middle of this prayer mat, this is the Ka'ba, this is the Holy Mosque in Mecca where people go to perform hajj, so every prayer mat you can find this because when we pray, we pray towards Ka'ba, our destination, we have to pray towards the Ka'ba, so it's very important, you have to make sure that you face towards the Ka'ba and just then start praying there. So obviously you can pray any place, you can pray in the kitchen, you can pray in the living room, you can pray in rooms but you are not allowed to pray in the toilet of course not, that's unacceptable you know, it's inappropriate or in the corridors, it's not allowed there but other than that any place else. So every,

every Muslim family, every house will have plenty of mats, for me I have got six because sometimes people come and you know, so they have some to use rather than just one because sometimes I can use just one but I have always got extra.

Suad outlines cleanliness and the ability to face the Ka'ba as the only integral requirement of prayer space. This highlights the portability of Islamic practice whereby as Metcalf (1996) outlines, the creation of 'Muslim space' does not 'require any juridically claimed territory or formally consecrated or architecturally specific space'. Rather it is 'ritual and sanctioned practice' (3) which are its fundamental tenets. Suad discussed the corridors as inappropriate due to the difficulty in ensuring they remained free from pollution. This construction of the corridor as unclean was an individual one which prompted debate amongst the interview group, highlighting the diversity of interpretations concerning the defining of domestic prayer space. Several of my participants further elaborated on cleanliness as demarcation in regards to praying in public spaces, such as the street. They contextualised this through broader explanations regarding the simplicity of the requirements for worship, a simplicity that they defined as part of the purity of Islam. This shift away from the home as prayer site occurred as part of the unfolding of their actual practices and their need to pray in non-domestic spaces, particularly places of work. For example, in reference to the use of a prayer mat, Khoulah argued that 'It's actually quite a cultural thing, it's not really, you don't have to pray on it as long as you pray on a carpet or a place that's clean you know if its outside on the floor, as long as it's clean, no dog's poo or alcohol, you can pray in that space'. This reinforces the embodied nature of making Muslim prayer space whereby the meanings of space become temporarily transformed for the individual through the act of prayer. Time, cleanliness and practice rather than sanctity thus inform the demarcation of such space.



Figure Four: a prayer mat positioned in a bedroom, my participant drew attention to the small amount of space required for prayer.

Similarly, for those participants whose family members were less observant of salat, (for example women whose children or siblings were not yet expected to be fully observant), the preparation of prayer space can be seen as a form of temporary boundary construction within the home, whereby the laying down of the mat appropriates an area of the room and seals it off for the purposes of religious practice. This was discussed in the context of several activities occurring within the same room in which the women were praying, for example, children doing their homework and so on. Whilst I was carrying out group interviews I witnessed this form of demarcation. There were several occasions when the women broke off the interview in order to pray and when I offered to leave the room, I was told that my presence would not affect their ability to make either the physical or spiritual room that was necessary for their prayer. Ebin (1996) has described such division of the 'domestic environment' as part of the temporally defined choreography of family life within the creation of a Muslim space. The actual prayer demands both physical and mental space

whereby my participants described an internal withdrawal as part of the preparation for prayer through the closing down of the mind to focus on offering worship through the spoken word. Qureshi (1996) has outlined that the primary action of salat is the verbal recitation and it was this coupled with the act of prostration which was most discussed by my participants:

Umm Zayol: Salat is the actual prayer, five times daily prayer that we do, it appears very physical but like my mum (Masha'Allah) said, Islam incorporates all of the different elements of mankind, what we need, like we need the nurturing within our spirit as well as the physical as well as the, what's the other one, there's three main elements, what's the other one you said? Basically your spiritual, physical and your intelligence as well, your intellect and Islam because Islam encompasses every aspect of your life so a part of it is to look after your body and the Salat, in some ways it's a form of exercise too.

Khoulah: Islam, also it's about worshipping but not having a visual figure, a visual object whereas I think with Catholicism and Christianity there is an object that is, that plays a huge significance in... there needs to be a visual, tangible object in order to engage with the spiritual, but I think with Islam its more your inner peace, your physical and your spiritual so you're actually worshipping a creator that you do not have an object in your mind and in your vision about and I think this is where the difference is, you know in Islam we don't need to have an object to worship. For us it's all about the actual words of Allah, saying his words, understanding his message.

In this extract, Umm Zayol describes the act of Salat as part of the way in which Islam encompasses her physical, spiritual and intellectual wellbeing. This sense of Islam as

transcending the spiritual was a common theme amongst my participants from London as well as those in Bristol from both Somali and Pakistani heritages. I read this as reflecting their levels of religiosity whereby they argued that the more you gave of yourself to 'studying, living, understanding and feeling Islam' (as described by Yasmin), the more it was able to give to you. Within this framework, Umm Zayol argued that even the act of prostration was physically good for preserving the agility and strength of the body. Two of my London participants Khoulah and Khaduah had converted to Islam and so both tended to compare it to the religions which they had previously followed as part of their upbringing. Here Khoulah highlights Islam as far more physical and all-consuming than her experiences as a Lutheran and then a Catholic in the United States. This feeds into the sense of spirituality she receives as a practising Muslim. Khoulah highlights the physicality of salat and the importance of the aural as making Islam a truly embodied experience. Furthermore, she argues that the way in which deities are forbidden in Islam both foregrounds the importance of understanding and believing in the spoken word and deepens the sense of spirituality felt by the believer.

In terms of the practicalities of observing salat, most of the women identified the home as their main prayer space, with the living room and bedrooms most commonly used for prayer. Bedrooms were favoured for their privacy and the ease of not having to adjust the material layout of the room by appropriating space for prayer. The majority of my participants prayed alone, explaining that it was often too awkward to make enough space for the family to pray together. For example Abeda explained that during Ramadan she would pray with her daughters and female friends/relatives but that this was too difficult to adopt as an everyday practice due to the space it took up. Abeda outlined that as their front room was small they had to move all the furniture against the walls to create enough space for communal prayer. Consequently Abeda explained that she and her daughters prayed separately in their bedrooms rather than take turns in the front room. This highlights the way in which the material spaces of the home influence or limit the arrangement of religious practice (Quereshi: 1996 for similar findings).

Those women who tended to pray together in the home were all of Somali heritage and they outlined the importance of communal prayer in strengthening the prayer. For those women with children this coming together for prayer tended to be limited to the immediate family group, although this extended to female relatives who lived in or near the home. Suad lived with her husband and his family and outlined how she would pray with women in the home including female friends. Sometimes these prayers with friends took the form of a prayer circle whereby the women would come together specially to read the Quran and observe salat. These events tended to occur at weekends for practical reasons, with Suad and some of the other women in full-time employment during the week:

Suad: In our prayer as well and this is an important point as well, we always make sure to pray together, because in our religion it says that the Prophet, the messenger Mohammed (peace be upon him) says that a person who prays with a group of people, with other Muslims his prayer is much better than a person who prays by himself, alone, so if I have got friends coming to my place or my relatives we make sure to pray together, but only women, women and men they pray separately so they are together and one should be the leader, one should lead the prayer. So sometimes I lead the prayer, it depends because if they come to my house, you know the religion says that if they come to my house then I have the right, it's compulsory to lead them so I have to stand in the middle then I am going to lead them and they have to follow me, so one should lead the prayers, so that's how it works.

In this excerpt Suad touches upon the gendering of space through religious practice within the home. Whilst both Suad and her husband invite friends to gather for prayer, they pray separately in order to observe practices of segregation which exist between non-familial men and women (see Secor: 2007 for a brief discussion on gendered Islamic space). Suad highlights the necessity of group prayer for strengthening her spirituality and strength of worship and outlines how her role as host informs her position as the leader of the prayer.

Suad describes how this responsibility affects the material layout of the prayer space, whereby she will perform the prayer in the middle of the group. Hadiya and Fatima similarly describe the importance of praying with their children as part of their creation of an Islamic home through their maternal role as educators. Praying together is seen to enhance their sense of togetherness, particularly as they are living in a non-Islamic environment. They emphasise the portability of their faith however and argue that it gives them a strong sense of identity despite the pressures they face due to their visibility as Muslim. These different interpretations of and attitudes towards communal prayer between women from different ethnic heritages highlights the heterogeneity of the Muslim community. This emphasises the need to ensure research concerning Muslim geographies recognises this diversity.

All of the women who observed salat described prayer times as defining their daily schedules. They highlighted how their day began with their preparations for the first prayer, shaping the time at which they awoke in line with the shifting prayer times which are calculated according to the movement of the sun. Rashida and Zainab included pictures of clocks, one of which was a special alarm clock that could be set to give the call to prayer. Similarly, Khoulah included pictures of mobile phones on which they had downloaded software which calculated and initiated the daily calls to prayer. These products were highlighted as having been produced for Muslims in diaspora to assist the production of an Islamic environment through recreating the sounds that define Islamic space. For those women who had grown up in Islamic countries, the call to prayer was one of the things they most missed. This was particularly acute for those participants who identified as Somali and were relatively new to living in a non-Islamic country. McCloud (1996) describes the calling of the *adhan* and *iqamah* as signalling 'movement from one reality to another as the Muslim and Muslimah stand before Allah' (65). The temporal nature of Islamic space was further highlighted by those participants whose everyday practices were shaped by salat, as this excerpt from Rashida, Rana, Khadija and Zainab demonstrates:

Rashida: Time, this is a picture of a clock. Well it's something that is important to everybody isn't it. Time just flies by and no matter how... it's a race for time our life no matter what culture, no matter what religion...every minute that passes by reminds you that you are getting closer and closer to something else, I think for me it signifies that we are not going to be here forever and that every time that ticks by, every second that goes is never going to return, that's never going to change.

Khadija: Also it's important to know when EastEnders comes... [everybody laughs]

Zainab: Nobody can ask me for anything at half seven

Khadija: ...she's mad about EastEnders!

Rana: We have our prayer times and that's a really important part of our identity, everything works like clockwork around that.

Rashida's comments concerning the passing of time are broader than the observance of salat. Rashida touches upon her belief that there is an afterlife, which in a broader discussion she made clear, was eternal. For Rashida, being a Muslim is all encompassing and as such time was integral to the production of her Muslim self through both the observance of salat and through striving to make the most out of her time on this earth in preparation for the afterlife. This included other aspects of her identity such as her spirituality, feminism and education all of which were intertwined with her identity as Muslim. Whilst Rashida's

comments concerning the importance of salat were echoed by the group, Khadija's comments about Zainab's addiction to EastEnders are particularly important regarding the negotiation and contestation of Muslim identity. They need to be contextualised as part of the group's attempts to show that being a Muslim was not antithetical to being British, whereby being religious did not mean that they did not have other competing cultural interests and activities.²³ This draws parallels with and develops Dwyer's (1998) research with young Muslim women where she demonstrates the importance of specific aspects of youth culture such as television, music and dress within the contestation and negotiation of identity. Dwyer highlights how material culture became a platform through which the young women actively resisted dominant representations and produced new meanings. Whilst I develop these findings further in Chapter Seven, I want to note here how such tactics were used by my participants from different generations as highlighted in this excerpt.

Two further 'aural' aspects to making Islamic space, which were common to all my participants, were the display of calligraphy and listening to Quranic recitations on tapes, CDs and specific television programmes, as Firdous discusses:

Firdous: Reading Qur'an is everyday part of our lives. We have to read Qur'an because that is, the holy Qur'an is the light that guide our lives and guide our soul and guides us to the right path and everything so Qur'an is really important everyday and just you know listen to the Qur'an and tapes either on the telly or you know try to just add and put more colour in your house and life with more religion aspects and to make more environment an Islamic environment.

Firdous highlights the importance of the aural within individual understanding, spirituality and religiosity through recitation. Listening to recitation is seen to help create an Islamic domestic environment through active listening and participation. Similarly, many of the

²³ This is not to suggest that watching EastEnders is a typical British activity however.

women who took part in the auto-photography exercise included images of calligraphy (see Figure Five for an example). Whilst the texts (which were usually passages from the Qu'ran) were often chosen because they held particular meaning, the main objective of displaying them was to convey the depicted verbal message. Several of my participants discussed the importance of calligraphy as a reminder of Allah's message which needed to be acted upon, whereby a connection to the object in and of itself was seen as unimportant, as this excerpt from Nazreen demonstrates:

Nazreen: ...because number one you don't know what the prophets look like and number two the reason why we don't have pictures of the Prophets even though they could have drawn them in those days is because pictures usually turn into idol worshipping, so you know people start to put them in their houses and they start to touch them as they leave and it turns into idol worshipping and the prophet said 'I'm not, you do not worship the prophet, worship God,' that's why we don't have pictures of anything. Calligraphy is there to remind you of the words and message of Allah. It's what you do with that reminder that counts.

Here Nazreen highlights that part of the Muslim faith is about having to believe in Allah's message whereby the words and practice of living your whole life which were important rather than the worship of visualised idols. This echoes Khoulah's argument concerning the way in which the lack of such idols within Islam requires a particular depth of belief. Umm Zayol similarly explained that there was a 'delicacy of associating inanimate objects with Allah'. She argued that there was a danger that people could overcrowd their houses with such items and begin to worship them. In her case, the calligraphic tray she had photographed was chosen because it was minimal, simply saying 'In the name of Allah most merciful the bestower of mercy'. Whilst Umm Zayol felt it was also a pretty object, that was not significant to her, rather it was the way in which the text reminded her of Allah and his guidance which had led her to display and photograph it. Quereshi (1996) has argued, 'what

needs to be stressed is that for Muslims neither the Qur'an nor any visual Islamic display is a locus of contemplation; they are meant to initiate articulation and action' (48). The calligraphic items discussed by my participants included ornamental brass and silver trays and plates as well as enamelled tiles, all of which had text either etched or embossed, although simple prints in a rectangular picture frame were the most commonly photographed items. In terms of this focus upon texts, in his research on Evangelical Christians in London, Hurford (2005) similarly argues that the display of passages from the Bible is integral to the creation of the domestic as a religious space whereby belonging is primarily experienced as a 'sense of intimacy in Christ' (22). The display of texts is meant to act as reminders of the importance of constructing a relationship with Christ through religious practices which inform everyday behaviours and beliefs.



Figure Five: An ornamental tray embossed with calligraphy and positioned on a bedside cabinet. My participant discussed being able to look at this and contemplate her faith when preparing to sleep and upon waking.

My participants' narratives concerning the importance of such textual objects did at times go beyond their primary function, although it is important to stress that they still prioritised the textual meaning as being a reminder of the words of Allah, which guided their everyday actions and religiosity. Several of my participants described the sourcing of their calligraphy, whereby many of them had been bought on visits either to their country of heritage (primarily Pakistan) or on holidays to Islamic countries such as Morocco. For those women who had brought objects from 'home' they also acted as a form of material connection to their broader diasporic geographies of home. In her research on Hindu women from South Asia and East Africa, living in London, Tolia-Kelly discusses the importance of visual objects in shaping diasporic homes. She argues that visual and material objects are 'shot through with memory of "other" spaces of being' (2004a: 676). Tolia-Kelly shows that such items import different landscapes of home into the diasporic home, shifting and intertwining the meanings of such landscapes. Interestingly though, in my research such connections to 'home' were discussed within a religious rather than a familial framework, with the women often describing ways in which the visual objects brought back memories of how it felt to live in a predominantly Islamic country.

Similarly, those participants who photographed objects bought during trips to Islamic countries talked about them within the context of experiencing a country in which they were surrounded by Islamic practices, sounds, architecture and calligraphy. This immersion in Muslim culture was often experienced as a sense of homeliness. Such discussions again foreground the importance of soundscapes and the aural, with my participants particularly reflecting on how they were surrounded by Islamic sounds including the call to prayer, taped recitation and people shouting out Islamic greetings to each other in Arabic. It was this auditory and communal experience which they particularly missed. This highlights the need to try to capture the ways in which visual imaginaries of home are also embodied and sensory. The objects thus acted as reminders of and a connection to a broader Muslim community embedded within embodied experiences of Islamic space. Such experiences are then constitutive of their recreation of a domestic Islamic environment. I want to conclude

this section by discussing the importance of the Qur'an within my participants' religious practice.

Most of my participants who took part in the auto-photography exercise included images of the Qur'an (see for example Figure Six). The narratives which accompanied the photos tended to focus on both the importance of reciting from/studying it and its material arrangement within the home. The reading of chosen passages from the Qur'an was discussed as a form of worship, whilst silently studying the text was contextualised primarily as educational, although it is important to note that this too is intrinsic to my participants' constructions of religiosity and practice. In terms of reciting from the Qur'an, this was expressed by the majority of my participants as a daily activity, which for those who observed salat often preceded the early morning prayer and followed the last daily prayer. In terms of materiality, the living room and bedrooms were cited as the main spaces for this activity. Two of my participants from London included photos of special holders which they used to place the Qur'an in as part of their preparation for menstruation during which they would be unable to touch or read aloud from the Qur'an. The display of the Qur'an was a common topic of group discussion, for example, several of the women included photographs which depicted their positioning of the Qur'an on a bookshelf above the rest of their books. They placed the Qur'an in an elevated position as a mark of respect, outlining that this was a matter of individual preference and not a formal jurisdiction. Reciting from the Qur'an was preceded by ritual cleansing as part of the preparation for worship, which again highlights the temporal demarcation of religious space through embodied purification and practice. Many of the women highlighted reading passages aloud and sitting in a respectful, peaceful and contemplative posture, reemphasising the importance of the body and voice within this process.



Figure Six: Qur'an in centre of photograph with holder on shelf above.

As with the observance of salat, the majority of the women I interviewed recited alone or with their children. The women of Somali heritage however, again discussed the importance of communal recitation whereby they would come together with friends and female relatives to read from the Qur'an. The frequency with which this occurred varied but it was repeatedly cited as a normal rather than a rare activity. This reemphasises the heterogeneity of Muslim identities and practices. In coming together to worship, the home becomes a key communal religious site for my Somali participants and an important diasporic space. This builds upon work which has identified the importance of the home as communal space for migrant communities and especially women (Thompson: 1994, Levitt and Waters: 2002), through its focus upon religious practice as a shared activity. This expands ideas of the home as a space for primarily familial activities. The intertwining of the home as a communal space through religious practice thus also builds upon a body of work which has demonstrated the importance of the space of the home within

diasporic/migratory processes of re-making home (Blunt: 2005, Tolia-Kelly: 2004, 2004a and 2006).

Ahmed (2005a) highlights the resurgence of religious identity in her multi-generational research with Bengali women in Tower Hamlets, arguing that for many of her participants, following their migration 'religion played an important role in their efforts to retain familiar customs and rituals' (119). Similarly, my participants from Somali backgrounds emphasised the importance and primacy of maintaining their religious identity in an un-Islamic environment as highlighted by Suad:

Suad: These are the words of Allah which are mentioned in the holy book, so these are the words of Allah, because you need to protect your house, you need to protect your soul, you need to protect your house from the devil and we believe that in the western countries there are more like devils, a lot more than Islamic countries and you know it's very difficult to spot them, it's quite difficult so to have a Qur'an, to read the Qur'an every day and to play on CD or a DVD or a tape the Qur'an it's going to protect your house as well from the devil and putting these words as well from Allah on the walls is going to protect as well your house from the devil.

My participants from a Somali background discussed this need to preserve their identity in relation to their experiences as refugees as well as part of a broader role concerning the need to ensure they gave their children an Islamic domestic environment. Ishmahan, Suad and Safia all discussed their identity as part of an Islamification of Somali identity within the context of the civil war. This excerpt from Ishmahan encapsulates their explanations:

Ishmahan: In 1991 the civil war started and prior to that Somalia, which is really interesting, wasn't very religious, it was culture first then religion second, so the Government was very pro-western. When the civil war came and people thought okay we must have done something wrong because we are Muslims and the feeling is that the country has gone down the drains because they have done something wrong in the eyes of God and God is punishing them for it and that's why until today the country is still not functioning. There is no peace in the country so a lot of Somali people feel that they are being punished by God and they've got to become better Muslims than they were especially the younger generation, Islam is very strong in their identity.

Ishamhan argues that the prioritisation of her Islamic identity is connected to her experiences of the civil war in Somalia, that she attributes in part to a lack of religiosity within the country. Further on in the interview she explained that prior to the war, 'the majority of Somali people were Muslim by culture but not by practice'.

Ishmahan's comments echo findings by Humpage (2009), who explored Somali identity in relation to experiences of secondary school education in Christchurch, New Zealand. Humpage argues that many of the families she worked with had become more Islamic due to their experiences of famine and civil war in Somali, with many of her participants having 'found solace' in their Islamic faith whilst in refugee camps (78). She outlines that resettlement in countries where Islam is not the dominant faith has furthered her participants' need to express their faith through visible and external signs including dress. My findings extend Humpage's argument concerning the intertwining of religious identity and migratory experiences through my focus on the interior spaces of the home.

Whilst my participants discussed the importance of building links within the Somali community in Bristol, they also highlighted how shared religious identity shaped their

friendship groups. Firdous talked about the sense of belonging she experienced when visiting other Muslim homes, outlining that she now had friends of Bengali heritage. The familiarity of seeing Muslim objects such as the Qur'an, prayer mats and calligraphy invoked a sense of security rooted in religious identification. This can be compared to findings by Tolia-Kelly (2004) concerning the importance of Hindu shrines for her participants. Tolia-Kelly argues that her participants' shrines and their contents were part of a 'collective, visual vocabulary for the South Asian community' (319), which facilitated the forming of social connections through a sense of communal identity made through 'visual registers of colour, texture, sound and scent' (319). Whilst there are obvious differences between the two faiths, notably concerning the worship of material objects and emphasis upon visual idols within Hinduism, I want to highlight the similarities concerning domestic religious spaces as sites of social and collective identity and belonging.

The maintenance of the home as an Islamic space is both integral to my participants' construction and performance of their Muslim identity and has become embedded with notions of security and religious preservation. As Suad argued in a previous excerpt, one of the realities of living in a non-Islamic and specifically Western environment is that she and her family face new pressures or 'devils' which would explicitly challenge their individual religiosity. Reading the Qu'ran is seen to help protect Suad against the temptations and dangers which she associates with Western culture. Whilst Suad was my only participant to directly refer to 'devils', all of the women from Somali backgrounds stressed the alienation they felt in living in a non-Islamic country. Again this directly informed their religious practices and their commitment to creating an Islamic home environment. This highlights the way in which identity formation is situational.

Similarly, Valentine and Sporton (2007) found in their research with young and adult Somali refugees and asylum seekers in Sheffield, that their participants prioritised their Muslim identity. They argue that the 'increased importance of a Muslim identity to Somali refugees and asylum seekers stems from the fact that faith provides an important anchor within their

broader experience of mobility and dislocation, and provides a means of ensuring that they do not lose their children to an 'alien' western individualistic culture' (12). My participants from Bangladesh and Pakistan all highlighted similar concerns regarding ensuring their children retained a strong Muslim identity despite living in a country in which Muslims were a minority.²⁴ In terms of my younger participants from Somalia and Sudan, their prioritisation of a Muslim identity can also be read as embedded within their complex experiences of forced and voluntary migration, whereby all had come to the UK as refugees via a European country. Their identity as Muslim can be seen as the most consistent way they have of defining themselves. As SR explained: '...being Muslim is the most important thing, because it shapes how we live our lives; it doesn't matter where we are living'. For SR being Muslim shapes the spaces and routines of her everyday life, the continuity of which constitutes a very embodied source of security. This sense of safety resonated with Hope and Sarah (see Valentine et al: 2009 for discussion of the centrality of Muslim identity for young Somali asylum seekers).

My Somali participants' experiences of racism further heightened the complexity of their relationship to the home. As I discussed in Chapter Four, my participants of Pakistani heritage cited the home as subject to potential state surveillance, rendering it a space in which they at times felt guarded about how their religious practices may be perceived. For my participants of Bengali and Somali heritage who experienced racism, the home was cited as a space in which it was safe for them to be Muslim, a place where they could freely practice their religion and express this aspect of their identity. This stood in contrast to their experiences of racism in public space, which as discussed in Chapter Five, were particularly acute for my Somali participants. For example, Firdous discussed the importance of being able to go home and close the door on the 'outside world' after experiencing racism. This exemplifies how such experiences heightened my Somali participants' senses of the material spaces of the home as a refuge, despite the fact that they do not feel at home within Bristol or Britain more broadly. Firdous highlighted how this sense of relief was also experienced

²⁴ I explore more fully my participants' discussions concerning the preservation of identity and the surveillance of their children's behaviour in Chapter Seven.

when she visited her Somali friends at their homes, as she felt able to share and work through her experiences, knowing they would be understood. This builds upon work by Gorman-Murray (2006), who argues that through communal activities, in his case, friendship/support groups for gay men and lesbians, the home nourishes and confirms individual and group identities in the face of exclusion and discrimination. The importance of the home as a site of refuge was also highlighted by my participants aged between 16 and 19, particularly those from Sudan and Somalia. This was embedded with ideas of the home as a space in which they could openly express their religious and cultural identities, without fear of racism²⁵.

The conceptualisation of home as a site of escape from racism was similarly mentioned by my Bengali participants within the context of their children's experiences. As I discussed in Chapter Five, Aasma and Shoma both discussed the home as the site in which their children would confide in them about acts of bullying, which were primarily related to their visibility as Muslims and the association of Muslims with terrorism. Whilst, as I have discussed, my Bengali participants were not as observant regarding salat, they still emphasised the importance of ensuring the home was a Muslim space and that their children understood the importance and meanings of their faith. Aasma and Shoma both outlined the way in which they would have to reassure their children about the inherent peacefulness of their religion in the face of acts of terrorism carried out in the name of Islam, which they argued were based on flawed understandings of Islam. Some of my Somali participants discussed similar incidents concerning their children's experiences of anti-Muslim racism and the way in which it impacted upon the home environment. For example Safia discussed her daughters having their hijabs 'ripped off' in school and how this had caused them to begin to question the importance of their religious identity. Safia outlined how angry her daughters became about their experiences and how she as their mother was the one they 'took it out on' when they came home.

²⁵ I return to this in Chapter Seven.

hooks (1991) has demonstrated through her work on segregation, slavery and oppression for African-Americans that the homeplace needs to be recognised as a site of resistance and liberation for those who experience racism and oppression. hooks argues that homespaces come to represent spaces in which the oppressed are able to explore their identities and nurture resistance. In a similar vein to Shoma and Aasma, Safia emphasised the importance of creating an Islamic home environment so as to nurture her daughters' strength of belief and identity. In this context the home is idealised as a private space in which my participants are able to express their religious identities without fear of reprisal. This stands in contrast to my Pakistani heritage participants who argued that the home was potentially a site which was vulnerable to state security measures. As such they felt under pressure to ensure that they performed an acceptable Muslim identity.

These different experiences of the home as a site of religious identity and security or insecurity, highlights the diversity of Muslim experience. Furthermore, it demonstrates the complexity and scalarity of belonging and the need to examine the micro-politics and practices of making home within such experiences. Blunt and Dowling (2006) have argued that attention needs to be paid to the social and spatial characteristics through which dwellings become homes. In the case of the majority of my participants it is important to emphasise that the making of 'home' is achieved primarily through their religious practices, through which the home becomes an Islamic space. The embodied, aural and spiritual nature of making Muslim space was particularly emphasised by my Somali participants as integral to the interior production of their houses and flats as 'homes', despite identifying as living in 'unhomely' neighbourhood environments. These findings reinforce both the embedding of ideas of safety and preservation within the performance of religious identity for some of my participants and the centrality of the domestic as a space of religious identity. I want to turn now to look at the home as a political site.

Extending home: the (geo) political within the domestic

In this section I examine interrelationships between the home, media consumption and my participants' political articulations and actions. In Chapter Five I explored my participants' identifications that racist western media discourses concerning Muslims constitute a key source of insecurity and fear. Central to their arguments was an assertion that through such representations, their visibility as 'Muslim' thus meant they were positioned as 'fearful'; as part of a community that is to be feared. My participants described the media as inescapable, whereby when out in public space they were often subject to seeing headlines or hearing/seeing negative commentaries on the radio and/or television. The home in contrast was identified as a space over which they had control and could thus engage critically with the media through their individual practices of consumption. Their discussions concerning the media were intertwined with debate and opinions over broader political issues, primarily British foreign policy and the conflict in Gaza²⁶ which occurred during my fieldwork period.

Dwyer (1998) has outlined that a complex set of discourses operate to reinforce dominant perceptions of what it means to be a Muslim woman, whereby Muslim women are the 'embodiment of a repressive and "fundamentalist" religion' and as 'passive victims of an oppressive culture' (53). As I have argued previously, recent geopolitical events have instigated a refocusing of such stereotypes to position certain Muslim women as potential terrorists. Such a reworking is similarly reliant upon simplistic assumptions about their racialised, gendered and religious identities, through which such women are still positioned as irrational and not fully cognisant political actors (see Hopkins: 2007 and 2007b for a discussion of young Muslim men and political identity). In drawing out my participants' awareness of, and engagement with political issues, I aim to challenge stereotypes which construct them as either politically inactive or that associates politicisation with the adoption of Islamic fundamentalism.

²⁶ In December 2008 Israel launched a 22 day military operation in the Gaza Strip.

Several of my participants included images of their living rooms in which the television was prominent and across the group interviews, factual programmes and current affairs were highlighted as of primary importance. For example, Abeda presented a photograph of her living room which showed the television set surrounded by shelves with material objects including family photographs and calligraphy. Abeda described the whole area as an important family space, connoting that the possessions, including the television, held significant personal meaning and associations. Morley (2000) has argued for 'the importance of analysing what we might call the physics of television as a material and symbolic object in the home' (89). Abeda outlined how she had taken the photo when the news was on to show its importance to both herself and her family, whereby watching it was a common familial activity:

Abeda: This is very important corner of my house...

Khadija: - I think every house isn't it...

Abeda: ...you know the TV when you relax, sit down and relax together as a family, we watch and you know debate. At the same time there are some decorations, those photos are there and some religious symbols are there as well and you can see the television was on and the news was on, I mainly watch the news, it is on the news 24 channel, so you can get in touch with the world.

Khadija: ...especially for me to sort of get in touch with Pakistan and Islamic news or information

Rashida: Yes otherwise there is no way to kind of know what's going on there, but with the media, with the news satellite and cable channels you kind of.. Communication is just that much better.

Abeda further outlined the primacy of this 'corner of the living room' as a site of communication through active engagement with Western media, focusing on the discussion such programmes initiated. The photos near to the television were of family members in both Pakistan and other areas of England, primarily London. Abeda discussed watching out for news items which focused on the areas (of both Pakistan and the UK) where her relatives lived. The juxtaposition of the photographs with the television symbolises a layering of communications and connections to place. Abeda described enjoying being able to look at the images as she relaxed in that corner of the room, highlighting its production as a hearth for family members both 'here' and 'away'. Access to satellite television channels in the home were frequently identified as crucial to allowing my participants to engage in news/current affairs concerning different homespaces and the Muslim community more broadly. Similarly, the internet was also highlighted as a prime media technology for both information and familial communication.

Writing about the need to research the importance and practices of media consumption and production within experiences of migrancy, Silverstone and Georgiou (2005) outline that 'within and between families, neighbourhoods, nations and global space', media enables 'the transmission and sharing of images and ideas, meanings and motivations' (434). Their conceptualisation of media ranges from the exchange of letters, emails, mobile phone text messages, images and videos as well as the consumption and production of print media, domestic and satellite television and the internet. They argue that 'mediation is a political process in so far as dominant forms of imaging and storytelling can be resisted, appropriated or countered by others both inside media space, that is through minority media of one kind or another, or on the edge of it, through the everyday tactics of symbolic engagement, in gossip, talk or stubborn refusal' (434). As I noted above, my participants'

political discussions were often articulated in association with their discussion of domestic media consumption. Shoma highlighted that whilst she disliked the way in which American news media was racist (as explored in Chapter Five), she felt compelled to monitor its representation of Muslims.

Similar views were expressed by my Pakistani participants regarding the representation of Pakistan by American news media. As I discussed in Chapters Four and Five, the sensitivity of their positioning as Muslims of Pakistani descent was central to their discussions of identity and experiences of *insecurity*. As such, monitoring media constructions of Pakistan was discussed as a form of almost defensive preparation due to the way in which they found themselves positioned by and through such representations, a positioning which as discussed has repercussions. Undercutting this awareness of Pakistan's positioning in the War on Terror was anger at what was not reported. Rashida, Shemla and Abeda all discussed Pakistan as on the verge of civil war, which as I discussed in Chapter Four, they attributed to the pressures the Government faced particularly from American and British foreign policy. The homespace was the arena in which the women argued they were able to both monitor the situation and form and articulate their opinions. Abeda outlined the importance of keeping up to date with events in Pakistan in order to evaluate the levels of risk faced by her family there. This was achieved through watching alternative news channels such as Al Jazeera. Interestingly my participants accessed these programmes through both satellite television and the internet.²⁷

Such channels were seen as giving an alternative viewpoint through which they could negotiate a more balanced sense of understanding, although it is important to note that the women highlighted that these stations too would have a particular political remit. As Ehrkamp (2005) argues, engagement with satellite TV is not simply passive consumption but is 'one of the many complex negotiations of local and transnational lives and social relations

²⁷ I explore my participants' use of the internet as a source of information and familial communication in Chapter Seven.

that immigrants engage in' (357). Rashida argued that American news sources either omitted the everyday realities of life in unsettled regions of Pakistan or misconstrued them as evidence for their continued pressure/intervention. The defining of the home as a safe space for scrutinising the political situation in Pakistan is interesting regarding their arguments concerning the home as a site of potential state intervention. This highlights how it is the interface of home and public that is problematic. In this case, the home is constructed as the site in which anger can be expressed, allowing for measured and articulate 'public' opinions to be formed. The airing of balanced arguments can thus be seen to represent the 'moderateness' of the women, their children and by extension their home as the site of maternal education. This reinforces the concerns raised in Chapter Four regarding the pressures my Pakistani heritage participants feel under to conform to an acceptable image of being Muslim.

Whilst this emphasis on the importance of articulating reasoned opinions could be seen within a framework of oppression, this was not how my participants discussed it. They identified being able to understand and debate such issues as part of their duty and right as British citizens. Shemla argued that everyone 'had to approach things in the right way' in order to be 'taken seriously', whereby it was no good 'screaming and shouting'. The importance of the home as a space through which to forge this resistance echoes findings by Begum and Eade (2005) in their research with Bangladeshi men and women in Tower Hamlets, London. They highlight the home as a safe space for their participants to discuss and formulate resistance to the outbreak of war with Iraq in 2003. Constant monitoring of satellite television via channels such as Al Jazeera and Bangla TV was identified as a way of articulating private opposition to the war, which then fed into the performance of rational public opposition. Begum and Eade note that 'dissent sometimes reached fever pitch in individual households, but always remained mediated and managed in public spaces such as the street or places of worship' (188).

Throughout the sessions, my participants articulated opinions about a range of political issues and concerns²⁸. The 2003 Iraq war, the invasion of Afghanistan and a perceived threat of war with Iran were key topics raised by my participants, which tended to be contextualised as foreign policy concerns. Abeda argued that the Government had ignored the protests against the Iraq war and outlined that she felt it her duty to both obey British laws and speak out when the Government made decisions which she felt were wrong. Similarly Nina felt very strongly that people had highlighted the Iraq War as mainly upsetting to and opposed by Muslims when it was not just a 'Muslim issue': 'when the whole Iraq war started and stuff people said, 'Why is it the Muslim's are getting angry and stuff?' But it wasn't just Muslims, it was lots of people from different backgrounds and stuff, but it just gets mashed up and it's like, 'Oh look at the Muslim's again, they're extreme,' when it's not like that. Parveen also highlighted that she felt that if you spoke out about issues such as the Iraq war you would be positioned as prioritising 'Muslim issues' over loyalty to the state or your identity as British. She felt that this was then used by the media as evidence of the inability for Muslims to be British. This again parallels Begum and Eade's (2005) research in which many of their participants argued that any form of protest against the Iraq and Afghanistan wars would invoke questioning of their cultural, national and political allegiances. This fear of being positioned as disloyal citizens thus informed the way in which they articulated dissent.

My participants discussed similar concerns as a form of unequal citizenship whereby British Muslim's views were argued to be ignored or misrepresented. Many of the women outlined that the sense of disempowerment and non-belonging that this evoked would eventually feed into young Muslims turning their back on British society and potentially being drawn to Extremist organisations. Sara discussed this in the context of Bristol being a pathfinder city in the Government funded Prevent Violent Extremism programme. She felt that the Government was treating extremism as though it was a problem whose cause and

²⁸ My Somali participants (aged over 19) tended to discuss problems which related very specifically to the Somali community (which I discuss in Chapter Seven) and so this section draws primarily on my Pakistani and Bengali heritage participants in Bristol, my London participants and the young women aged between 16 and 19.

resolution resided solely in the Muslim community and argued that it was more complex than that:

Sara: I think it's all very well for the Government dishing out all this money in Prevent Extremism but it's not just related to the Muslim community; they really need to sit down and look at the bigger issue of foreign policy and how things can be changed globally rather than... I mean they [Muslim teenagers and young adults] are the next generation that are going to have to deal with the baggage of what is going on now, so there is a worry there definitely but there is nothing we can do, not really but the Government can, the Government can change their foreign policy, they can look on the Middle East and try and resolve issues there.

Sara cites foreign policy as making British Muslims feel dislocated from the state. This sentiment was echoed across the groups. The home was again often posited as the site in which the women were able to monitor and debate such events. The sitting room and the kitchen were identified as the main sites of familial political discussion. As I have discussed, the sitting room tended to be the space in which my participants monitored and discussed political events and current affairs via their engagement with both Muslim and non-Muslim media channels.

In addition to this, several of the women outlined how they would listen to the news and current affair programmes on the radio in the kitchen whilst preparing and cooking meals. Pink (2004) has noted that radio sound forms an important part of the home. Drawing on the work of Tacchi (1998: 26 in Pink: 2004: 71), she argues that it forms part of a 'textured soundscape in the home', which is 'personalised and expressive' (Pink: 2004: 72). Pink's participants identified using the radio particularly in combination with doing housework, revealing the incorporation of radio into her participants' everyday emotional narratives and

expressions of self-identity via the choice of radio station and programme. Umm Zayol, Sara and Amina all specifically discussed listening to news programmes on BBC Radio Four in the morning whilst eating breakfast and again in the evening when preparing supper. Several of my participants emphasised that whilst they were focusing on Muslim issues within the context of the interview, their political concerns spanned local and national issues, a point I return to and develop in Chapter Seven. For now, I want to highlight the centrality of the material spaces of home within the negotiation of my participants' political identities and multi-scalar notions of belonging. As I have highlighted, political engagement was discussed as both their right and duty as British citizens, but there was a sense of dislocation within the actuality of voicing dissent and the fear that it brings their claims to Britishness into question.

Underpinning these political discussions was a sense of the ways in which the unfolding of events since 9/11 had impacted specifically upon my participants' negotiations of their Muslim identity. Several of the women talked about how they had become more educated about their religion in order to explain and defend it in light of the misrepresentations and misunderstandings caused by its association with terrorism (I discuss this in Chapter Seven). Furthermore they had become more politically aware due to both their everyday experiences of racism and non-belonging, as well as the impact of the War on Terror on Muslim countries. This draws parallels with research by Ahmed (2005), which examines the everyday lives and migrations of Bangladeshi women in Tower Hamlets. Ahmed draws upon the work of Zygmunt Bauman (1996) to argue that identities are only really questioned and re-examined when they come under threat (also Hopkins: 2007). Ahmed found that many of her participants had experienced a heightened awareness of their Islamic identity within the context of the events of the War on Terror and that this had led to them also becoming more politically aware. To return to my participants' awareness of and reaction to the War on Terror, Rashida, Abeda and Shemla argued very strongly that the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were about oil and that this was also a factor in the targeting of Iran. They felt that the US Government was using the War on Terror as justification for oppressing and controlling Muslim countries which both had oil resources and were seen as a threat to their position as

a superpower. They argued that the real victims of these wars were thousands of innocent and mainly Muslim people who had been killed.

This contextualisation of the broader War on Terror as specifically affecting Muslim countries and communities was common across my interviews. Whilst the women highlighted connections to and an affinity with a global Muslim community based upon their shared identity as Muslims, they did not discuss it in terms of an Umma. Studies of Muslim young men by Archer (2003) and Alexander (2000) outline the significance of umma for their participants, for whom the notion of a global brotherhood represents a form of empowerment through belonging. Archer suggests that the strong affiliation with a strong brotherhood can be read as a tactic through which her participants refuted stereotypes of weak Asian masculinity. Hopkins (2007) discusses how in his research with young Scottish Muslim men, his participants demonstrated a far more mixed relationship to notions of umma, with several of the young men actively resisting an association with it. He discusses this in two distinct contexts. Firstly, he argues that part of his participants' resistance to umma is related to Islamic terrorism and the representation of extremism, whereby in 'standing outside of the umma and distancing themselves from notions of global brotherhood and the scale of the global, the young men can resist, oppose and reject the connections that might be made between their religious beliefs and practices and those of the people involved in certain events' (1126). Whilst it is difficult to draw distinct conclusions, I felt that my participants did not identify with the concept of umma for similar reasons.

As in Hopkins' research, my participants rejected an association of their faith, religiosity and practices with acts of terrorism, arguing that such acts went against true meanings of Islam. Embedded within this was anger that organisations such as Al Qaeda were global and claimed to act for all Muslims, when all they were doing as Yasmeen argued 'was harming the Muslim faith and its representation'. I feel that in opposing themselves to Islamic terrorism, they also chose to reject the notion of umma because of its mediated

associations with Islamic extremism as a global, shared network and ideology. Secondly, whilst my participants discussed 'Muslim issues' which spanned local and transnational scales, there was a complexity to the way in which some 'Muslim issues' such as Palestine or the war in Iraq were discussed as external but important to their own communities. A distinction can be drawn between the 'imagined community' of the umma and my participants' constructions of a Muslim community situated and performed at the scale of the everyday. Following Alexander et al (2007), I argue that my participants' constructions of community were very much 'personal communities' made up of and lived through, situated, individuated, local, transnational and contingent networks of family and friends. Discussions of global Muslim issues were thus very much grounded in relation to the responses and actions of their 'personal communities' rather than in relation to notions of umma. I argue that rather than impose the term umma, it is important to tease out the way in which my participants utilise and perform communities.

A final strand to my participants' construction of the domestic as a site of political resistance revolved around the Israeli-Palestine conflict. Whilst this was exacerbated by the timing of this research, several of my participants discussed their concern within the context of their long term commitment to ending the occupation of Palestine. Many of these discussions were initiated as part of broader narratives concerning the home as a site of media consumption, whereupon the domestic was again highlighted as the site in which they observed and evaluated the situation. One issue which was expressed within different interview groups concerned the refusal by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to broadcast a charity appeal for Gaza from the Disasters Emergency Committee. As Sara points out below:

Sara: You know the issue between Israel and Palestine, I mean look at the BBC, the BBC are refusing to do this appeal because they are saying it is going to look biased but it is not an appeal for guns is it? It is a humanitarian appeal to support people for food and other things so how can you, how can that be biased? So

why is the BBC doing that? Do you see what I mean, you know young people can say they are only doing that because it is a Muslim issue, they're doing that because it is a Muslim issue and they are pro-Israel.

Sara argued that she understood the BBC had decided that broadcasting the appeal would look as though they were politically biased against Israel but that in actual fact the BBC were in danger of being seen, particularly by young Muslims, as pro-Israel given that it was an appeal for aid. It is important to note that Sara was not accusing the BBC of being pro-Israel but she was aware of young people within her community who had interpreted the situation as such and felt further disenfranchised. She highlighted that their frustration and reading of bias hung on the fact it was a humanitarian aid appeal. Sara went on to discuss that other domestic television channels had shown the appeal and it had been financially supported by the Government yet the Government was not being accused of being biased.

Sara's views were echoed by several participants including Rashida, Nazreen, Nina and Hope, all of whom stressed the fact that the suffering being experienced by the people of Gaza and the need to raise money should be prioritised over the political causes of the conflict. They felt that the appeal could be shown without taking sides. The fact that it was the BBC was a source of anger. Nazreen argued that in not showing the appeal it was being biased against the interests of its licence payers who should be made aware of it and trusted to have the intelligence to see its broadcast as a humanitarian and not a political issue. Nazreen emphasised the breadth of protests against the BBC whereby it should not be portrayed as solely an issue for British Muslims. What I want to emphasise here is the way in which my participants framed their arguments in regards to a sense of their rights as British licence payers who felt marginalised by the BBC. This sense of exclusion should be understood within the context of their experiences of media representation as a source of insecurity, whereby they already feel a sense of misrepresentation, non-identification and non-belonging.

My participants aged 16-19 all discussed using the internet as a source of news. This went beyond watching broadcasts from Al Jazeera or consulting its website and reading articles online, which some of my older participants (namely Khalouh, Umm Zayol, Rashida and Amina) had identified as important sources. Rather they went on YouTube, a video sharing website, to access films and commentaries produced and uploaded by users in Gaza. They argued that whilst they had to be mindful when watching and selecting clips as some were very biased, they were able to use their judgement and, as Nina argued, 'really see the effects of the conflict upon the people'. Whilst to interrogate their reliance upon user generated content media as news is outside of the scope of this thesis, I want to briefly suggest that it played a central role in the formation of their politicised identities and highlight the domestic as a key site of consumption and interconnection. My participants all cited the home as a key space for using the internet, whereby they would access YouTube and use other social networking sites such as Facebook to embed and circulate links to other users within their friendship groups. Hope highlighted how such groups acted as a mode of connection to friends and family members in different homespaces, whereby she used the internet to communicate with extended family in Yemen, Holland and London, as well as with her siblings and friends in Bristol. The political discussions sparked by clips would span Hope's local and transnational social networks through the 'virtual world' of the internet, primarily within the space of the home.

As Madianou and Miller (in preparation) argue in their discussion concerning the use of social networking sites by Filipino migrants, online worlds have become increasingly integral to our everyday worlds, whereby online activity needs to be contextualised by the 'offline' social contexts or sites in which it occurs. My participants emphasised the intersections between their online activities and the permeation of the everyday, whereby their political opinions and discussions were not restricted to 'cyberspace' with online discussions feeding into offline engagement with friends and family. This resonates with research by Holloway and Valentine (2001) who found that children's online activities would inform their off-line activities, particularly in terms of discussion of on-line materials. In terms of my research, the specificity of shared political information as part of the construction of a politicised

identity develops such findings concerning the intersections between on and offline worlds. It is important to note that my participants' online activities were not restricted to the home, with the young women accessing the internet at school/college, their community organisation and in several cases via their mobiles. They did identify however that whilst at home, using social networking sites/online chat was a good way of communicating with friends at both a local and transnational scale.

For those with mobiles, this was no longer constrained to using the family computer. This is interesting when compared to Holloway and Valentine's (2001) research, in which negotiations over using the internet impacted upon the material spaces of the home, with children often appropriating exclusive (though time bound) use of both the computer and the room it resides in. This was articulated as claiming privacy from parents and siblings allowing children to use the internet subversively, for example surfing the web, rather than doing homework. This sense of subversive internet use was no longer tied to particular material spaces through access to 'web and walk' technology. This is not to say that the home was no longer 'reshaped' by domestic internet use, rather that there was less emphasis on material constraints. One way in which domestic relationships were shaped, concerns how the internet was used to develop political identity within the home. Through sharing and discussing particular pieces of video reportage with their parents, whom they felt had limited awareness of such media, several of my participants reported that they were able to help show their parents 'what was really going on' in comparison to their consumption of mainstream sources. SR outlined that in some ways she and her sister were more politicised than her parents, a view which was echoed by some of the other young women, and that this was partly related to their being more 'media-savvy' with the internet providing a particular platform of engagement as described.²⁹ This again highlights how cyberspace and geographical space coexist (Madge and O'Connor: 2005).

²⁹ The role of the internet as a news source was not central to my research and as such it is not my intention to contribute to concerning the potential of ICT as a source of alternative or radical political engagement. My interest is in how it highlights the domestic as a site of political identity through its role as a space in which to engage with ICT. I do however feel that the discussions which shaped this section highlight the need for geographical research into the use of ICT and particularly user generated and social networking sites, as sites

The young women's use of the 'virtual world' of the internet is grounded through both their place based interests (for example Palestine) and their 'real world' domestic relationships and friendship groups with whom they want to share and discuss their findings. Furthermore, in terms of discussing politics with family members, for the young women this reemphasises the home as a site of identity formation, whereby my participants highlight its centrality as a safe space in which to explore and develop their political opinions and engagements through the medium of the internet.³⁰ Their political articulation and contestation extends beyond the home, both through the use of the internet and their engagement in localised political activity, again highlighting the interface of the home and the wider world (Blunt and Dowling: 2006), a point I return to in Chapter Seven.

Ideas about children as political educators were not limited to media exploration. Maryam, Aasma and Shoma all discussed their children's reactions to the conflict, outlining that their children had asked them to start boycotting Israeli goods at home. This form of domestic political protest was also enacted by Umm Zayol, Amina and Khalouh. Maryam and Shoma emphasised that boycotting was also being carried out amongst their children's non-Muslim peers, some of whom had initially advised them on which companies to boycott. The domestic has historically been a politically important material site (Blunt and Dowling: 2006 for an overview). As Thapar-Bjorkett (1997) has argued in her study of the Indian nationalist movement, 'Not only were the public/private boundaries blurred, the domestic arena became an important site for the steady politicisation of women's consciousness' (494). Whilst Maryam, Shoma and Aasma highlighted the role of their children in raising their awareness of the boycotting movement, they all outlined that it had been their decision to participate. This demonstrates their political agency within and beyond the space of home. Umm Zayol, Amina and Khalouh highlighted the significance of boycotting as a political activity, which they related primarily to their Muslim identity and the importance for women to be politically engaged and aware. This is not to suggest that their interests and actions

of identity, agency and politics. As Dwyer and Lewis (2009) outline, research in and on online environments is still in its infancy.

³⁰ Whilst research has highlighted the social worlds of internet engagement as spaces of exclusion (Morley: 2000, Miller and Madianou: in preparation) this was not discussed by my participants.

were confined to Muslim issues however. Common to my participants' discussions of boycotting was a need to emphasise 'Gaza'³¹ as more than just a 'Muslim issue'. I felt this was important in terms of their assertions that such political engagement was embedded within their negotiations of citizenship. They highlight that this was an issue for, and a point of engagement with, non-Muslim British citizens and that their political concerns were not just aligned to Muslim issues, points I return to in Chapter Seven.

The actual practicalities of engaging in the boycott of Israeli goods became interwoven with narratives of localised belonging. Aasma argued that it meant she was no longer able to shop at Tesco and so shopped in one particular street in an inner-city neighbourhood in Bristol at a Pakistani butcher, grocer and fishmonger. Aasma outlined that although this put pressure on her financially she loved walking and shopping in an area which was much more multi-cultural than the estate in which she lived. Whilst she had social connections within this area, she had not visited it as frequently as she did now. This builds upon my argument from Chapter Five concerning the complexity of my participants' landscapes of belonging, whereby for Aasma the act of shopping became part of a broader emotional geography of feeling at home. Khalouh raised a similar point concerning her localised 'shopping-scape' through which she patronised businesses which were owned and run by Muslim families from a range of ethnic heritages:

Khoulah: I shop at places like....they have a supermarket owned by Muslims in Tooting or there's one here called Costmax and they have got products from the Middle East and other Muslim countries like from Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Morocco and I like to buy these products. There are a lot of businesses here owned by Muslims from different countries; I like to support them... I mean using local shops like that, they are always friendly and you have that you are Muslim in common so you feel welcome. I do use Sainsbury too sometimes, they have

³¹ Gaza was the term used by the majority of my participants when discussing both the Israeli invasion in 2008 and the broader occupation of Palestine.

some products, but I avoid them, so yeah I urge everyone to boycott Israeli goods.

For Khalouh, her politicised domestic practices are thus implicated in the production of a sense of belonging which is simultaneously global and local. Through her purchasing of material goods and personal interactions she is feels attached to a globally connected Muslim community. This sense of attachment is experienced through particular neighbourhood spaces, constituting a global-local landscape of belonging through shared identity. In Ehrkamp's (2005) research with Turkish immigrants in Germany, she argues for the importance of the built environment as reflective of immigrants' identities in helping shape their attachments to place, whereby neighbourhoods become enacted as home in both public and private spaces. My participants' political domestic practices can be read as integral to the processes of making both home and identity (Dwyer: 2002).

Conclusions

Throughout this chapter, I have explored the primacy of the material home as a site of identity, security and belonging. I have focused upon my participants' narratives concerning the importance of religious practices in making both home and identity. I have highlighted the centrality of the domestic as a site of prayer and religious observance, whereby particular spaces, namely the bedroom and living rooms, become demarcated as Islamic space through embodied aural practices, including prayer and Qur'anic recitation which are temporally regulated. The appropriation and hygienic preparation of prayer space through the use of prayer mats can be seen as a form of boundary construction. The meanings of such spaces thus become transformed as part of the religious choreography of family life. Within this I have emphasised the sensory and embodied nature of making 'Muslim space' for my participants, whereby they discuss the importance of recitation and the calls to prayer as shaping a soundscape of recognition and belonging. I have traced the ways in

which material objects act as nodes of connection to my participants' geographies of home, which were often discussed through a framework of religious belonging. I demonstrate how my participants' experiences of living in and/or visiting countries which have a majority Muslim population are constitutive of their recreation of a domestic Islamic environment embedded with notions of belonging to a broader Muslim community. I have highlighted the heterogeneity of my participants' negotiations of their religious identities and differing levels of observance, arguing that this diversity opposes simplistic understandings concerning the homogenisation of Muslim identity and religiosity.

Crucially, I emphasise how the centrality of the home as a site of religious identity impacts upon my participants' negotiations of the everyday, which permeate far beyond the material home. Drawing primarily upon the work of bell hooks (1991), I argue that for the majority of my participants, the home represented a safe space in which to be Muslim. As I have demonstrated it was the site in which experiences of racism and hostility were worked through and resisted. I argue that the home simultaneously represents a bounded and unbounded space through its interface with the wider world. A sense of the importance of the domestic as a site of belonging was particularly evident within my Somali participants' discussions of their religious practices. They prioritised the preservation of their Muslim identity and I have discussed how this was bound up with the dislocations experienced through their journeys of forced and active migration. For those women who had children, the creation of Muslim domestic space for their children was integral to protecting them from the influences they would experience in a non-Islamic country. For those young women with little experience of Somalia, their identity as Muslim was arguably the most consistent way they had of defining themselves. The home was further cited by my Somali participants as a space of collective prayer, shared identity and social belonging. This highlights the importance of examining the social and spatial characteristics of 'making home'. Throughout this chapter, I have emphasised the complexity of my participants' narratives of belonging and non-belonging as embedded within the practices through which they attempt to make home. Following hooks, I argue that the domestic is a site of

fortification and that this is particularly evident within my participants' discussion of the home as a political space.

In exploring the interrelationships between the home and my participants' political narratives, I focused primarily upon their media practices. I examined how the home was cited as a space in which they were able to have autonomy over and engage critically with media representations. This stands in contrast to their experiences of anti-Muslim media representations as a source of insecurity and sensory bombardment within public space. I have highlighted the centrality of the material spaces of home within my participants' negotiations of their political identities particularly through familial discussion and the monitoring of current affairs. My participants' discussions of their media practices were intertwined with arguments concerning Britain's foreign policy and specifically the involvement in the War on Terror through the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. The monitoring of these events via both mainstream and alternative satellite channels, particularly Al Jazeera, were rooted within their assertions that to be politically engaged both underpinned their identities as Muslim and their rights and responsibilities as British citizens.

Underpinning my participants' arguments was a sense of the ways in which the unfolding of events since 9/11 had impacted upon their negotiation of identity as British Muslims and the effects of their visibility as Muslim. They highlighted a sense of dislocation within the actuality of voicing dissent and the fear that to do so will raise doubts over their religious and national allegiances. This sense of insecurity was articulated as a form of unequal citizenship, experienced as a form of national non-belonging. The home was posited as a safe space in which to express privately their opposition to particular strands of foreign policy. This form of private resistance then informed their performance of a rational or acceptable public opposition. This highlights the way in which home is seen as an interface with wider society, further emphasising its positioning as both bounded yet porous. Indeed,

the material home is integral to my participants' everyday negotiations and performances of identity which extend far beyond the domestic.

My younger participants' use of the internet further emphasised the home as a political space that operates across different scales, whereby their online political discussions span both global and local networks and permeate the material spaces of the home. The consumption and dissemination of news from user generated content sites, primarily *YouTube*, highlights the diverse way in which media engagement acts as a structure of representation through and against which identities are negotiated, contested and performed. A final political issue that was articulated within the defining of home as a political space concerns the Israeli occupation of Gaza. I have outlined how my participants emphasised the issue as a source of political engagement within their local communities, stressing that this was not only a Muslim issue. This was particularly the case for those participants who boycotted Israeli goods within the home, emphasising the way in which familial political interest and agency within the home worked across generations, whereby some of the women initially became aware of the campaign through their children. The women positioned themselves as political actors through their gendered domestic roles, whereby they ultimately made and implemented the decision to boycott. I examined how the practicalities of implementation led to a change in their practices of consumption, highlighting the importance of material goods and Muslim businesses which acted as nodes of connection within their localised landscapes of belonging.

In exploring my participants' articulation of their political identities, which were embedded within their negotiation of active citizenship, I aim to challenge representations of Muslim women, as either oppressed and politically disengaged or, as propagating anti-British, extremist views. In the following chapter, I demonstrate that the home as a safe site of political engagement and identity extends beyond the domestic through my participants' negotiations of 'political engagement as citizenship' within the public sphere. Throughout

this chapter I argue that my participants' religious and political domestic practices are constitutive of the making of home and identity.

Chapter Seven

Leaving home? Religious identity and a politics of engagement

This chapter develops the themes of visibility and insecurity through further exploration of my participants' negotiations of identity, engagement and belonging. I am interested in working through how my participants discuss their religious identities as part of a politics of belonging and making home. I argue that running through my participants accounts is a desire to 'make public' their religious identities, in order to demystify aspects of their Muslim identities as part of a politics of engagement, through which they want to combat misrepresentations and carve out space for themselves within the 'space of the nation'. These attempts to claiming meaningful belonging occur across scale, whereby my participants want to challenge exclusive constructs of national identity, from which they feel excluded as Muslim, and make safe their participation in their everyday landscapes of home and community. This can be viewed through the lens of the visibility. My participants attempts at positive engagement and self-representation is driven in part by a need to try to secure their security within public space as visibly Muslim. This is not to say that my participants' religious identities are only articulated in relation to this politics of claiming space and belonging, but these are the aspects which I particularly want to draw out.

I explore how my participants argue for this sense of (re)visibility as essential to proposing and negotiating a politics of engagement in opposition to discourses of integration as assimilation. I draw out how engagement is seen to be a meaningful and essentially two-way process of negotiation and understanding, within which a mutual understanding of, and respect for, (rather than a tolerance of) difference is seen as integral. Throughout this chapter I draw out the importance of my participants engagements with women's community organisations and (to a lesser extent) the mosque. Such spaces are argued to be crucial to enabling the women to learn about Islam and to able to prioritise a liberating Islamic identity. I am particularly interested in how my participants tie these processes into their self representations of Muslim women as active citizens through social and political

engagement. I explore the articulations of such community spaces as spaces of home. I highlight the way in which the home interpenetrates with such spaces, arguing for a need to further recognise and understand the ways in which the external world and the domestic interface with each other, whereby 'public spaces' affect both the conception and construction of home and are influenced by them. In doing so I build upon feminist approaches to home which emphasise its fluidity and demonstrate how it stretches across space (Blunt: 2005, Domosh: 1998, Gorman-Murray: 2006).

I begin by examining how my participants' engagement with Islamic education is central to their negotiation and prioritisation of a religious identity, through which they renegotiate culturally enforced gender rights and roles. I am interested in how my participants attempt to challenge masculinist, cultural Islamic knowledge production as part of a politics of reclaiming Islam as liberating for women. I highlight how participation in the 'public spaces' of women's community organisations and mosques affects my participants' domestic practices, particularly regarding their assertion of a right to gain access to the public sphere, particularly through education and employment. I examine how the centrality of women's roles as familial educators, is seen as integral to the production of change, whereby my participants argue that it is through this role that they have the opportunity to challenge gender expectations both in relation to home and the 'public'. I am interested in drawing out how my younger participants seek to challenge such expectations in relation to their positioning as 'young Muslim women' who still lived in the parental home.

I then explore how my participants' attempts to renegotiate gender roles and expectations through an Islamic framework are beginning to extend to the space of the mosque as part of the recognition for the need to challenge the structures of patriarchal religious organisations as well as the spaces of home and kinship. Similarly, I focus upon the ways in which, for my Somali participants, religious identity is central to how they make sense of their experiences of forced and active migration, particularly regarding gender roles and their participation in the public sphere. I outline how for my Somali participants the

acuteness of their experiences of racism and discrimination raise pressing questions concerning increasingly proscriptive discourses of national identity and the danger that they legitimise discriminatory attitudes and actions towards minority groups who are seen as 'out of place'.

In the final section, I return to an examination of my participants' affiliation with community and educational organisations. I discuss how the various community offices attended by my participants were often articulated as 'home' spaces. This sense of 'homely belonging' was often discussed in relation to my participants' experiences of non-belonging and discrimination, whereby they were safe spaces in which to be Muslim. This was embedded within their discussions of political engagement, whereby organisational spaces were identified as integral to my participants' attempts to make public their private religious identities through a politics of engagement. I highlight their conceptualisations of a politics of participation and engagement as central to their negotiations of belonging. I argue that these findings highlight the importance of examining religion as constitutive of identity, whereby it acts as a framework which informs my participants' understandings and experiences of home, belonging and citizenship. I draw out the importance of recognising integration as a two-way process in which my participants identify the importance of the right to and respect for cultural differences. They prioritise an engagement with and participation in the places in which they live as central to creating a sense of belonging and understanding, which does not expect them to either assimilate to an ill-defined notion of 'Britishness,' or deny the complexity of their affiliations to other spaces of home.

The prioritisation of Islamic identity and the right to employment and education

In the previous chapter I discussed the importance of making the material home an 'Islamic' space for my participants. I noted that this was tied into their role as familial educators and I want to begin this section by developing my examination of the primacy of this

responsibility. There is a large body of literature concerning the importance of women, both symbolically and materially, in the maintenance of religio-cultural practices, traditions and ideologies (Mohammed: 1999 and 2001, Dwyer: 1999a and 1999b, Rozario: 1998). In her memoir *'A Border Passage: from Cairo to America – a woman's journey'* Ahmed (1999) discusses her childhood in Egypt, describing how her Islamic education was provided almost solely by women within the spaces of her familial homes. As such, she describes it as a spoken rather than a textual Islam, which constituted an ethos or way of holding oneself in relation to the world, which informed her everyday practices and sense of selfhood. This spoken rather than textual Islam is discussed by Ahmed as being produced through the gendered, everyday spaces of her childhood, highlighting the prominence of women as familial educators.

The normality of this tradition is heightened by Ahmed's acknowledgement that it is not only women, but 'ordinary folk generally', whose understanding and practice is produced through the particular oral and aural Islamic knowledges of their families and communities. Ahmed distinguishes this form of knowledge production as consisting of a wide range of local and familial varieties, which exist alongside the more formal and masculine religious pronouncements of scholars. This distinction between masculine and feminine productions of Islam is particularly interesting in relation to my participants' discussion of their Islamic identity and the importance of using knowledge to combat patriarchal cultural practices. Islam as empowering for women was a central tenet of these arguments. My participants all felt that within their respective communities there was a tendency to conflate religion and culture which facilitated the production of patriarchal gendered practices that were iterated as integral to being Muslim.³²

³² Within the remainder of this section I focus upon my London participants' experiences and those Bristol participants from Pakistani and Bengali heritages. I discuss the details of my Somali participants' prioritisation of an Islamic identity in a later section as their experiences are very much contextualised through their experiences of forced and active migration.

Their narratives concerning the importance of religious education and understanding were articulated through a feminist framework³³ which drew upon Islamic interpretations but did not manifest itself as piety. Nor did it always result in increased religiosity. Indeed, it was only my participants in London who identified as adhering to particularly Islamist interpretations of a global Islam, yet within this they prioritised women's rights as of prime importance and rejected non-progressive Islamic interpretations of women's roles. A common theme across my participants' discussions of feminist approaches to religion was the importance of access to education. The following excerpt from Rashida, Khadija and Shemla typifies such arguments:

Rashida: Mostly you find that the oppressed people are the people who are not educated, they are the people who are not allowed to go to school, they're the people who are kept at home, the girls who are not allowed to go out and get their education. They're oppressed because they do not know what they are entitled to...

Shemla: What their rights are...

Rashida: ...people who go out there and know and get their rights and they educate themselves, they make sure they get their rights because that's that. It is I think it's people who are uneducated isn't it

Shemla: ...they fall short, they suffer. It's a cultural thing it's not religious.

Khadija: They say if you educate the woman you educate the whole family but if you educate the man you educate just the man.

³³ In using the term feminism, I am replicating several of my participants' use of the term, whereby they discussed this framework in opposition to western feminism, arguing that this was in some ways more liberating. As such it needs to be noted that the women used it in the sense of 'that is your feminism, this is our alternative'. I am not trying to impose this terminology upon my participants or claim that they were engaged in an Islamic feminist movement, rather it is very much a situational use of the term feminism.

Rashida: Yeah absolutely, that's a very well known saying from the Prophet.

Here Rashida emphasises the importance of education as a route to empowerment for women. This related more broadly to discussions within the group concerning the right to education within Islam and it was clear that this related to both religious and academic education. Rashida's comments are inherently spatialised through her assertion that people (and especially women) need to 'go out there and know and get their rights', whereby 'out there' is positioned in opposition to the domestic sphere. Engagement with cultural and religiously orientated women's groups was articulated as a prime alternative space for women who had not been able to access formal education. Shemla clearly demarcates cultural traditions as responsible for the subjugation of women's rights. Within Rashida and Shemla's broader discussion, it was clear that the positioning of women was seen to relate to the complex intersections between class and culture. Whilst men were seen as predominantly responsible for the production and maintenance of oppressive prohibitions which positioned women within the private realm, women were also seen as culpable through acceptance and continuation of such traditions.

Khadija outlines the importance of women's position as educators, emphasising their centrality in the passing down of Islam through the creation of everyday experiences and knowledges of living Islamically. Gaining proper understanding of the Qur'an was increasingly identified as central to this role and the women argued that they would ensure their children also properly studied and interrogated the Qur'an rather than relying on their familial teachings. This marked a shift from their own experiences, whereby they had been expected to accept their parents' teachings without question. Some of my participants had also been to classes at the mosque but argued that they had just learnt to read passages in Arabic by rote.

Ahmed (2005a) has highlighted ways in which second generation Bengali and Pakistani migrants conceptually distinguish between aspects of religion and culture as their cultural

context is no longer wholly Islamic. As such, she argues 'culturally imbued aspects of faith' are likely to be lost 'as they lack reinforcement by Muslims from other cultural groups' (124). What is of interest within my research is how this process is not limited to second generation migrants, but permeates across generations through the activities and spaces of particular community groups. My participants' access to new forms of Islamic education included what Ahmed (1992 and 1999) has described as 'masculine' forms of Islamic knowledge. The women discussed learning from direct sources, including translated copies of the Qur'an, interpretational guides and the teachings of global scholars, all of which facilitated their development of an Islamic discourse of rights. The internet was highlighted as a particularly useful source of information, a point to which I return further in the chapter.

One of the main areas of negotiation highlighted by my participants concerns access to the public sphere, in terms of employment education and mobility. In her research with Muslim women in Southampton, Brown (2006) has identified the prioritisation of an explicitly Islamic identity as a key strategy regarding women's rights. Brown demonstrates how her participants drew upon historical figures, events and women referred to in the Qur'an and Sunnah to challenge the assumption that Islam requires women to abstain from the public sphere. The legitimacy of this strategy is seen to require 'the recognition of an Islamic history, a continuous path which Muslim women can recount and draw upon in their identity rights and construction' (426). Certainly the tactics employed by my participants contain strong parallels, whereby they discussed the importance of being able to combat prohibitions concerning their behaviour with Qur'anic knowledge and understanding. Several of my participants related incidents which had occurred within their families in which male relatives/spouses had tried to restrict their actions by arguing that it was not allowed in their religion. The following excerpt from Sara highlights the way in which women's behaviour is policed through recourse to religious rules:

Sara: Women should learn the Qur'an and understand it, not just learn, but understand it so that they can challenge men when the men are saying, 'well this is in the Qur'an, we can do this or we can do that, or you can't do this, you can't do that,' so that women can challenge the men with the knowledge and say, well actually it is not in there, it does not say that in the Qur'an'. You know that is why a lot of the women are held back by their husbands, by them saying, well you can't do this it is not in the Qur'an it is not allowed in our religion' and that kind of thing. So I think it's important women get that education and understand what the Qur'an says so that they can challenge anybody saying something else. So that the women can be liberated and empowered to help them make more decisions themselves.

Sara is a professional caseworker for a women's community group and she emphasised that empowering women through religious education is a central objective of her organisation. She outlined how difficult it is for women of Bengali heritage to access employment due to cultural restrictions and an emphasis upon large family size. Sara further highlighted class as integral to access to education, whereby one of the aims of the organisation she represented was to both be inclusive to, and target women from, a range of socio-economic backgrounds. This, coupled with Shemla's arguments above, point to one of the limitations of this strategy of renegotiation, in that it requires a relatively high degree of literacy and education in order to 'read' Islamic rights (Brown: 2006 and Rozario:2006) . These limits were recognised by my participants however, hence their emphasis upon the importance of women's community organisations in either providing or supporting women in attending a range of educational activities, notably English language classes and Qur'anic study groups.

Whilst Sara's views concerning the importance of Qur'anic understanding in combating oppression were supported and developed within the group interview by women of different generations, only one of the other women worked. Those who didn't work emphasised the importance of their traditional gender roles, arguing that they did not want

to be pushed into employment. They delineated between recognising the importance of cultural restrictions as un-Islamic and their own personal choices not to work. Such discussions, which both reified their domestic roles yet argued for the right to seek employment and education, again draws parallels with Brown's (2006) research.

Brown identifies that a central strand concerning Islamic conceptualisations of women's rights to work and education is the idea of complementarity. Brown identifies this concept as enabling 'Muslim women to insist that their work as mothers is valued, and that it leaves them the choice to enter into employment and further education' (424). Drawing upon the work of Rahman (1980), Brown defines complementarity as 'a way of understanding relations between the sexes as operating in harmony because the skills and natural attributes of each complement the other and operate in separate but equal spheres of activity'(424). When this concept is extended towards rights based discourses, Brown discusses how its proponents argue that rights should 'complement the different duties towards society and essential nature of the sexes' (424). She argues that this provides a framework for 'discussing women's rights and equality' that 'resists definitions that are premised on sameness' (424). Brown identifies this as enabling 'Muslim women to redefine the right to labour as one which incorporates domestic labour and motherhood in contrast to the dominant UK Policy' (425). This is due to the way in which within Islamic discourse, 'the domain of the home as a 'women's place' is not conceived as inferior' (425).

Certainly many of my participants who were employed also argued that Islam presents women with a choice over whether to work solely in the home or to seek employment (Brah: 2002 who identified in her research that Muslim women argued for the acknowledgement of their roles in both the private and public sphere). It is important to note that one central criticism of this strategy is that it is still circumscriptive; it relies upon proscriptive notions of women's roles as biologically determined and essentialised. Browne (2006) articulates that by arguing it relies on a predetermined construction of a 'good Muslim woman and man' and that those women who cannot easily be defined as such are

denied ready access to this strategy' (427). I want to extend this criticism to argue that it leaves no room to manoeuvre for those women who reject a maternal role and/or the heterosexual normative family structure that this strategy is premised upon. However, such limitations were, as I discuss further on, mentioned solely by Nazreen. As with my participants' discussions of modesty in Chapter Six, these strategies need to be seen as operating within a framework which is acquiescent to central religious tenets which are biologically determined. Whilst it needs to be highlighted that this is inhibiting for Muslim women who seek to challenge such fundamental essentialisms, my focus is how my participants discussed such strategies in relation to their identities as Muslim women and their negotiations of belonging.

My London participants were all in fulltime employment. Both Umm Zayol and Amina were teachers and Amina had specialised as a special needs teacher. Khoulah and Khaduah both worked in early years childcare settings. In Bristol, my participants of Pakistani heritage were nearly all in some form of employment, with several of the women having found employment through the community organisations they attended. They variously worked in community development and childcare settings.³⁴ These roles were also discussed within a framework of gender and biological determinism, whereby these employment choices were identified as suitable for my participants because they necessitated feminine attributes. It is important to reiterate my argument that whilst my participants' adoption of a feminist framework enabled them to access employment, it does not constitute a rejection of the home as a feminine space. Rather it is the right to education, employment and inhabitation of the public sphere, which was being asserted by my participants. This highlights the way in which Islam as a strategy of rights operates in highly complex and gendered ways. As part of the negotiation of domestic gender roles, my participants repeatedly outlined that chores such as cooking and cleaning could be shared between both male and female family

³⁴ It is important to again make clear that my focus is not on an interrogation of the women's employment opportunities and choices. I am aware there is a body of literature critiquing British Muslim women's educational experiences, aspirations and opportunities which pay particular attention to the community and cultural restraints Muslim women face (c.f. for example Mohammed: 2005) however my participants did not discuss their professional lives in such a way. My interest is in exploring their discussions of employment and gender roles as part of their negotiation of identity and the way they interpret and discuss their choices within a framework of religious identity.

members. For example, within the auto-photography exercise, several of the older women either included images of their husbands cooking or, when discussing photos of their cooking/kitchens, highlighted that their husbands cooked and that they have taught their sons to cook.

Several participants, including Umm Zayol and Nazreen, referred to the Qur'an and hadiths concerning the Prophet Mohammed sharing domestic duties with his wife Aisha as evidence of the appropriateness for males to share such tasks within the home. Similarly, several of my participants discussed how gaining employment had meant that their husbands had to take more responsibility for childcare, which had improved their familial relationships. The following excerpt is typical of the way in which my participants who worked discussed the impact of employment upon their domestic roles and routines:

Rashida: Nowadays I think it's father as well, raising the kids because women are working outside as well and so they have less time but you know that is up to the Government they wanted us to work... [laughs]

Sheila: Because of the credit crunch and everything, you know lots of things, women will work more. But also although it is good being at home it is also good being out at work because then you can learn more things that you can teach your children and they have a good role model in a way that you know our mum and dad work and we can work and how to live a good life and everything...

Rashida: ...I don't feel liberated at all, I feel as though I am being forced to work and it's not fair! [laughs], truly I would rather have a choice, in Islam you have got the choice, you are not forced to work, if you want to work and you are able to do that, go for it it's good for you as long as that doesn't affect your family life

Sheila: You have to balance it, but you know my husband helps out in the house now a lot, he cooks and stuff, it has to be give and take. I'm really happy in that I don't have to work but I do it and it's only two days and it's good

Khadija: Same yeah, you are working for yourself like I am, you know sometimes I say, 'oh my God I'm feeling tired, I'm not going to work' and my husband says it's your own choice, I'm not asking you to go and work, you know it's your own choice...

Sheila: ...when you're away at work you meet different people and see different experiences...

Khadija: ...and you're out of the house

Sheila: ...and also if you do have any kind of problem you see that somebody else has got ten times worse problem... [laughs]

Khadija: Exactly, yeah it's nothing, it's true

Sheila: ...it's a different impression, different, new things and you bring that back home and you can give that to your kids or your husband, you know

Khadija: It's nice when you are working with a choice. In a way that helps you too though because your husband has to spend time with the kids, that's what I find because otherwise he wouldn't get that chance if I was there.

This lengthy discussion highlights a number of issues. Rashida's comment concerning feeling forced into working by the Government was part of a longer discussion concerning the societal denigration of women's maternal roles. This was tied into the framework of complementarity whereby the right to education had to be balanced with the fulfilment of their roles as responsible for educating and caring for children within the home.

As I outlined in Chapter Six, all of my participants embraced this role as part of their religiosity. The realities of such 'balancing' however begins to highlight some of the complexity my participants faced in working through the feasibility of pursuing both employment and motherhood. Sheila's comments concerning the impact of the recession upon families illustrate how strategies regarding the right to employment become shaped and possibly even forced by contemporary realities. Both Sheila and Khadija discuss the way

in which accessing employment has made them better mothers and wives through the breadth of 'outside' experience they have gained. As Sheila identifies, such experiences become transmitted across the family through their maternal roles as educators. Furthermore, as both Khadija and Sheila make apparent, they have affected change within the home concerning their domestic tasks, which are now increasingly shared by their husbands as part of a 'rebalancing' of roles.

Throughout this excerpt there is an emphasis upon the importance of women's rights to choose whether or not to access employment, which needs to be contextualised as part of a longer discussion concerning Islam as giving more equality to women, than was experienced by non-Muslim British women. This reemphasises Rashida's reflection upon Governmental initiatives concerning women returning to work as a 'pressure' which denied them such a choice. Indeed as with Browne's (2006) findings, my participants often discussed their gender roles and rights through Islam in opposition to Western feminism. This was particularly the case with money which is again reflective of a discourse of complementarity, whereby several participants explained to me that all women are entitled to money earned by their husbands as this constitutes part of their role as familial providers. This was discussed in opposition to non-Muslim British women whose husbands did not have a religious obligation to provide for them and could indeed both fail to financially care for them and force them into employment. Furthermore, men have no right or claim upon women's earnings as women are not expected or obliged to financially support the family, as Rashida outlined:

Rashida: Yes, because in Islam women are equal to men, but we have different roles, so we have all the exactly the same rights but we have got different roles, the man's responsibility is to go out, to earn and to bring it home, and to support his wife and his children, whether the wife is working or not, because anything that the woman earns is her own and he cannot ask her to pay the bills with it, he cannot ask her to bring up the children with it because that money is her own money. It's very empowering if you know about it you see but people don't know, they don't have the knowledge about what our rights are and anything a

woman earns is her own. So In Islam we have more rights, we can sit at home with the man and demand our food on the table!

Whilst it was made clear to me that in some cases the economic realities of my participants' familial situations meant that they too contributed to the household finances, this was still expressed as a choice rather than a demand. Again this was discussed as evidence of Islam as liberating for women. Here Rashida again touches upon the importance of education for women in order to access such rights. As I have noted, lack of opportunities for women to gain Islamic understanding is recognised as one of the limitations to advancing Muslim women's positioning.

From community space to religious space: at home in the mosque?

Thus far I have discussed my participants' recourse to their community groups as places of opportunity. Throughout their discussions it became apparent that the responsibility for challenging and renegotiating gender roles and rights was placed upon women, with women's organisational spaces as spaces of agency. This is interesting in terms of the scalarity of my participants' attempts to reposition themselves as Muslim women both in the public and private sphere. My participants' narratives highlight that in using strategies of Islamic knowledge to renegotiate gender roles; this tends to be confined to the scale of the home, whereby they are challenging familial relationships and practices. This in turn emphasises the interface between their participation in gendered community organisations and their individual practices within the home. A need to look at the macro-politics of Muslim society was identified by some of my participants however and this had led to attempts to affect change within the masculine operational spaces of the mosque. This was articulated in relation to both carving out meaningful space for women and in relation to changing practices within the home through being supported by Imams in redefining gender roles. Again this emphasises the way in which home interpenetrates with private and public spaces. In Bristol, Nazreen highlighted the problematic of Imams being recruited from Pakistan as they bring cultural interpretations with them:

Nazreen: I think sometimes to be honest I think some Imams, not every Imam and I think a lot of Imams are changing now because obviously there is a big issue out there, but some of the Imams, they pick and choose what they want to teach. When I was in mosque I remember never once was I ever taught about women's rights, it was always about the belief and everything and I you know it never crossed my mind, I just thought okay that's fine, you learnt to accept. It's only when you start reading and you think, 'oh my God these Imams actually have more culture in them rather than the religion' and they're scared that if the women find out their rights the women would be more powerful, so they kind of want to restrain them to you know the cooking and the cleaning and making babies. Now I challenge our local Imam, through [names organisation] and you know he supports me in my work against forced marriage and stuff, he can be really inspirational.

Nazreen argued more broadly that often Imams were unable to fully support young Muslims and particularly women as their teachings were often still rooted in cultural interpretations of Islam. Furthermore, she felt they were often disconnected from the British born Muslims and unwilling to address problems such as drug use and domestic violence. Nazreen highlighted the importance of challenging local Imams through her work on women's rights, domestic violence and forced marriage. Similar arguments were made by Maryam regarding the problematic disconnection between Imams and young Muslims although it was unclear as to whether or not her activism extended to this issue.

In London, Khoulah and Umm Zayol were both heavily involved with the development of the women's society within their local mosque. They outlined that their committee was chiefly responsible for childcare, fundraising, women's educational activities and prayer circles and a domestic outreach service for families under stress. It is important to recognise that these roles were welcomed as within their remit of expertise, whereby such service provision was

identified as part of an opening up of the mosque to women. Umm Zayol discussed the development of the committee as part of both recognition of women's rights and the need for the mosque to begin to address problems (such as domestic violence) which some women faced. They further argued that whilst their activities were rightly aligned to their gender roles and responsibilities, they were about to merge with the men's committee in order to have greater influence in the overall running of the mosque. Both women highlighted the importance of having a young and forward thinking imam regarding the development of the mosque as a women's space. Bhimji (2009) has argued that the appropriation of mosque space by women extends and transforms the meanings of a 'space generally understood for the performance of rituals by men, particularly in the South Asian context' (370).

Whilst I agree that my participants' use of mosque space is important, I would be wary as to the extent of which this necessarily addresses gender inequalities, given the experiences of my Bristol participants who still identified the mosque as a primarily male space. As Nazreen argued, despite the provision of women's prayer circles and classes, Imams may not actually promote 'true Islamic' teachings concerning gender roles and rights. This reinforces the importance the women placed upon group study, which extends to community group study activities and my Somali participants' use of the home as a communal prayer space for women. Jamal (2005) argues in her study of Arab American Muslims, 'religious institutions are communities, groups of people who meet regularly, who share beliefs and values that are articulated when they meet and who create a common interpretative framework for their separate experiences' (53).

It is important to note that whilst women's use of the mosque was outside the main focus of my research, I have highlighted here ways in which my participants have attempted to claim space for themselves within the traditionally male dominated space of the mosque and articulated resistance to patriarchal religio-cultural teachings through the adoption of a range of alternative Qur'anic interpretations through which to forge an agenda of women's

rights. Whilst I have adopted a cautionary tone concerning the extent of women's involvement, it still needs to be recognised that they are attempting to use a discourse of rights to challenge masculine institutions and claim space. My participants discussed this as part of a potential for the development of women's agency and the forging of new Muslim identities, which are not tied to male community representation. In doing so, the women highlighted the need for change in relation to the realities of their everyday lives within Britain, whereby they face particular challenges. Their discussion highlights how processes of migration work to mobilise, reproduce and recast ideas concerning appropriate cultural and religious identities (Ahmed: 2000, Dwyer: 2002, Erel: 2009). The right to work, access to education and more broadly to the public sphere were seen as integral to being active and engaged citizens, regardless of whether or not they chose to identify as British. The need to challenge both the actualities and representations of Muslim women as oppressed underpinned their narratives, a point I develop in the final section.

Exploring young Muslim women's narratives of religious identity

Similar arguments concerning the role of women within the production of gendered practices were discussed by those participants aged sixteen to nineteen who framed their discussions in opposition to their parents' generation (although not necessarily their parents themselves). The young women's explanations concerning the pressure they felt under to perform certain gender roles were more detailed than those of my other participants. This reflects their positioning and age, whereby they all lived at home and were making choices about their future education and career paths. In her research with young Muslim women, Dwyer (1999b and 2002) has discussed how her participants were subject to particular gendered expectations concerning their role as 'guardians of the family's cultural integrity, through maintenance of cultural practices' (2002: 192). Dwyer identified a turn to a 'new Muslim identity' as one approach to renegotiating such pressures. What is interesting here, in relation to Dwyer's research, is that this tactic was adopted by all of the young women I

interviewed, regardless of their different cultural backgrounds and levels of religiosity and practice, a point I develop further on.

As I outlined in the previous chapter, my participants did not reject their role as maternal reproducers, rather they sought to redefine gender roles, restrictions and access to the public sphere by challenging religio-cultural constructions. All of the young women were either sitting their GCSEs with a view to continuing their studies or were studying at sixth form colleges. They all outlined their desire to go to university and have a professional career. The following excerpt is typical of their lengthy discussions concerning their renegotiation of gender expectations within the context of their career ambitions:

Sarah: I'll be happy if like you know how people say, you know how people say like they just judge you from the way they look at you, okay you are Muslim you're not going to get that far, you're going to end up getting married, having fourteen kids and sit at home and do whatever, that's it, but like I would be happy if people understand that's not Islam itself nowhere in books, nowhere have I read that a woman her job is to sit at home and do food.

Hadiya: Do nothing...

SR: That's nowhere, that's what I want people to understand that's like not... because we're Muslim that's going to tell us how our life is going to go, we can choose, we've got free will, we can choose whatever to do and like we can become important things, like important role models in life and so that's all my ambition...

Nina: A lot of people like they clash culture with it and they say to you, 'oh don't do this' or 'you shouldn't do that' and really that's not part of Islam, like the culture and because of people how they've been brought up like they've got it into their heads that that's what you're meant to do type of thing when it's not. So I think it's really good how nowadays, there are loads of books and

the internet and stuff like that to look into it and there's like a lot of older people that you can speak to, so you can get the full practise instead of what other people are just telling you.

SR: ...get high grades, I want to do medicine as a Muslim woman, because some people will be like what you're Muslim and then they look at you and they think yeah you've got a big family you stay at home and then you turn around 'I've got a degree, I do medicine' and they'll be shocked, so obviously it's a good thing.

Hadiya: Because they're not expecting a Muslim woman to go far, and here again is, I mean actually it is more the culture that's telling the women to stay at home, cook and clean.

Sarah: If she was a wise woman then she would know what to do.

Whilst these narratives can be read as combating stereotypical discourses which represent Muslim women as oppressed, powerless and restricted to the home, both SR and Sarah's arguments are also clearly articulated in opposition to gendered religio-cultural expectations from within their community. Again Islamic self-education is deemed as integral to developing a framework of women's rights. Nina highlights a range of educational sources including the internet, reference books and older people. When I asked who she was thinking of, Nina made it clear that she was referring to both the male and female workers at the community organisation which ran the young women's group she attended, who were predominantly second generation migrants of Pakistani heritage. This resonates with Ahmed's (2005) arguments concerning second generation migrants as often developing frameworks which unravel religious from cultural practices. There was a complexity concerning my younger participants' narratives concerning the role of gender within this, in which they argued women were particularly culpable in the preservation of culturally influenced oppressive practices. Indeed, in a similar vein to Nina, several of the young women discussed young male community workers and friends/relatives who prioritised women's rights as part of their Islamic identity, arguing that their generation had the

potential to strive to overcome inequality between Muslim men and women through a religious framework. This stood in contrast however to their discussions concerning familial expectations about their domestic contribution and role, as illustrated within this discussion between Nina and Favel:

Nina: We want to be seen as equal and respect, and respect family over certain things because culture gets in the way and they say you need to behave like in a certain way and everything to defend our honour and our respect. They used to shut us out like and used to make us feel like this was our place, what we had to do, this is it but then we slowly wake up and realise that it's not what we have to do, it's not within Islam, it's within the culture not the religion and you wake up and realise that actually there are more doors that are open for us women and that males did actually play an equal role in society and they did actually do things like cook food and they can do that type of thing, it's not our place to do it. It's just that's the like obviously what we've been given and that's the figure that's obviously given to women, once you get married you do this, you do that but we woke up and realised that it's not always like that, like that's not within our religion.

Imogen: Do you feel under pressure to do certain domestic tasks at home though?

Nina: I think it's hard in a way because, it's hard like... you don't want to get into trouble but the males still expect you to be the ones to get up, to get them food, they still expect that, like I would be happy to see a lot more of the males within our community get up and do a little bit more than what they actually do.

Favel: They just think that women should do everything like she just said, like in our culture but in our religion it doesn't say that women have to sit at home and clean and do all this stuff that housewives are supposed to do and people do go out and work but still they do everything at home too.

Here both Nina and Favel reflect upon their shifting understandings of cultural and religious expectations. They emphasise their positioning as upholding family honour and respect which was embedded within the performance of 'appropriate femininities' (Dwyer: 1999 and 2002) which includes domestic conformity. This gap between the reality of their situation and their aspirations for the future was repeatedly made apparent through the young women's discussions of the actuality of their everyday lives, highlighting the difficulties faced in challenging gender inequality. Nina and Favel make it clear that despite their burgeoning awareness of women's rights within Islam, they were unable to affect change concerning their gender roles at home for fear of causing upset or 'getting into trouble'. My younger participants' attitudes towards both embracing a career and being a mother were more complex than those of my older participants who were in the everyday negotiation of such roles. They argued that whilst their parents embraced their ambition, they were aware that they would become under pressure at some point to marry and conform to proscriptive cultural expectations concerning the prioritising of their domestic roles. As Nazreen stressed to me:

Nazreen: It is when we get married and have kids that we really need to be strong and make sure we work and raise a family, because that is when the pressure will really be on us to stay at home.

This highlights the difficulties faced through using complementarity as a feminist framework whereby there is no option for not embracing a maternal domestic role.³⁵

³⁵ Whilst this is obviously also a hetero-normative framework, as none of my participants discussed their sexuality I feel that to develop critiques concerning the hetero-normativity of my participants' narratives stands outside of the scope of the thesis.

Hopkins' (2006) research with young Muslim men in Scotland draws some interesting parallels concerning the ambiguities between rhetoric and practice regarding the prioritisation of gender roles within an Islamic framework. In unpicking his participants' complex responses concerning gender positions within Islam, Hopkins identifies how young men 'adopt contradictory masculine subject positions. They simultaneously argue that men and women are equal in Islam, whilst advocating sexist stereotypes about their expectations of Muslim women' (341). The issues discussed by Hopkins' participants included covering practices, modesty, marriage and domestic conformity. Certainly as I have touched upon, my younger participants faced similar ambiguity within their families in terms of enacting a framework of rights through which they could combat their positioning as upholding family honour. Comparing such narratives highlights the difficulties faced by young Muslim women in realising their claims to a framework of rights. Furthermore, Hopkins identifies that the 'young men account for any marginalisation that Muslim women experience as being the responsibility of the women themselves' (343), through either being more traditional and staying at home and/or not realising their rights through Islamic study and interpretation. Interestingly, despite her earlier comments concerning challenging patriarchal community figureheads with regard to women's rights, Nazreen similarly placed ultimate responsibility for the combating of restrictive religio-cultural norms with women themselves:

Nazreen: Muslim women have rights and at the end of the day my blame goes to Muslim women who don't educate themselves in Islam properly, you know you can't sit at home and expect the angels to come down and give you revelations because they're not going to, you need to read the Koran, you need to read the Hadiths, you need to educate yourselves, stand on your two feet.

Nazreen's comments were echoed by the younger participants with whom she worked, which is understandable given their own familial struggles regarding the use of an Islamic identity through which to negotiate their own rights to higher education and employment. These comments can be seen as part of a complex policing of Muslim women's identities,

whereby particular women are seen as letting themselves and the wider female Muslim community down by not ascribing to new feminist Muslim identities and using them to challenge culturally embedded gender positioning. Furthermore, this focus upon women's agency again highlights how the evocation of an Islamic identity does not necessarily equate to contesting the patriarchal religio-cultural structures which my participants identified as oppressive. Rather it is women's ignorance and/or acquiescence which is being blamed leading to potentially exclusionary forms of identity politics (Dwyer: 1999b for a discussion of Islamic identity politics as potentially restrictive, particularly concerning modes of religious dress). Again these narratives were articulated as part of a broader politics of improving the position of Muslim women within Britain, both within and beyond the Muslim community.³⁶ I want to now explore my Somali participants' negotiations of their religious identity as a way of working through their changing gender roles and experiences of making home within Britain.

Religion and dislocation: exploring my Somali participants' perspectives

I have chosen to examine my Somali participants' narratives concerning their prioritisation of an Islamic identity separately as their arguments were very much contextualised through their experiences of forced migration. As Valentine et al (2009) have outlined, since the late 1980s, significant numbers of Somalis have arrived in the UK seeking asylum due to the civil war. In addition to this, since early 2000, there has been a secondary phase of migration consisting of Somalis who had obtained refugee status and then citizenship in other European countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, who have begun active migration to Britain. Whilst my interviewees chose not to discuss their patterns of migration, it is important to note that the Somali community in Bristol (and indeed the UK) is 'characterised by different arrival scenarios' (235). As I have argued in Chapter Six, my

³⁶ My participants of Pakistani and Turkish heritage also discussed both forced and arranged marriage as a final area of contestation in which they articulated a discourse of rights to combat anticipated future family pressures. Although I don't have the space to develop this within the thesis, I wanted to acknowledge its occurrence.

participants discussed the importance of their religious identities within broader narratives concerning the Islamification of Somali identity within the context of the civil war. Here I want to outline how the preservation of religious identity was prioritised over cultural identity as ultimately more important. My participants expressed strong fears that their children would try to minimise their identification with both a Somali and a Muslim identity as part of a process of trying to fit into Britain. They argued that Somalis were subject to such negativity they feared their children would become subject to a 'crisis of identity' (Valentine and Sporton: 2007), in which they would try to minimise their cultural differences. The following excerpt illustrates my participants' arguments concerning the exclusion and discrimination faced by the Somali community and the impact this has upon their children's negotiations of cultural and religious identity, as they try to negotiate a sense of belonging by minimising unacceptable, visible difference:

Safia: Their cultural identity and religion and the language, and that is the worst feeling for the parents, their worst fear is the religion. I worry that when my daughter has a child, it will not be Muslim.

Firdous: The problem as well is they think that speaking in Somali is bad, I think.

Suad: It's like my cousin's child, although he was born here, he's about eight years old, he was born here and he never went to Somalia yet, so he hasn't got a clue about Somalia and the school is totally white British, posh school and so there are not any Somali's there, so he is being bullied because of that, because of being Somali 'you came from Somalia, do you know what Somali people look like, go back to your country' eight years old. He just came home and said to his mum, he said to her, 'people are bullying me in school because I am Somali, why am I Somali?' He is eight years old and he was born here, can you understand the mentality of an eight year old child who has been born here and brought up here. 'If they are bullying me, if they are hating me, if they do not want to be my friend because I am Somali, then I don't want to be a Somali, I don't want it, I want to change that, I don't want to, I don't want to be a Somali'. So his mother

said to him, 'so what do you want to be? And he said, 'I want to be a British, I don't want to be a Somali because no-one will be friends with me because of that'.

Suad's discussion of the bullying her cousin's British born child had been subjected to raises urgent questions over the right to claim national belonging. As Alexander et al (2007) argue within a discussion of the parameters of normative national identity and citizenship, there is a tension between discourses of national identity which centre on an 'imagined national community' bounded by shared norms and values, and the continued positioning of minority ethnic 'communities' as culturally bounded entities within, but distinct from such an identity. As such they argue that 'to have an ethnicity is to be visibly different, to be visibly different is to mark you out as a non-citizen' (787).

In Suad's case the visibility of her cousin's eight year old child as Somali undermines any formal claim to Britishness, as such he is violently demarcated as an outsider by his 'white' classmates. Suad argues that to be identified as Somali is inherently negative due to their 'outsider' positioning as both a Muslim and refugee community. This supports Gill Valentine et al's (2009) argument that 'ill-defined notions of Britishness also risk potentially having the effect of legitimising negative attitudes by the majority population towards migrants and their cultures rather than promoting its responsibility for fostering integration by recognising the presence of, and need to respect and accommodate the needs of minorities' (247).

As I discussed in Chapter Six, providing a Muslim home space was seen by my participants as crucial in trying to provide a safe space for their children to renegotiate, understand and value their religious identity. Whilst I have not had the scope within this thesis to examine cultural identity, it is important to note that the home was also seen as a safe space in which to be Somali. Notwithstanding this, however, the preservation of religious identity was

continually prioritised over cultural identity. These concerns need to be contextualised within my participants' discussions of their shifting gender roles within their migratory experiences, particularly in relation to being single mothers. I want to draw out how such dislocations are discussed with reference to the importance of religious identity. Whilst Safia and Firdous were single mothers, the rest of my participants discussed the impact that such a positioning had upon the wider Somali community. The Somali community in Britain is characterised by high levels of lone parent female headed households due to men being killed in the civil war, staying behind in Somalia and through high levels of divorce amongst families settled in the UK (Valentine and Sporton: 2007). Safia argued that as a single parent she had to be 'a father, you're a mother, you are the priest who is telling them 'don't do that, go to the Masjid' and you're trying hard to be a friend, you are a million personalities and it's [a] very difficult situation'. Similarly Firdous argued that 'the majority of Somali men they don't do anything at all, if they just go to work that's fine, they don't do anything else. The mother does everything, it's like the house and outside of the house she does everything'.

This lack of male parental interaction and guidance is compounded through the dislocation of forced migration and the disruption of familial and community networks. Several of the women discussed the isolation they felt in bringing up their children whereby in Somalia they had relied upon such networks as a form of communal surveillance and disciplining of children. As Safia outlined:

Safia: It's just we cannot balance, it's so hard to balance two cultures and tell them what to do, our children, back home you don't worry the village as they say will raise your child, the neighbourhood, your friends, your neighbour will if he do something, 'oh your son is doing that or your daughter's doing that' here we don't have that support and we just, outside is what we are afraid to tell you the truth.

Firdous's comments concerning the way in which men no longer take responsibility for the family are reflective of Valentine and Sporton's (2007) findings concerning a 'crisis of masculinity' within the Somali community. My research builds upon their findings concerning how women were increasingly the 'public face of families, taking responsibility for organising housing and welfare issues'. My participants similarly discussed the ways in which they had taken responsibility for liaising with schools, social services, housing and benefits agencies upon settling in Britain, which would have been seen as male spheres of responsibility. Unlike Sporton and Valentine, I focus upon how such changes were discussed in reference to religious identity. To return to the notion of complementarity, Ishmahan framed her discussion concerning Somali men in relation to traditional gender roles, whereby she identified that being either unable to work (as asylum seekers) or unable to find employment had undermined their ability to provide for their family. Somali women were thus increasingly performing traditionally 'male' roles and responsibilities in terms of interacting with public services.

My participants discussed the dislocation experienced by male Somalis as being related to both Muslim culture, but also their African, Somali cultural identities which highlights the embeddedness and intersectionality of religion and culture. The women's increased participation in the public sphere was often negotiated within a religious framework. For example, Habaryero highlighted a flexibility in practice associated with personal circumstance: 'I think that staying at home, it's very difficult, I mean our religion says that it depends on the environment you are living in, because it depends... because Islam doesn't prevent you, because there are a lot of things here are different, here I cannot just call my cousin or you know I want you to walk with me, to give me company'. This demonstrates the importance of recognising the situatedness and fluidity of religious practice whereupon its enactment is shaped by historically, socially and geographically contingent contexts (Secor: 2007). Similarly, Suad discussed how Somali women accessed Islamic education through the space of the mosque and community organisations, whereupon they began to challenge and question cultural practices which were oppressive and in some cases, violent:

Suad: Lots of Somali women when they come to this country they learn more, they try to learn more about their rights according to Islam, according to the Islamic view and according to the Qur'an and what it says because the Qur'an doesn't say that it is acceptable for men to hit his wife for no reason every time that is unacceptable. Islam doesn't say that women should not get equal opportunity for education. But here, when they come to this country they learn more about their rights, they learnt that and they try to they are told that they have got their own rights and they have to fight for their own rights, they have to campaign. So what's happened is that self confidence, 'I have got my own rights, I didn't know about that, but I know now, so what I will do now, I'm going to protect myself in my own way, no more hitting, no more mistreating, no more calling names or abusing'. Even in our country as well, things have been changing because there is more awareness and all that because of the Somali women who came to the western countries and they fought for this and they campaigned for that.

Suad illustrates the use of Qur'anic understanding to combat domestic violence as well as campaign for educational rights. Again the importance placed on gaining religious education and understanding needs to be seen within the context of religio- cultural dislocation and preservation, within which Muslim identity is prioritised. Interestingly, Suad also argued that the internet was a prime source of Qur'anic information for her female friends who were lone parents, particularly in relation to the time pressures they faced and difficulty accessing evening classes at the mosque. This sense of domestic media practices as informing my participants' religious identities, practices and gender roles builds upon my arguments in the previous chapter concerning the way in which cyberspace and geographical space coexist and intersect in complex ways. Here Suad identifies how such access to Qur'anic information is used to counter oppressive practices across a range of scales, including in individual homes, 'community' friendship groups within Britain, as well as back 'home' in Somali through the transnational transmission of what Levitt (1998) has termed 'social remittances' (norms, values, practices, identity and so on).

As Levitt has identified, processes of transnational migration produce 'fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one'. Such spaces are 'multi-layered and multi-sited' consisting not just of the home and host country, but other sites across the world which connect migrants to both their 'co-nationals and co-religionists' (77). Levitt stresses that such connections affect the lives and practices of both those who leave and those who stay, whereby transnational flows must be seen as multi-directional. The complex crises of identity experienced by my Somali participants and the transnational impact discussed particularly by Suad and Ishmahan are illustrative of Levitt's argument that micro-level, familial and kinship practices 'scale up to affect broader social processes, especially gender relations' (4). I have argued for the importance of recognising religion as a prime facet of my Somali women's identities. A prioritisation of Qur'anic education has given them access to a discourse of rights through which they have negotiated, challenged and made sense of their experiences of dislocation, particularly in regard to their shifting gender roles and responsibilities. Access to such services can thus be seen as central to giving them the confidence to negotiate the realities of everyday life within Britain. I want to turn now to examine more broadly the role of community organisations as spaces of empowerment and engagement, themes which were common across all my participants' narratives.

Feeling at home: a politics of engagement

In this section I explore my participants' discussions concerning their engagement with community organisations as political spaces before broadening out to examine their narratives concerning integration. I discuss how they view engagement in opposition to integration, as part of a politics of (re)claiming belonging. Throughout the first half of this chapter I explored the ways in which religious identity is drawn upon to combat oppressive patriarchal and cultural practices. In doing so, I emphasised the importance of my participants' engagement with women's organisations, through which they have accessed a variety of classes, advice and support, which has included, but not been limited to learning

about Islam. As well as the mosque, my Somali participants in Bristol accessed an educational centre which provided English language classes, homework clubs for Somali youth, as well as a variety of childcare qualifications, such as crèche working, through which Safia and Habareyo had gained employment. Similarly my older participants in Bristol were affiliated with women's cultural (ethnic) organisations which provided English classes, welfare advice and recreational activities. My younger participants in Bristol were members of a local Muslim cultural centre which aimed to bring together Muslims from different backgrounds and connect to the non-Muslim community.

Several of my participants discussed such spaces as 'spaces of home', whereby both the professionals employed by the groups and the other attendees formed part of a wider community of friends. For example, Sheila included two photographs of the organisation she attended. The first photo (Figure Seven) showed the garden and a graffiti wall which she had been involved in working on. The second showed her children attending the crèche.



Figure Seven: an image of the community space taken by Sheila to represent the importance of the organisation within her everyday life.

When discussing the two images she used the phrase ‘home from home’, explaining that she had made a wide circle of friends here, as had her children and that they all loved attending the centre. Similarly Kusum and Aasma (in separate group interviews) both drew my attention to the celebration meals held at their organisation for women and their families. Aasma argued that she felt that such events demonstrated the way in which she felt the organisation had become ‘like one big family’ for her and her daughters. My younger participants highlighted how the organisation they attended had secured funding for a room for ‘the girls’, which also led onto a roof garden. The women showed me round the room, describing it variously as ‘their space’, a ‘space to chill and be together’ and discussed the way in which they had purposely decked it out like a sitting room, with sofas, bean bags, stereo system and television. As Nina explained ‘[name of organisation] feels like home, you know I feel like happy to be here and I feel like I can be myself. You know like sometimes if you want to get away from something then you can come here and you feel more

comfortable and stuff'. Whilst none of my Somali participants described the organisation they attended as homelike, they did identify that they found going there 'easy' as people understood them and were aware of their experiences and problems, all of which gave them a sense of ease and belonging.

The importance of such spaces as places of shared identity and belonging had become heightened by my participants' experiences of non-belonging or exclusion at the scale of national identity. As I shall explore, this had two distinct effects. Firstly, these alternate 'home spaces' acted as safe spaces in which to be Muslim.³⁷ Secondly, these spaces were articulated as spaces of self-reflection, shared experience and empowerment, whereby the women were able to both work through and act upon experiences of discrimination and exclusion, which gave them the confidence to interact with people outside of their immediate kinship group. Following Staeheli and Nagel's (2008) crucial work on reformulating integration, I focus upon drawing out my participants' conceptions and negotiations of integration 'in light of their attachments to other political communities and other places' (420). As Staeheli and Nagel have argued, immigrant groups 'belong to multiple communities, have multiple political objectives, and in some cases have multiple citizenships; while there can be important tensions between different memberships, they should not be seen necessarily as mutually exclusive' (420). My London participants identified the mosque as their main community space, drawing attention to the importance of the sisterhood as a community of friends and a support network. Umm Zayol in particular described how her 'sisterhood' was both multi-generational and consisted of women from different ethnic backgrounds, whereby their shared identity as Muslim brought them together:

Umm Zayol: It's like your peers, same kind of age although it varies really widely as well, but then you've got the older, wiser sisters that you call

³⁷ Although as discussed in Chapter Three, my Pakistani heritage participants in Bristol were wary of surveillance and thus felt under pressure to perform acceptable Muslim identities for fear of 'political' discussions being misconstrued, jeopardising future funding.

aunties and they have got the life experience and wisdom and you sort of come into interaction with them more coming to the Masjid.. and then because you become a part of their family, you'll literally go to each other's houses and you help each other out. I mean if you're sister in Islam is struggling it should be something that the other sisters know and they can do something to help, there shouldn't be isolation or anything like that or there shouldn't be any like hesitance, when you become Muslim and you see the community it really is the community.

The intersection between 'friends as family' through the construct of the sisterhood is particularly interesting in that there is a continued emphasis here upon the interface between the mosque and the home as a communal space for the women who make up the 'Sisterhood'. Umm Zayol's description of sisterhood draws upon ideas of the global community, but is experienced as inherently local, whereby it consists of networks of friends who are crucial for providing social and emotional support. At the same time however they highlighted the charity work carried out by the Sisterhood, particularly in fundraising for Gaza, which drew upon more abstract and globalised ideas of a Muslim community, but was again experienced through localised activism. This resonates with accounts of activism by both my Bristol participants of Pakistani heritage and the young women who attended a young women's group. Whilst neither of these groups drew on notions of sisterhood, they discussed how participation with their respective organisations had led to a heightened sense of political awareness, particularly concerning Muslim issues. My participants discussed the importance of being socially and politically engaged, whereby their involvement with community groups shaped both their political awareness and their confidence to engage, as this exchange from Favel and Nina exemplifies:

Favel: I've met a lot of new people that I wouldn't really socialise with outside...

Nina: Like we go on more trips and get out there and meet non-Muslims and other Muslims so it builds our confidence and our knowledge of non-Muslims as well. I would be nervous about just going to a normal youth group type of thing whereas here I get to meet new Muslims and we do stuff with non-Muslim groups but in a safe way because they want to do stuff with us.

Favel: ...it's like we did a fundraiser for Gaza with a live radio link-up and so many people came and really saw what it was like for those people. The girls group were part of the link-up, so you know... they also got to see that it's not just Muslim men who can get involved politically

When probed, Nina highlighted how she would have been wary of joining a 'typical youth group' as she would have been worried about being negatively received or forced into behaviours such as drinking or smoking to 'fit in'. Whilst her participation in a Muslim only group could be viewed as self-segregating, Nina emphasises its importance as a space in which she can safely explore her Muslim identity and gain the confidence to interact with non-Muslims through organised activities. Nazreen highlighted such activities as part of an attempt to promote interaction between different communities through which the young women could both become more 'visible' in a safe way. This was based on the premise that through engaging with other groups, they could explain and 'demystify' their Muslim identities in order to combat misrepresentations. The importance of Qur'anic knowledge was again cited as key to being able to break down misconceptions in an informed way.

These activities of 'engagement' included the young women becoming involved in organising and running events based around 'political issues', including a fundraiser in Gaza, which attracted a large non-Muslim contingent. Favel argued that this allowed non-Muslims to both learn more about Gaza but also see young Muslim women as politically active and informed. Werbner (2002) has documented Muslim women's activism in Manchester with particular reference to activities and protests in support of Muslim

women in Palestine, Bosnia and Kashmir. Werbner argues that whilst such activism hinged upon a notion of 'moral co-responsibility' embodied in material performance' extended 'through and across space' (129), its performance increased their visibility and engagement within British political institutions, enhancing their articulations of their rights to active citizenship. Whilst my participants' claims to activism were on a smaller scale they too highlighted the importance of participating in society in order to effect change. For example, my Pakistani heritage participants cited fundraising, organising open cultural events and meeting with local MPs. Whilst these activities could again be seen as prioritising 'Muslim issues' it is important to make clear that my participants' discussions of such political activities were part of a broader politics of engagement and interaction through which they wanted to undermine dominant and exclusionary socio-political discourses which positioned Muslims as outside of the norms of British identity.

Whilst, as I have discussed throughout the thesis, not all of my participants identified as British, their discussions of everyday life were underpinned by their attempts to make home and forge a sense of belonging within Britain. A politics of engagement based on finding commonalities ran through my participants narratives concerning the realities of trying to make home. My participants repeatedly stressed their commitment to living within Britain and making a contribution to society, particularly on a local level, whereby they argued that it was at the scale of the neighbourhood that commonalities were most likely to be found. This sense of my participants *making home* through their interests and participation in different issues resonates with work on citizenship by Staeheli and Nagel (2006) who argued that their Arab-American participants believed 'their activities as citizens would lead to greater integration into their homes in America rather than separate or detach Arabs from it' (23).

Whilst my research is not explicitly about citizenship, it further evidences the complexity of transnational identities, challenging the notion of citizenship as inherently requiring loyalty and affiliation to one nation state, whereby a commitment to multiple spaces of home

should not be seen as conflicting to, or diluting of, the other(s). Similarly, my work also highlights how my participants balance their commitment to 'Muslim issues' with an attention to everyday issues which affect them. The following excerpts from Rashida and Naima are typical of my participants' responses concerning their commitment to 'normal' issues:

Rashida: For example, I mean you get on with your work colleagues and you do everything as anyone else would, but I guess you wouldn't go out for a drink to the pub afterwards and that's where your lifestyles are differentiated, but it doesn't mean you don't want to integrate, because you know we integrate wholly on every other level, you know we want to contribute to the community, we want to achieve, we want to educate ourselves and we want to contribute. It is only because the media have portrayed it that way that Muslim is something bad and they go against British values but Muslims want to contribute and be part of the society and be part of everything, so you know it should be, in our minds it is the same thing being British and Muslim.

Naima: Our worries are not just about wars abroad or about halal meat and Sharia law, but about the schools your children are going to go to, council tax, normal things that everybody else worries about but we are sort of made out to be alien and I just find that very worrying and I think that if I wasn't Muslim I would sort of see them as the other as well – which is what the media sort of make them out to be – that their values are completely different to British values and I don't think that has ever been defined what this idea of British values is – these values which we allegedly don't share but should – I don't think this idea of shared values has ever been defined. It's never discussed what these values actually are it's all just about Muslims not having our values.

Both Rashida and Naima discuss the ways in which they want to contribute and engage with wider society in opposition to conceptions of integration which demand cultural conformity. Rashida's comments concerning abstinence from alcohol typify the way in which my participants saw their practices of abstinence as an exclusionary marker of difference. Valentine et al (2010) argue that the way in which consuming alcohol is normalised within British culture is a factor which excludes Muslim populations from particular spaces of engagement. Certainly my participants felt very strongly that their abstinence was a barrier to being seen as British. Such discussions also highlighted my participants' understandings of integration as akin to assimilation, whereby they saw reneging on this tenet of their faith as integral to becoming 'integrated'. Integration was thus argued to require a cultural conformity in which the emphasis was upon minority communities to adapt their cultural practices in order to 'fit in'.

My participants' conceptualisations of a politics of engagement were thus very much set against dominant ideas of 'integration as assimilation' which emphasised an incompatibility between being Muslim and being British. In the above quotation, Naima challenges mediated discourses which position Muslims as prioritising 'Muslim issues', such as Sharia Law, by discussing the importance and relevance of being involved in everyday community issues, such as schooling, the cost of council tax and the neighbourhood environment. Similarly Rashida highlighted such issues as points of connection and engagement between Muslims and wider society. This alternate sense of being integrated through shared commitment to and engagement with local and national social issues, which affect them and their families, is different from the notion of integration as being committed to and conforming to a set of values. These findings resonate with, and contribute to, the conceptualisation of citizenship as rooted in place not nationality (Staeheli and Nagel: 2006, 2008, Amin: 2002).

As Naima outlined, the notion of conformation and loyalty to a set of 'British values' which denoted 'cultural membership' was both undefined and problematic in terms of who has the power to define what (and whom) is included or excluded. Underpinning my participants' arguments was a strong sense that integration should be a two-way process, hence the frequent conceptualisations of engagement rather than integration, whereby engagement was seen as requiring meaningful interaction. Respect for, and an understanding of, Muslim culture was argued to be central to my participants being able to claim space for themselves within the normative constructs of national identity from which they felt excluded. This sense of 'engagement' as a two-way process draws parallels with Staeheli and Nagel's (2008) participants' conceptualisations of integration as hinging on meaningful exchange in which 'the ability to assert cultural difference is not a threat to integration but a precondition to it' (425). As with Staeheli and Nagel's research with British Arab participants, in which they argued 'in a context where anti-Arab sentiments prevail our respondents argue that it is difficult to integrate or even to be seen as capable of integrating into British society' (426), my participants saw the negativity associated with Muslims as a barrier to 'engagement'.

Challenging negative and (as discussed in Chapter Five) particularly media discourses which placed Muslims as unacceptable 'others' was seen as crucial to being able to claim meaningful belonging to Britain through a 'de-mystifying' of Muslim identity. To return to the idea of making home, in Chapters Four and Five, I discussed my participants' multi-scalar experiences of exclusion and discrimination, including racism at the scale of the nation, neighbourhood and home. Such experiences highlighted some of the complexities and contradictions of claiming belonging, which impacted upon their ability to feel 'at home' in the nation. My participants discussed a politics of engagement as integral to combating such experiences, challenging state practices and breaking down societal misconceptions, through which they could begin to claim meaningful belonging as a process of (re)making home. As Naima argued:

Naima: It is just a feeling that you get and you do find it, whether it is in the work place, or whether it is in the community, you do find that there is this, people that would normally have trusted you, it seems to be that they are just taking a step back because they are not sure anymore, it is unfortunate because it might be an individual that you have known for a number of years. It does make you question your place, you know, where do you belong now, can Britain still be my home... I like to think there is hope for the future, you don't know what is going to happen, in terms of as more people get involved in politics and groups and stuff, you don't know, there could be a change, a shift towards people understanding the religion better and understanding that being a Muslim doesn't mean you have to live differently and separately from other people, it just means that what you practise within your life is different, but you can still live with other individuals, you can still have neighbours, you can still have friends within the wider community, it doesn't make you any different.

Here Naima clearly articulates feeling a sense of non-belonging through her visibility as Muslim, which has impacted upon her everyday friendships. This excerpt is not fatalistic however, as Naima argues that one response to this (including her own) is to become more politically aware and involved. She argues that engagement is key to breaking down barriers through promoting awareness, and an understanding of and respect for differences through which new relationships can be forged. The importance of fostering and communicating alternative understandings of what it means to be Muslim to a wider British audience ran through my participants narratives of interaction and engagement. This again included challenging stereotypes of Muslim women as oppressed using a framework of 'pure Islam' to demonstrate women's rights to education and employment, which as discussed previously, the women used as evidence of their participation within and contribution to society.

Organisational and mosque open days were cited as important community events which many of my participants were either directly involved in organising, supporting or attending.

Similarly organisational and individual attendance at city and neighbourhood events, such as local festivals, 'cultural' and 'welfare' events was deemed as important to both promote the services of individual organisations to the wider community and demonstrate the activism of the Muslim communities they represented. As Alexander et al (2007) have identified 'the formal institutions of 'community' serve a dual purpose – looking inwards to service its members and providing a bridge to the broader society outside of these boundaries' (792). In addition to supporting the organisations they were affiliated with, several of my participants discussed individual actions. Safia, Mariam and Firdous emphasised that they chose to attend an educational centre as it brought them into contact with both Somalis and non-Somalis, which they felt was important in terms of breaking down barriers. Rashida and Shemla similarly discussed that the organisation which they were affiliated with were active in improving the housing estate in which their offices were situated, particularly through environmental activities. Again they highlighted how this brought them together with a range of other volunteer and resident groups. Amin (2002) has argued that these forms of small-scale, independent activities are best placed to achieve intercultural understanding whereby proximity alone is not enough. Amin terms such spaces 'micro-publics of everyday social contact and encounter' (259) in which people from different backgrounds are brought together around common interests, allowing them the opportunity to develop new ways of interacting and relating.

Both Shoma and Sheila volunteered at their children's schools, emphasising their work supporting non-Muslim children, whilst Alara had become a parent governor. Alara decided to stand as a governor when she realised that whilst the school nativity was open to all parents, the Eid celebrations were by invitation only, she felt that the school had portrayed Muslim parents as segregating themselves albeit as a consequence of misunderstanding. She argued that whilst this kind of 'separatism' by default was on a small scale, it must be happening all the time and as such she felt the only way that she and other Muslim women could change it was through being active within both the Muslim community and broader organisational structures. Whilst my participants were keen to be involved in such activities, their narratives also contained a sense of resentment concerning the way in which they felt

they were now responsible for representing the Muslim community in light of Islamic terrorism. Their visibility as Muslim thus added a new dimension to their participation. Archer (2009) has similarly identified Muslims as increasingly participating in a politics of situating and explaining 'themselves' in relation to negative socio-political representations.

As I have argued throughout the thesis, the embodied visibility of my participants 'Muslimness' through ethnicity and dress, has particular discriminatory consequences. As such, in response to this visibility, my participants identify a politics of reinforcing yet designifying such visibility through a telling of their private selves. This forms part of a politics of self-representation designed to combat and change the way in which the visible markers of their Muslim identities are currently read. Certainly as I have demonstrated, my participants identified this as a tactic through which they were trying to claim alternative identity positions and understandings (see also Nagel and Staeheli: 2009, Hopkins: 2006). As with Archer's (2009) young male participants, some of my respondents expressed anger at the need to engage in such activities, arguing that the very need to do so reinforced their positioning as unequal citizens, as shown by the following exchange between Khaduah, Umm Zayol and Amina:

Khaduah: I don't see why sometimes we should have to justify or explain to people. I don't know why do we have to put ourselves out there and apologise for things and explain? No-one else explains why they wear certain things.

Umm Zayol: That's very true but I think with the way that the government and the media and the politicians have bombarded what is Islam is and what Muslims are, it's almost like we've got no other alternative but to try and say, please it's not that way, can you also see it this way.' And you're absolutely right why should we do that, why should we? No-one else has to go out explaining their reasons as to why they reached that point in their life or identity.

Amina: I feel probably I need to because it becomes more important when you have got children and I worry about my grandchildren now, even before that because I think what will happen, where will it go with this.

Again this highlights the pervasiveness of mainstream media representations, against which Amina, Umm Zayol and Khaduah position themselves. All three women argued that whilst making public their private religious identities and practices was vital in terms of opposing such discourses through a politics of awareness raising, they felt angry that they were being placed in such a position. As Khaduah argued, Muslims are increasingly required to perform an apologist role to secure a level of social acceptance, which in and of itself reinforces their precarious position within constructs of Britishness (Allen: 2005). It is important to make clear that such a politics of engagement was not solely aligned to organisational activities or formal political activity. Safia discussed how upon first moving to Bristol she had tried to engage with her non-Muslim neighbours during Ramadan:

Safia: My neighbours are British people and when I came to this country I always was very interested to know them and in Ramadan I used to take them refreshments, food, samosa, some things like that. I dropped that because I don't get any feedback, they don't want to know me, they didn't want them, and so I stopped. But this is what our Islam tells us, you have to be good with your neighbour and we don't want to give the bad impression, I mean the TV is always saying that Muslims are bad, terrorists, I don't want that, for my neighbour to think that I am a bad person. I am a Muslim, but some of them they don't want to know, because that is more powerful than what I am trying to tell them.

Here Safia demonstrates how her attempts at 'neighbourliness' were rebuffed. Safia frames her efforts to engage through a religious framework, arguing that she had wanted to fulfil her religious obligations and in doing so demonstrate and communicate the

inherent peacefulness of Islam. Again she sees media discourses as overly influential and thus a hindrance to her attempts to dispel negative representations through personal interactions. This highlights the need to be wary as to 'everyday encounters and their power to achieve cultural destabilisation and social transformation' (Valentine: 2008: 334). Whilst this sense of trepidation was discussed by several of my participants, the overriding sentiment was that without such attempts at engagement, the Muslim community would continue to occupy a position of unacceptable 'otherness' which would have continued ramifications for future generations. As I touched upon in Chapter Five, several of my participants highlighted the importance of embodied actions within public encounters. Simple performances of 'friendliness' through smiling, making eye contact and saying 'hello', were all heralded as first steps to creating space for more meaningful encounters:

Nazreen: I thought to myself, oh my God, do you know what, actually maybe we as Muslim women have become used to the fact that we are stereotyped? That people are stereotypical towards the headscarf and we are not frightened necessarily, but we do accept that non-Muslims are going to turn around and say to us, 'oh you terrorist' and stuff, but then how much do we go out of our way to smile at non-Muslims and make an effort and you know go out there and say, oh what a nice day' because naturally people will then feel comfortable to speak to you. But then at the same time there are people out there who are completely ignorant and who will say, 'you terrorist' and stuff but I'm waiting for that and I'm being honest I'm waiting for that because I know I will deal with it in a different way. I will go up to them and say, 'that's fine, would you like to ask this terrorist a question?' So I will start off a conversation like that and then at the end of it hopefully you know change their perceptions.

Here Nazreen argues that Muslim women need to both be aware of the way in which their bodies (and particularly the headscarf) may be read and work to challenge them through civil exchange. This also links to my younger participants' attempts to reclaim and rework

associations of the headscarf through performances of fashion within public space as part of a politics of challenging representations and expectations both within and beyond the Muslim community. I want to now begin to bring these different articulations of engagement and identity politics together.

Conclusions

Whilst this chapter is quite broad, the themes of engagement and participation in the public sphere as central to claiming meaningful belonging run through the different sections. I began by discussing my participants' prioritisation of an Islamic identity through which to challenge patriarchal cultural practices. As I have argued, what is of particular interest here is how this assertion of an Islamic framework of rights by my participants is common despite their different ethnic heritages and ages. In a discussion of the resurgence of religious identity within the politics of ethnicity and anti-racism, Dwyer (1998) has outlined the importance of examining the extent to which Muslim identities have been articulated 'in relation to, and in resistance against dominant racialised discourses of national community' (57). Certainly for my younger participants and particularly those of Pakistani heritage, the rise of Islamic terrorism and subsequent discourses concerning Muslims has led them to want to learn more about their religion. Central to my participants' narratives was the need to challenge common perceptions of Islam as oppressive for women. I felt that this was also influenced by my positioning as a non-Muslim researcher, in that they anticipated I would have preconceived ideas concerning gender roles.

Interestingly it became obvious that my participants were also using the interview process to try to combat the positioning of Muslim women within the wider Muslim community, particularly in Bristol. Many of the women articulated the need for their arguments to be disseminated to other Muslim women, in order to give them a framework through which to challenge their communities. This positioning reflected both my participants' politicisation

and the broader aims of the organisations through which I recruited. Such attempts to improve the position of Muslim women were also underpinned by a politics of engagement and claiming belonging, whereby my participants saw the promotion of a 'true' understanding of the rights afforded to women by Islam as integral to breaking down representations of Muslim women as either oppressed or fundamentalists. This is not to say however that they argued Muslim women were not oppressed, rather that ending such oppression was also tied into improving the possibilities for Muslim women's interaction with wider society, particularly through education and employment.

In drawing out these arguments I chose to examine my Somali participants' experiences separately, in order to highlight the particular challenges the women faced. There were two main strands to their narratives. Firstly, I discussed the importance of religious identity as a framework through which they were able to make sense of the dislocation of their experiences of forced and active migration, particularly concerning their increased participation in the public sphere. This challenges ideas of religion as static and unchanging. Rather I have tried to highlight how religious subjectivities need to be understood within their social contexts. The preservation of religious identity is integral to the crisis of identity articulated by my participants, particularly in terms of masculine identity. Secondly, (but also related) I have tried to explore the particularities of oppression, exclusion, racism and discrimination faced by my participants, whereby their visibility as black, Muslim and part of an asylum seeker/refugee community leaves them acutely marginalised. Their experiences point to the difficulty of trying to claim belonging within Britain, whereby they argue that even those who are British are not accepted as such. This emphasises the complexity of racial politics and acceptance of difference within Britain as a multi-cultural society in which there appears to be a hierarchy of (un)acceptable difference. This in turn points to a need for further research concerning both contemporary racism and the needs of the Somali community in particular.

Whilst all of my participants discussed the importance of improving the opportunities for Muslim women, within and beyond the Muslim community, they challenged notions of

western feminism as liberating for women. Whilst such narratives concerning modesty were not unproblematic, I want to emphasise how they formed part of a broader attempt to engage with, challenge and re-present Muslim women as part of the politics of claiming meaningful belonging. In doing so, my participants rejected models of assimilation as improvement, predicated on historic, orientalist and colonial tropes. Instead they articulated the importance of making space for Muslim women within British society as part of a project of engagement and two-way acceptance. They argued for an understanding and respect for cultural difference, which was discussed in opposition to socio-political discourses of integration, which they argued only required 'change' by the Muslim community, in order to 'fit in' to proscribed notions of Britishness which were exclusionary and problematic.

Throughout this chapter I have outlined the importance of the role of women's organisations as spaces of religious and formal education, empowerment and community. Whilst my participants did not define themselves as activists, their narratives demonstrate the importance of examining the articulation and spaces of informal and everyday social engagement. These spaces have been described as a form of home from home, particularly in the context of my participants' experiences of racism and discrimination, whereby some of my participants described such spaces as refuges in which it is safe to be Muslim. This should not be read as a form of segregation however, with my participants arguing that such spaces were also spaces of fortification through which they felt able to engage with wider society. My participants prioritised a politics of engagement based on finding commonalities as central to their attempts to make home and forge a sense of belonging within Britain. This builds upon contemporary work which views integration as place based rather than tied to articulations of nationhood and values. It is important to re-emphasise however that despite a willingness to 'tell themselves' through public engagement at different scales, my participants identified the need to do so as reinforcement of their 'unequal citizenship'. Despite both this and the fragility identified by my participants concerning their efforts to effect meaningful social change and acceptance, they argued that without such attempts, the socio-political exclusion and discrimination they faced would surely increase.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

The story of this research began with a description of several incidents which occurred within my professional remit as a caseworker for victims of anti-social behaviour. Through particular clients' narratives I became interested in the importance of visible difference and the home space within experiences of racism and harassment more broadly. Running alongside this was an awareness of the socio-political scrutiny afforded to Muslim communities within the burgeoning domestic war on terror, particularly in relation to the London bombings on July 7th, 2005. One client's experiences of being forcibly 'un-veiled' in public space heightened my awareness of the racialisation of religious identity, whereupon it was her visibility as Muslim which made her a target of racial abuse. This incident shaped my interest in exploring the impact that the geopolitical can have upon the everyday, which is a main strand of this thesis. Within this chapter I want to draw together the overarching themes which run through my findings in order to draw some conclusions and suggest future research directions.

I have explored some of the tangible effects of the 'War on Terror', particularly in terms of racism and discrimination, mapping the impact such experiences have upon notions of home and belonging. My research is framed through an examination of the representation and positioning of Muslim women and the home within mediated coverage of a series of bomb plots and the 'veil' debate. I outline how the discursive reiteration of the threat of Islamic terrorism as 'in and amongst us' amplifies the threat of home-grown terrorism and positions particular communities as threatening to the nation and/as home. In doing so, I have highlighted how the rendering of domestic objects and spaces as alien and threatening within media coverage of home raids, forms part of a politics of fear predicated upon the grafting of insecurity onto the intimate space of the home and across scales of neighbourhood, community and nation. As well as focusing upon the micro-scale, I draw out the utilisation of over-arching discourses concerning integration, national identity and the

racialisation of religious identity within such coverage. I argue that the shift from multiculturalism to integration can be read as a patriarchal practice of nationalism based upon a flawed thesis of cultural diversity as threatening to social cohesion, which centres upon Muslim culture as antithetical to 'Britishness', through a framework of segregation/extremism/terrorism. With regard to the positioning of Muslim women, I identify a shift in the discursive framing of the veil from a symbol of oppression, to a mark of cultural refusal, separation and ultimately resistance embedded in the threat of terrorism. In particular, young, British Muslim women who choose to wear the niqab are positioned as undeserving citizens with the face veil constructed as an aggressive rebuttal of normative British national identity. Again such discourses are inherently spatialised, with such women represented as emblematic of the segregation and separation of Muslim communities.

The main body of the thesis has explored how the war on terror has impacted upon the everyday lives of Muslim women in London and Bristol, responding to calls to rework conceptual understandings of geopolitics, including focusing attention towards questions of agency and resistance (Hyndman: 2001, Pain: 2010). In bringing these two strands together, I aimed to examine how the utilisation of home within geopolitical/socio-political constructions of national security, national identity, citizenship and terrorism intersects with the lived experience and emotional geographies of home and belonging for Muslim women. Running through my thesis are the themes of *insecurity*, *visibility*, *belonging* and the negotiation of home as a lived experience and spatial imaginary.

The visibility of religious identity: exploring racism across scale

Through examining both the construction of racialised discourses of national identity, belonging and securitisation alongside how racism is experienced negotiated and resisted, I draw links between the construction of mediatised geopolitical racialised discourses and their effects. My participants identified mainstream western media as racist through the production and circulation of socio-political anti-Muslim discourses. Integral to my

participants' arguments is an assertion that Muslims are positioned as 'other', particularly through the conflation of terrorism with Islam, which renders Muslims as a threat to global, national and local security. My participants discussed such representations as an intense source of insecurity which impacted upon their personal and familial sense of belonging, particularly at the scale of national identity. They outlined how their identities were 'read' through such representations, linking mediated racist discourses to the perpetration of racism within society. I draw out how my participants' fears of racism were particularly acute in relation to their children. Their concerns drew directly upon their children's experiences of racism coupled with fears that they would continue to be subjected to racism based upon their identity as Muslim. The sense of non-belonging this engendered in relation to national identity is complex, with participants arguing that their children's right to British identity and citizenship were becoming foreclosed through the exclusion of Muslim identity from the normative scripts of national identity. The complex scalar relationships between the body, home and nation are drawn out through the thesis. I argue that my participants are subject to phenotypical racism which relies on sensory and particularly visual signals.

I examined some of the effects that religio-racial profiling has had upon my participants' everyday lives, geographies of mobility and articulations of belonging, and highlight how my participants of Pakistani descent identify the state as a central source of insecurity. I argue that the visibility of their ethno-religious identity leaves them in fear of and subject to visible and invisible technologies of state surveillance. The reach of security technologies and the fear of being targeted impacts upon the security of my participants' everyday lives, policing their behaviours in different spheres. I have drawn out the complex gendering of such fears with the public space of the street argued to be a site of particular insecurity for their male relations. The 'private life' spaces of the home, mosque and community organisation are seen as potentially subject to surveillance as part of the policing of the 'interior', which impacts across gender. The domestic space of the home is discussed as vulnerable to state intrusion and penetration in the form of home raids. The sense of exposure to securitisation measures impacts upon my participants' maternal roles, whereby they feel under pressure to perform an acceptable, moderate Muslim identity. These findings highlight the way in which the home intersects with the public.

More broadly, I argue that covering practices as a marker of religious identity have socio-spatial effects, which inform my participants' negotiation and inhabitation of the different localities encountered within their everyday geographies. I examine how such negotiations are dependent upon sophisticated, situated local knowledge which informs maps of racial-religious inclusion and exclusion. I draw out how the home as a lived experience and spatial imaginary is embedded within my participants' negotiations of their everyday geographies and their articulations of belonging at different scales. In exploring my participants' experiences of racism in public space I highlight how they utilised narratives of dehumanisation to both divorce and reclaim their individual identity and humanity from their objectification as figures of hate. I discuss my participants' use of tactics of bodily comportment through which to challenge the ways in which their veiled bodies are (mis)read. It is important to recognise such tactics as a means of my participants claiming space for themselves in opposition to a withdrawal from public space or hiding the visibility of their religious identity. In particular, I examine the importance of fashion as a means through which to reclaim and re-signify the veil.

My findings emphasise the need to recognise how religion has become an increasing marker of difference and I argue that this should be contextualised historically rather than considered a 'new' form of racism. In doing so, I position myself against conceptualisations of contemporary racism which distinguish biological racism from cultural racism (Modood: 2005), arguing that within contemporary racism, and particularly anti Muslim racism, biological and cultural racial logics exist side by side and often overlap. I draw out how this is particularly apparent in relation to my Somali participants' experiences of racism, whereby they discuss how they variously find themselves 'marked' as black, African, Muslim, women and potentially asylum seeker. My empirical findings thus augment contemporary theorisations of racism which emphasise the historicity of phenomenological racial coding and particularly the importance of visual signs (Saldanha: 2006, Kundnani: 2007, Amin: 2010). These empirical findings, particularly concerning my participants' agency, allow for a grounded and in-depth understanding of the everyday effects of racism, contributing to both sociological and geographic literatures concerning ethnicity, race and racism.

Home in relation to the geopolitical

My thesis also expands geographical perspectives on the home as a site of identity within the context of the geopolitical. My findings contribute to theorisations of geographies of home, geographies of religion and geopolitics. Through focusing on the home as a geopolitical site I demonstrate the need to examine and understand how the geopolitical is experienced through and constitutive of everyday sites. In doing so, I challenge constructions which posit the geopolitical and the everyday as two discrete scales. I contribute to a re-materialisation of social and cultural geography (Philo: 2000, Anderson and Tolia-Kelly: 2004), through examining how notions of identity and belonging are experienced through the material and emotional creation of home. I explore how the production of the home as a religious space is enacted through embodied, temporal and particularly aural practices, arguing that the creation of 'Muslim space' within the domestic reflects gendered spatial practices and roles. These arguments provide important insights into the materiality of religion, which contributes to both critical geographies of home and geographies of religion. Crucially, I explore how the home becomes an important site of identity affirmation with regard to religious identity and in relation to experiences of racism. I demonstrate how religious practices become embedded within notions of familial security, whereby in the context of my participants' experiences of racism, the home provides a safe space in which to be Muslim. Drawing upon this I argue that home needs to be conceptualised as simultaneously bounded and unbounded, whereby the centrality of the home as a site of religious identity and practice permeates far beyond the material home site.

As well as linking material objects and domestic practices to articulations of religious identity, I have explored media practices within the home in relation to political identity. I argue that the home was cited a space in which my participants had autonomy over media consumption and were able to engage critically with media representations from a variety of different sources. I highlight the centrality of home as a space in which my participants negotiate their political identities, notably through familial discussion and the monitoring of current affairs. I touch upon my younger participants' use of user generated content

websites, arguing that the home as a political space operates across scale, whereby online political discussions span local/global transnational networks which are grounded within 'real' spaces including the home. In my discussion concerning those participants who boycott Israeli goods, I explore how the women positioned themselves as political actors through their gendered domestic roles, whereby they ultimately took responsibility for the boycott.

More broadly, I discuss how my participants' narratives of political identity were embedded in their negotiations of active citizenship. Through focusing upon drawing connections between the domestic and the geopolitical I augment feminist conceptualisations of home, arguing that the home is a site for complex social and emotional relationships which flow between domestic and non-domestic environments and between scales. In focusing on religio-ethnic identity in relation to the geopolitical and through the space of the material home, I also expand work within geographies of religion which have for the most part focused upon the materiality and politics of formal spaces of worship.

Visibility, citizenship and religious identity

Finally, I develop theorisations about both identity and citizenship. I explore the impact of the geopolitical, particularly in reference to experiences of racism, upon notions of meaningful citizenship. Whilst my research is not explicitly about citizenship, it further evidences the complexity of transnational identities, challenging the notion of citizenship as inherently requiring loyalty and affiliation to one nation state, whereby a commitment to multiple spaces of home should not be seen as conflicting to or diluting of the other(s). I demonstrate how my participants conceptualise citizenship as both emotional and political, arguing that whilst the two are mutually constituted there is a disconnect between my participants' articulations of belonging and citizenship at different scales whereby the scale of the nation is often seen as a scale of non-belonging and exclusion. Integral to this is an examination of how my participants discuss their religious identities as part of a politics of citizenship, belonging and making home with particular reference to their experiences of racism. I have outlined the importance of the various community organisations through

which I recruited, as spaces of religious and formal education, empowerment and community. Moreover, these spaces have been described as a form of home from home, particularly in the context of my participants' experiences of racism and discrimination. Whilst my participants did not define themselves as activists, their narratives demonstrate the importance of examining the articulation and spaces of informal and everyday social engagement.

I draw out how my participants discussed the importance of improving opportunities for Muslim women, both within and beyond the Muslim community. In regard to the theme of (in)visibility, I argue that my participants' attempts to 'make public' their religious identities are part of a politics of engagement through which they want to combat misrepresentations and carve out space for themselves within the 'space of the nation'. I emphasise how my participants' attempts to claim meaningful belonging occur across scale, whereupon through everyday engagements they attempt to both challenge exclusive constructs of national identity (from which they feel excluded as Muslim) and make safe their participation in their everyday landscapes of home and community.

In particular, I have drawn out how religious identity is central to how my Somali participants make sense of their experiences of forced and active migration, particularly regarding gender roles and their participation in the public sphere. I outline how, for my Somali participants, the acuteness of their experiences of racism and discrimination raise pressing questions concerning normative constructions of national identity and the ability to claim citizenship. In doing so I augment work which argues that proscriptive articulations of citizenship, based on ill-defined cultural norms can legitimise exclusionary and racist attitudes/behaviours (Valentine et al: 2009). My findings highlight the importance of examining religion as constitutive of identity, whereby it acts as a framework which informs my participants' understandings and experiences of home, belonging and citizenship. I argue that my participants' articulation of a politics of engagement is inherently spatial, whereby my participants discuss citizenship practices in relation to a shared *commitment to and engagement through* local and national social issues. These findings further develop

conceptualisations of citizenship as rooted in place not nationality (Staeheli and Nagel: 2006 and 2008, Amin: 2002).

Methodological matters: researching home

One of the questions I felt my research raised from the outset concerned a questioning or problematising of how to research home. Through reflecting upon the socio-spatial dynamics of the research encounter, I problematise notions of the home as an empowering interview site for participants. I argue that the community spaces in which my research encounters occurred, constituted a 'stretching of home', acting as a form of spatial gate-keeper. The sense of security garnered through using a group interview format was facilitated by my participants' complex relationships to the community spaces in which interviews took place. My participants' identifications of such spaces as safe and 'homely' mapped onto the group dynamics, facilitating disclosures. I outlined how my use of auto-photography allowed me to examine the home without being in situ, whereby the range of images taken by participants was crucial to exploring the materiality of my participants' experiences and everyday geographies, identities and senses of belonging. In using a group interview format for my auto-photography exercise, I obtained a less individualised sense of home, than had I used individual follow-up interviews to discuss the images. This is important in terms of comparing such an approach with contemporary ethnographic methods which are increasingly used to research home. In drawing these findings together, I develop a critical understanding of both the methodological particularities that a material approach to home demands and the ethical implications of the home as a research site.

Future research directions

Overall, this thesis addresses several important research agendas. Firstly, it contributes to debates concerning the mechanisms and effects of contemporary racism through its focus on how racism is experienced, negotiated and resisted (Kundnani: 2007, Amin: 2010). Whilst my research provides an important discussion of the racialisation of religious identity and

the impacts of racism upon ideas of home and belonging across scale, there is further scope for research which continues to examine the construction and experience of racism with a focus on questions of the body, visibility, phenomenology and the construction of difference. Furthermore, my research touches upon racism between ethnic minority communities as well as majority-minority racism. There is scope for further research upon the dynamics, logics and everyday experiences of racism, including further examinations of 'whiteness' in relation to different migrant communities and their experiences of racism.

Secondly, I draw upon a re-conceptualisation of feminist geopolitics through focusing on how the geopolitical is embodied and experienced within the everyday lives and the emotional geographies of some of those who are now constructed as fearful, as coming from communities which are to be feared. By combining an analysis of both the construction of mediatised, racialised socio-political discourses of securitisation alongside an exploration of some of their impacts, I clearly demonstrate the need to explore the 'micropolitics' of the geopolitical (Katz: 2004), arguing for the need to think about the geopolitical as being experienced both locally and globally whereby the global and the intimate intersect and intertwine. Through focusing out from the home, I argue against the idea that the geopolitical and the everyday are two discrete scales. I draw out how my participants' experiences impact upon their ideas of citizenship and belonging. In mapping and linking the tangible effects of geopolitical events and phenomena beyond the immediate sphere of the political, I make a distinct contribution to the development of what Pain (2010) has termed the 'geopolitics of emotion'.

One of the areas which my thesis touches upon is the role of media practices within the formation and negotiation of political identity. In outlining my younger participants' use of user generated content sites (such as You Tube) as alternate sources of political information, I discuss how my participants engage with local/global transnational networks. In doing so, I highlight the intersections between virtual and real space, and particularly the home as a site of religious and political identity. Both the home as a political site and the

role of ICTs within the formation and negotiation of identity are deserving of further research.

In terms of contributing to work within geographies of religion, insufficient attention has been paid to private and informal spaces, such as the home, as sites of religion, identity and community. My focus upon the intersections between the production/expression of religious practices and beliefs and the material home, thus develops the literature on the spatiality and embodiment of religious identity. In reference to the literature on Muslim geographies, research in Britain has focused predominantly upon Muslims of South-Asian descent. By including Muslims who identify as Somali, I show that the experiences of Muslims are more diverse than the current literature depicts. I would argue that future research upon Muslim communities needs to ensure that it recognises the changing demographics of the Muslim population in Britain, through inclusion of 'new' Muslim groups including asylum seeking/refugee communities such as Iraqi, Afghan, East African and Bosnian Muslims.

Final thoughts

I want to conclude by returning to the incident in which my client was forcibly unveiled. Of all the narratives which inspired the development of this research, this incident had the greatest impact due to symbolism of the veil and the violence with which it was removed. It proved a catalyst in regard to examining the impact that the geopolitical has upon the everyday. In summary, the war on terror has and continues to have a significant impact upon my participants' everyday lives, geographies and senses of belonging. As with my client, much of this is related to the racialisation of religion and the visibility of religious identity in relation to being Muslim. Whilst I chose not to work specifically with women who had identified as experiencing racism, the racialisation of religion and experiences of racism across scale and including the street, media and the state, have dominated my participants'

narratives. The visibility of religious identity and particularly the contested signification of the veil has been a central theme in relation to my participants' expressions of insecurity, particularly within public space. The themes of visibility and insecurity similarly run through their discussions of state and media discrimination. This continued positioning of Muslims as 'other' in relation to ideas of home and nation, coupled with their everyday experiences of racism have a profound effect on my participants' complex narratives of, and claims to belonging. The material and emotional creation of home is central to the thesis, particularly as a space of religious identity and in relation to the experience and negotiation of racism. Similarly the 'home spaces' of my participants community organisations are spaces of citizenship, refuge and empowerment. Indeed, the complexity of home as both a material site and spatial imaginary is evidenced throughout, highlighting its importance in relation to my participants' everyday negotiations of the impact of the geopolitical.

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Appendix One – Participant Details

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS				
Name	Age	Biography	Type of organisation representing	Interview details
Alara Pseudonym given	27	British, identified as Pakistani heritage. Married with 3 children	N/A although Alara was a parent governor at her children’s primary school and co-facilitated a group for new Muslims in Lewisham	Individual interview held at community room in which Alara co-facilitated her group- cc. 90 minutes
Ishmahan Pseudonym given	30	Somali heritage British Citizen. Spent childhood and early teenage years in Holland	Bristol based organisation monitoring and providing case work for victims of racist incidents	Individual interview held at office- cc. 90 minutes
Naima Pseudonym given	29	British, identified as of East-African Indian heritage. Practising lawyer and human rights advocate	National organisation concerned with human rights in relation to anti-terror legislation.	Individual interview held at office- cc. 90 minutes
Parveen Pseudonym given	28	British , identified as of Pakistani heritage, university educated	National charity monitoring and advising on racism and Islamophobia	Individual interview held at office- cc. 90 minutes

Yasmeen Pseudonym chosen	25	British, identified as Pakistani heritage. University educated and identified as quite political	National charity supporting families affected by anti-terror legislation	Individual interview held at office- cc. two hours
Group Interviews				
Name	Age	Biography	Organisation recruited through	Participation details
Aasma Pseudonym given	36	Identified as British and Bengali. Had moved to Bristol from London. Married with four children (children's details not given)	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women in Bristol	One group interview
Abeda Pseudonym given	55	Identified as British and Pakistani. Married with grown-up children. Volunteered in a local community centre.	Organisation offering services to South Asian women in Bristol	Two group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Amina	56	Identified as British and Turkish Cypriot. Moved to UK as a young child. University educated, worked as a special needs teacher and had recently trained as a counsellor	Mosque based women's group in Lewisham	Two group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Favel Pseudonym chosen	16	Identified as British and Pakistani. Studying for GCSEs with ambitions to be a forensic scientist	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol.	Three group interviews

Firdous Pseudonym given	36	Identified as Somali, married, had 3 young children (children's details not given). Recently moved to Bristol from London (family reunification)	Organisation offering educational services mainly to Somali community in Bristol	Two group interviews
Habareyo, Pseudonym given	41	Identified as Somali, had 2 children (children's details not given). Attending a course to qualify as a play- worker. Identified as a single parent	Organisation offering educational services mainly to Somali community In Bristol	Two group interviews
Hadiya Pseudonym chosen	16	Identified as Somali. Studying for GCSEs with ambitions to be a lawyer	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	Three group interviews
Hannah	20	Identified as Dutch and black. Recent convert to Islam	Mosque based women's group in Lewisham	One group interview
Hope Pseudonym chosen	16	Identified as Somali. Studying for GCSEs and aiming to go to university to study medicine	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	Three group interviews
Husbana Pseudonym given	45	Identified as British and Bengali, married with three children (details not given). Worked in family business	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women in Bristol	One group interview
Khadija	31	Identified as British and	Organisation	One group

Pseudonym chosen		Pakistani. Married with no children. Worked as a fitness instructor	offering services to South Asian women in Bristol	interview
Khaduah	23	Identified as Black British, of Jamaican heritage and a Muslim convert. Married with one young child. University educated and worked in childcare	Mosque based women's group in Lewisham	One group interview
Khoulah	25	Identified as black American. Applying for an early years education degree. Married. Identified as a Muslim convert	Mosque based women's group in Lewisham	Two group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Kusum Pseudonym given	62	Identified as Bengali and British. Married with children and grandchildren (details not given) had lived in Bristol for more than twenty years.	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women in Bristol	One group interview
Mariam Pseudonym chosen	24	Identified as Somali, recently married, worked as a receptionist	Organisation offering educational services mainly to Somali community in Bristol	One group interview
Maryam Pseudonym given	29	Identified as British and Bengali. Worked in family business. Married.	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women in Bristol	One group interview

Nasraa	17	Identified as British and Pakistani. Studying for A' Levels	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	Two group interviews
Nazreen Pseudonym chosen	27	Identified as British and Pakistani. University educated and employed as community worker (young people). Organised the young Muslim women's group. Nazreen was also a documentary film-maker	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	One group interview
Nina Pseudonym chosen	16	Identified as British and Pakistani. Studying GCSEs with ambitions to work in the media as a journalist	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	Three group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Rana Pseudonym chosen	58	Identified as British and East African Indian. Married with grown-up sons. Worked as a crèche worker	Organisation offering services to South Asian women in Bristol	Two group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Rashida Pseudonym given	29	Identified as British and Pakistani. Recently married. University educated. Employed as a young	Organisation offering services to South Asian women in Bristol	Two group interviews and auto-photography

		people's community development worker.		exercise
Safia Pseudonym given	40	Identified as Somali, divorced with two teenage children – ages not given, one male, one female. Safia had moved to Bristol from Canada	Organisation offering educational services mainly to Somali community in Bristol	Two group interviews
Sara Pseudonym given	39	Identified as British and Bengali, details re marriage status/family not given. Worked as a case worker for social housing and community organisation (both part-time)	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women in Bristol	One group interview
Sarah Pseudonym chosen	16	Identified as Sudanese. SR's sister. Studying GCSEs and aiming to go onto further education with an interest in science	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	Three group interviews
Sheila Pseudonym given	38	Identified as British and Pakistani. Married with two young children. Worked part-time as a fundraising officer for a community organisation	Organisation offering services to South Asian women	Two group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Shemla Pseudonym chosen	64	Identified as British and Pakistani. Married with grown-up sons and grandchildren. Had moved	Organisation offering services to South Asian women in Bristol	Two group interviews and auto-photography

		to Britain to get married. Worked as a community worker and had been chair of the community organisation board		exercise
Shoma Pseudonym given	29	Identified as British and Bengali. Married with three daughters	Organisation offering services to Bangladeshi women in Bristol	One group interview
SR Pseudonym chosen	18	Identified as Sudanese. Had lived In Holland prior to active migration to the UK. Student at sixth form college studying media technology	Organisation offering services to young Muslim women aged 16-25 in Bristol	Three group interviews and auto-photography exercise
Suad Pseudonym given	29	Identified as Somali, had lived in United Arab Emirates (refugee) prior to active migration to UK. Worked as an assistant teacher in local schools programme for Somali young people and had been trained as a research facilitator by a university as part of PAR research	Organisation offering educational services mainly to Somali community in Bristol	Two group interviews. Completed Auto-photography exercise with an individual follow-up interview.
Umm Zayol	24	Identified as British and Turkish Cypriot. Muslim revert in that she had been Muslim by culture but not	Mosque based women's group in Lewisham	Two group interviews and auto-photography

		practice until early twenties. University educated and worked as a teacher at an Islamic school		exercise
Zainab Pseudonym chosen	23	Identified as British and Pakistani. University educated. Worked as a youth worker	Organisation offering services to South Asian women in Bristol	Two group interviews and auto-photography exercise